

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
**ROYAL
ASIATIC
SOCIETY**
VOLUME XXIV

THE JOURNAL
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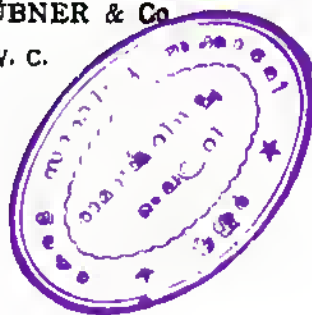
VOLUME XXIV

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ART. I. — *A Few Materials for a Chapter in the Early
History of Bactria, collected from some Iranian
Sources.*

BY

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(Read, 23rd March 1914.)

I.

INTRODUCTION.

Prof. H. G. Rawlinson of the Deccan College had published in 1909, his interesting Prize-essay, entitled "Bactria, from the Earliest times to the Extinction of Bactrio-Greek Rule in the Punjab." I had the pleasure of reviewing it in the *Jām-i-Jamshed* of Bombay, at the request of its Editor. In that review, while noticing the fact that the author began his subject with the early traces of history referred to by classical authors, I drew attention to the fact that Bactria was referred to in the Vendidad of the Parsees, which, following the reasoning of the late Dr. Haug, Professor of Sanskrit at the Poona College, may be taken to have been written at least about 1,200 years before Christ. This review led to some correspondence with the learned author, who then thought of re-publishing his essay as a second edition. In one of his letters, he said: "In republishing my little work, I badly want a reliable text-book on what is known of the Early History of Bactria and Iran, e.g., in the time of Zarathushtra and the Kaiyānian kings The new Encyclopædia Britannica dismisses the early history as 'legendary.' But I want to know about it—legendary or not."

As far as I knew, there was no reliable text-book treating of the early history, even the legendary history of Bactria. So, to supply some materials to Prof. Rawlinson, I had then taken up the study of that subject. This paper is the humble result of that short study, the materials of which I had the pleasure of sending to Prof. Rawlinson in 1910. I beg to place these materials with some additions before this Society for its Journal, with a view that they may be of some use, however little, to other students of the History of Bactria.

As said in my above review, the ancient history of Bactria is interesting, both to the Parsees and to the Hindus, because it is

the history of a country which lies between Iran, the ancient motherland of the Parsees, and Hindustan, the motherland of the Hindus. "Bactria served as a connecting link between the West and the East. It is still well-nigh an open question, whether India gave much to the West or the West gave much to India. In any case; Bactria was the land that served as an intermediate seat for transferring the traits of the civilization of one country to the other. . . . We think, that both Greece and Iran had their influence upon Hindustan and that Hindustan had its influence in turn upon both." In the case of the influence from the West, "it was Iran that had greatly, strongly and permanently impressed India. The great Hindu king Asoka in an early period, and the great Mahomedan king Akbar in a later period, were kings whose reigns stand as great landmarks in the history of India, both from the material and the mental and moral points of view. Leaving aside the question, as to how Akbar's rule in India led to the influence of Persia upon India, . . . one can pretty safely say, that the great Asoka had some Iranian ideals before him. The Achæmenian rule over some regions in the very vicinity of India lasting for a pretty long time, and over the country itself for a number of years, had a great influence upon India. If nothing else, Asoka's edicts have left an indelible stamp on the history of India. Asoka took his conception of inscribing them upon columns from the practice of Achæmenian kings like Darius whose inscriptions over columns and rocks are well-known."

With these few introductory words I come to the subject proper of my paper. I will first speak (A) of the References to Bactria in the Avesta and Pahlavi books of the Parsees, and then (B) of the History—legendary or not—as given by old Mahomedan writers like Firdousi, Maçoudi and Tahari.

II.

(A) REFERENCES TO BACTRIA IN THE AVESTA AND PAHLAVI BOOKS OF THE PARSEES.

Bactria is the Bākhddhi *sebenj* of the Avesta,¹ Bākhtri² of the cuneiform inscriptions, Bākhār or Bākhāl of the Bactria, the Bākh- Pahlavi writers, and Balkh of the early and later dhi of the Avesta. Mahomedan writers. As Prof. Darmesteter³ points out, the later name Balkh comes from the Avesta Bākhddhi. Bākhddhi would be Bākhli in later Persian ("ōt." would be "l"; cf. Avesta *madhakha* (locust): Persian *malakkh*). The Pahlavi translator

¹ Vendidad I, 7. ² The Inscription of Behistun Col. I, 6. Tolman's Guide to Old Persian Inscriptions, p. 55. ³ Le Zend Avesta II, p. 8.

(c) In the Pahlavi *Shatroihā-i-Airān*, we read the following for this city :—

Dayan Bākhar-i-nāmik shatrōstān Novāzako Spendadād-i-Vishtāspān benman kard. Avash varzāvand Ātash-i-Vāhrān tamman cibūnast. Avash nizeh-i nefsliman tamman barā makhistūnt. Avash val Gubāhkān va Suj-i-Pikāhkān va Churāhkān va Rabākān va Guhram va Tūrchāv va Arjāsp-i-Khyonān-shālī paētām shetunit āgh nizeh-i le barā negīrid. Kolā-mūn pavan nīzashne-i denman nizeb negīred memān dayan val airān shatro dōbāret¹.

Translation :—

"Spendadād, the son of Vishtāsp, founded the city of Novāzako in the renowned country of Bākhar. He established there the glorious Ātash Vāhrān (Ātash Behrām). He struck his lance there. He sent a message to Gubāhkān and Suj-e-Pikāhkān and Churhākān and Rabākān and Guhram and Turchāv and Arjāsp, the king of the Khyonās, that 'Look to my lance. Those who may look to the interpretation of this lance may run to the country of Irān (to render submission)'."

The country of Bākhar, referred to here, is the Bākhddhi of the Vendidad, whose Pahlavi translators also have called it Bākhar. In this passage, the *Shatroihā-i-Airān* calls it "nāmik" i.e., renowned. Among the later Mahomedan authors, Maçoudī² has spoken of it as بلخ الحسناء, Balkh al hasanā, i.e., Balkh the beautiful. Here, the word "hasanā," corresponds to the word "srirām" of the Avesta. Other Mahomedan authors have spoken of it as Balkh-i-bāmi, i.e., the exalted or the great Balkh. Firdousi speaks of it as Balkh-i-gusīn, i.e., Balkh, the select or the elect.

2. Coming to the second statement of the Vendidad, viz., that it was the city with an uplifted banner, it was so called, because, being the capital of some of the known Kaiyavian kings, especially of king Gushtāsp, in whose reign Zoroaster, the prophet, flourished, the royal banner flew over it. Prof. Spiegel takes this view, when he says, that the "tall plumes (i.e., the tall banners) indicate the imperial banner (mentioned also by Firdousi) and refer consequently to the time when Bactria was the seat of the empire."³ M. Harlez also takes the same view. He says : "Ces drapeaux élevés étaient peut-être la marque de la résidence du chef du pays."⁴

¹ Pahlavi texts, edited by Dastur Jamaspji Minocherji Jamsaspasana, p. 19.

² Vide my "Ayydgār-i-Zairān, Shatroihā-i-Airān va Afdiā va Sahigiyā-i-Sisān," pp. 59-61.

³ Maçoudī traduit par Barbier de Meynard, Vol. II, p. 221.

⁴ Spiegel, translated by Bleeker, Vol. I, p. 10, note 3.

⁵ Avesta, Livre sacré du Zoroastrianisme, p. 8, note 7.

It appears, that during the Sassanian times, when the Pahlavi translators and commentators wrote, some doubts had arisen, as to why it was called in the Vendidad the city of up-lifted banners.

(a) The commentators at first gave their own explanation, which is the usual above explanation, *viz.*, that "the banner" (*i.e.*, the royal banner) was up-lifted over it (*âigh darafsh dayan afrâsh t yekhsund*).

(b) Then, the commentators added, that there were some who said that there were many banners flying over it (*ait mûn aitûn yemellund âi kabdih dayan afrâsend*).¹ As to this second reason, *viz.*, that it was called the city of up-lifted banners because many banners flew over it, we find a reference to it in the *Grand Bundehesh*,² where it is said, "*martûmî tamnan drafsh pavan tâkhshâldh yakhsimend*," *i.e.*, men there hold the banners with energy.

Now, as to why, later on, there were many banners over the city, instead of one, some thing may be learnt from the Pahlavi commentary which adds the words "*âigh dâshman madam dayan kushend*" which mean that "these men kill their enemies." Prof. Harlez,³ says, that by this remark, the commentators meant to say, that there were frequent battles in Bactria. But Harlez himself thinks, that they were the banners over the tents of the people and the towers of the city.

A statement of Yakout seemed to point to another reason for its latterly being called a city of many banners. He said that

(c) The Great Fire-Temple of Balkh or Bactria. *نوبها* and that the worshippers at the temple—perhaps the distinguished visitors like princes

and generals—raised banners on its *gunbad* (cupola) as their marks of respect. Barbier De Meynard thus refers to Yakout's statement :—

"Ce temple était en grande vénération chez les Persans, qui s'y rendaient de fort loin en pèlerinage, le revêtaient d'étoffes précieuses et plantaient des drapeaux au sommet de la coupole (Dictionnaire Géographique, Historique et Littéraire de la Perse, par Barbier de Meynard, p. 569).

The Pahlavi *Shatroihâ-i-Airân* also refers to a Fire-temple in the city. A part of the name of the place *Novâzako* or *Naozko*, where the

¹ *Vide Vendidad* by Dastur Hoshang Jamasp. Vol. I, Texts, pp. 7-8.

² *Vide* the edition of Ervad Tahmuras, (above referred to, p. 206, l. 4.) *درافش پاورتن تانمانيان*

درافش پاورتن تانمانيان

³ "La seconde glose pahlavie, il est vrai, voit dans ces termes une indication des guerres fréquentes qu'entreprenaient les Bactriens" (Le Zend Avesta, p. 8, n. 71).

fire-temple was founded, seems to be similar to a part of the name Naobahâr.

Firdousi¹ also thus refers to the fire-temple named Naobahâr
 ببلخ گزین شد بر آن نوبهار — که آتشپرستان بود آن روزگار
i.e. In the famous Balkh, Naobahâr was put up, because, there were fire-worshippers there at the time.

Dr. Hyde² translates the word Naobahar in Latin, as Novum ver (*i.e.*, new spring). The Navâzako of the Pahlavi Shatroihâ-i-Airân seems to be the same with the Naobahâr of Firdousi, Yakout and others; or it may be the same as Naosbar which was a fortress or palace in Balkh.³ Of the several gates of Balkh, one was known as the Dar-i-Naobahâr, *i.e.*, the gate of Naobahâr.⁴ Perhaps the Novazak referred to here may be the Nuwazi Fire-temple of the coins.⁵

The name of Aspandyâr, the son of Gushtâsp, is connected with Balkh in the above-quoted passage of the Shatroihâ-i-Airân. Therein, this prince is spoken of as using his *niseh* or lance which seems to have been his special weapon in religious war. This explains the blessing, prayed for over the marrying couple, even now, by the Parsees, in their Âshirvâd prayer, wherein it is said "Nizehvar baid chun Aspandyâr" *i.e.*, May you be a good user of the lance like Aspandyâr.

Among the Pahlavi books, the Bundeshesh, speaking of the rivers of Irân, speaks of the river of Balkh, as one of the twenty principal rivers of Iran,⁶ and as flowing from the Bâmiyân (Bâmikân) mountains⁷ into the river Veh, supposed to be the Indus. Bactria or Balkh was in the Sassanian times supposed to be a part of Hindustan.⁸

Some manuscripts of the Bundeshesh,⁹ speak of Balkh as the birth place of Zoroaster. This reminds us of one of the old classical statements¹⁰ about one Zoroaster being the Magian king of Bactria in the time of Ninus and Semiramis.

¹ "Le Livre des Rois" par M. Zâhir, IV, p. 358, l. 15.

² Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum Religiosis Historiis, pp. 102, 305.

³ Dictionnaire Géographique, Historique et Littéraire de la Perse, par Barbier de Meynard, p. 572.

⁴ Ouseley's Oriental Geography, p. 223.

⁵ Numismatic and other Antiquarian Illustrations of the rule of the Sassanians by E. Thomas, p. 17.

⁶ Chap. XX, 7. * Ibid. 22. * S. B. E., Vol. V, p. 59 n. 4, p. 77, n. 7.

⁷ Chap. XXIV, 13. S. B. E., Vol. V, p. 83, n. 6.

⁸ "Zoroastre, rege Bactrianorum (Justin I., 1, 9, Diodorus II 6.) Vide 'L' Expédition de Ninus et des Assyriens, contre un Roi de la Bactrie" par Dr. Eugène Wilhelm, p. 1, n. 1.

According to the Vendidad and the Grand Bundehesh, as opposed to Ahura Mazda's blessings over the city, there was a curse from the Ahriman on it. It is very difficult to settle the meaning of the words (*bravaremcha usadhascha nurtu*) which describe the curse. Spiegel translates the words as "buzzing" insects and poisonous plants."¹ Darmesteter is doubtful about the meaning, but, following the Gujarati translation of Aspandiyārjee Rabādi, takes the curse to be that of "the corn-carrying ants."²

Mr. Franjī Aspandiyārjee Rabādi translates this thus: *તેથી તે શહેરમાં મોહત ભેલા ગનાલીનેથી થોડી થાત પેદા કીધી જે દાના ખેતનાર કીડી હુની (પાને તે જગોમી દાના ખેતનાર કીડી થણી વસેલે અને અનાજ સુરાખમાં ખેંચી લાય છે.)*

The Grand Bundehesh³ thus speaks of the curse :

*अश-पत्यारैह सुराक वेश मच्छ किशनेह सुराक किल्ल वधुमैत, बरन
A'sh palyāreh surak vesh macth kiśneh surak killa vādumet, barn
anbāsteli.*

Translation—Opposed to it is the fact, that many holes have come there. The houses are made over holes and collected together.

It seems that the curse was that of some poisonous insects, which, according to the commentators, seemed to abound there on account of the porous and therefore damp soil of the place.

III.

DIFFERENT STATEMENTS AS TO WHO FOUNDED BACTRIA.

Different writers attribute the foundation of Bactria to different kings of Persia. In this connection, we must bear in mind, that the city may have been founded by a particular person at first, but, when, after some times of adversity, it was restored to prosperity by another person, later writers often referred to this second person as its founder.

According to Kāzwini⁴, it was founded by Kayomars, the first of the Irānian kings. Some authors attribute its foundation to Tehmurasp.⁵ According to Tabari,⁶ Minocheher owned it, and Afrasiāb, the Turānian king, captured it from his hands and lived there. It reverted to the hands of the Irānian kings and Kaiakobād and Kāus lived there. King

¹ Spiegel, translated by Bleek I, p. 10.

² S. B. E., Vol. IV, 1880, p. 6, n. 6.

³ The text and the translation published by Aspandiyārjee's grandson Ervad Jamshidji Franji Rabadi in 1900, Translation, p. 4.

⁴ The Bundahishn edited by the late Ervad Tahmuras Dushajee Anklesaria, p. 206, ll. 4-5.

⁵ Orsley's Travels II, p. 371.

⁶ Kinnier's Persian Empire, p. 187.

⁷ Tabari, traduit par Zotenberg I, pp. 277, 297, 462.

Lohrâsp made it his capital and gave it the appellation of "Housna"¹ i.e., the beautiful (cf. the word *svîrâm*, i.e., the beautiful, in the Avesta). This word "housna" of Tabari is the same as "al hasana" (the beautiful) of Maçoudi. According to other writers, king Kâus founded it.² Mirkhond, in his *Rauzat-us-Safa*, attributes its foundation to Kayomars³, but adds, that according to some historians it was founded by Lohrâsp⁴. According to the same author, Lohrâsp was called "Balakhi",⁵ because he had made it his capital. Ahmed Razi⁶ also attributes its foundation to king Kaiomars.

According to Firdousi, King Lohrâsp⁷ and King Gushtâsp had their courts at Balkh and it was here that Zoroaster explained his religion to the king.

According to Maçoudi,⁸ King Kai Kâus first made Balkh, the capital of the kings of Iran, and all the rulers upto queen Humai continued to hold their court there.

Ardeshir Babegân, the founder of the Sassanian Empire, is said to have called in this city his great assembly of the nobles and the learned for the Irânian Renaissance.⁹

Mirkhond gives the following story which gives a strange etymology of the name 'Balkh':—"Kaiomars had a brother in the regions of the west, who occasionally came to visit him: who at this time having undertaken the journey to converse with his revered brother, found on his arrival at Damâvend, that Kaiomars was absent. On inquiring into his affairs, and learning that he was then engaged in founding a city in the east, this affectionate brother immediately directed his course thither, and completed the long journey. At the moment of his arrival, Kaiomars, who was seated on an eminence, having beheld his brother, exclaimed, 'Ho'! Who is this, who directs his course towards us?' One of his sons answered, 'Perhaps a spy, sent by the enemy to find out our situation. On which, Kaiomars armed himself, and, accompanied by the same son, went out to meet him: but when they drew near each other, Kaiomars recognised his brother and said to his son, Bal-Âkl! (Arabic بل assuredly, and أخ brother) (i.e., this is surely my brother) from which circumstance the city was called Balkh."

¹ Ibid, p. 491.

² Dictionnaire Géographique, &c., de la Perse, par B. de Meynard, p. 112, n. 1.

³ Mirkhond, translated by Shea, p. 58.

⁴ Ibid. p. 39. (Mirkhond's text; lithographed in Bombay, p. 130.)

⁵ Ibid. p. 272.

⁶ Dictionnaire Géographique de la Perse, par B. de Meynard, p. 112, n. 1.

⁷ Maçoudi traduit par Barbier de Meynard, II, pp. 119-120.

⁸ Kinnier's Persian Empire, p. 187.

IV.

THE LEGENDARY HISTORY AS GIVEN BY MAHOMEDAN AUTHORS.

We will close this paper with the legendary history of the city as given by Firdousi, Tabari, Mirkhond, &c.

according to Firdousi, the first mention of Balkh in the Shah-nameh is that in the reign of king Kai Kâus, who sends his army into the provinces of Merv, Nishâpur, Balkh and Herat, and establishes order and justice there.¹ Some time after this, Afrâsiâb, the king of Turkestan, brought an invasion upon Iranian territories. He occupied Balkh. Kai Kâus declared war against him and sent his son Siâvakhsh to the war. Siâvakhsh passed through the provinces of Thalikân and Herat, and went towards Balkh.² He laid siege and took the city. He rested there long and sent a message of victory to his father. In the meantime Afrâsiâb sent his brother Karsevaz to him to sue for peace.³ Siâvakhsh accepted peace and communicated the fact from Balkh to his father, Kai Kâus, who directed him not to accept peace, but to invade Turkestan. As Siâvakhsh hesitated to march against Turkestan, having promised peace to Afrâsiâb, Kai Kâus sent his general Tus to command the army. Siâvakhsh returned to the country of Afrâsiâb who offered him shelter.

Balkh continued in the hands of the Iranians under Kaikhushru, and in the war, known as the war of the twelve champions دوازده رخ, and in the battles were fought in the territories adjoining Balkh.⁴ In the peace, proposed by Piran, the Turânian Nestor and general, to Godrez, the Iranian Nestor and general, he proposed to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Iranian king over all the country, including Bost, Fariâh, Thalikân, the country of Balkh upto Anderab, the five villages of Bamian, the country of Gorukan and in short all the country from Balkh to Badakhshan.⁵ Later on, on his return from Touran to Iran, king Kaikhushru passed through Balkh and stayed there for one month.⁶

Lohrasp, the successor of Kaikhushru, when he abdicated the throne of Iran and gave it to his son Gushtasp, returned to the Fire-temple of

¹ Le Livre des Rois II, p. 41.

² Ibid. p. 53-57.

³ Ibid. p. 269.

⁴ Ibid. III, 439-41.

⁵ Ibid. III, p. 507.

⁶ Ibid. IV, p. 189.

Naobahar situated in the province of Balkh.¹ Lohrasp's son Gushtasp also founded a fire-temple at Balkh.² This fire-temple was known as the Fire-temple of Azer Barzin. It is one of the four Fire-temples, the names of which are still recited by the Parsees in their *Ātash Nyāish*.

King Gushtasp, the son of Lohrasp, was ruling at Balkh when Zoroaster promulgated his religion and taught it to the king. The Turanian king Arjasp, who declared war against Zoroaster's new religion, sent his messenger to the Iranian king at Balkh.³ Firdousi here speaks of Balkh as *Balkh-i-nāmi*,⁴ i.e., the famous or known Balkh. A little before, he speaks of it as *Balkh-i-guzin*, i.e., Balkh the select or the chosen. King Gushtasp declared war from this city and left it for the frontiers with his minister Jamasp.⁵

When Arjasp commenced the second war against Gushtasp, before doing so, he sent a spy to look into the state of affairs at Balkh. The spy found that king Gushtasp was not in the capital, and so, it was a splendid opportunity to invade the country. Arjasp marched against Balkh and killed Lohrasp, who had retired in a fire-temple there. He also extinguished the sacred fire, and Zoroaster, who was there, was also killed. Gushtasp, on hearing this, came to Balkh but was defeated and was obliged to run away.

Coming to the Sassanian times, we see that a little of legend is mixed up with historical facts. We find a reference to Balkh in the time of Behram Gour to whom the noblemen of the city paid their homage. Noshirwan the Just (Chosroes I) had conquered Balkh from the Haitalians.⁶ Balkh continued in the hands of the Iranians in the reign of Hormazd.⁷ In the account of the reign of Khosru Purviz, we find, that the proverb "truthful words are always bitter" is attributed to a wise man of Balkh. On the death of Yazdagard, Mahrui, the traitor, entrusted the governorship of Balkh and Herat to his eldest brother.⁸

According to Tabari⁹ in the time of the Peshdadiyan king Minoclicher, whom he makes a contemporary of Moses, Balkh together with Merv was in the hands of the Turanian king Afrāsīāb. Then, it (Balkh) passed into the hands of the Iranians, because we find Kaikobad

¹ Ibid. p. 150-63.

² Ibid. also *vide* p. 387.

³ Ibid. VI, p. 355.

⁴ Ibid. p. 689.

⁵ Ibid. 279-281.

⁶ Ibid. p. 375.

⁷ Ibid. p. 387.

⁸ Mohl VII, p. 44.

نگر نا چه گوید سخن گوی بلخ
که باشد سخن گفتی راست تلخ

⁹ Ibid VIII, p. 493.

¹⁰ Tabari par Zoltenberg. I, p. 277.

having his residence there.¹ Kai Kâus, who was represented as being a contemporary of Solomon, had also his residence in Balkh.² Kaikhushro, the successor of Kai Kâus, when he prepared to wage a war against the Turanian Afrisiâb, to revenge his father's death, collected his large army at Balkh. Lohrasp, the successor of Kai Khusru had his residence at Balkh, which he called Hosana, ³ i.e., the beautiful. This Lohrasp had Bakhtnâsar (Nebuchednezzar) who expelled the Hebrews from Jerusalem, as his general. He remained at Balkh to watch the Turks and asked Nebuchednezzar to invade Syria, Irak, Yemen and other western countries. Lohrasp died in Balkh.

Gushtasp, the son and successor of Lohrasp, on coming to the throne, heard that Nebuchednezzar, the general of his father, had devastated Syria and Palestine, and was much afflicted. Nebuchednezzar then lived at Babylon. Gushtasp sent his general Komresh (Cyrus) to Irak and recalled Nebuchednezzar to Balkh. He also directed that Jerusalem may be restored to the Jews. Komresh (Cyrus) went to Babylon, sent back Nebuchednezzar to Balkh, restored Jerusalem to the Jews and appointed, one of themselves, Daniel, the prophet to rule over them.⁴

With the conquest of Iran by Alexander, Balkh had passed into the hands of the Greeks. We do not learn any thing from Tabari, as to how it passed into Greek hands and what became of it till we come to the reign of Yazdagard, the son of Behram, the great grandfather of Noshirwan the Just. At this time, it was in the hands of Khoushnawâz, the king of the Hayatalites (Eutalites). On the death of Yazdagard, his son Hormuz seized the throne of Persia. Firouz, the eldest son, who was then in Seistan, asked the assistance of Khoushnawâz and with his help, gained the throne of Iran. After some time, the people of Balkh and the adjoining countries appealed against the tyranny of Khoushnawâz to Firouz who invaded Balkh and the adjoining territories of Khoushnawâz. An old general of the Hayatalian king performed a ruse. He got his limbs mutilated, as if at the hands of his king, and appealing to the sense of justice of Firouz got into his confidence, and then, under the garb of being his guide, led him

¹ Ibid, p. 497.

² Ibid, p. 46a.

³ Ibid, p. 491.

⁴ Ibid, page 496. According to the Pahlavi Dinkard (Dk, V chap. 1, 56, Dastur Peshotan's Vol. IX, p. 61, S. B. E. Vol. XLVII, pp. 120-121), and other later Mahomedan writers, Nebuchednezzar or Bakhtnâsar, whose Persian name is said to be Reham, (Mirkhond translated by Shea, p. 214) and Komresh or Cyrus were the Generals of Gushtasp. At times, a question is raised as to why Firouz and other eastern writers have not referred to Cyrus and his Achemenian successors. These writers throw a side-light on the question and say that these Achemenian rulers were the contemporaries and vassals of the Iranian king Gushtasp and his successors who ruled at Balkh. They latterly became independent. The Pahlavi Minokherad also refers to the taking of Jerusalem by Lohrasp. (Chap. XXV, 64-65).

(Firouz) and his army into the hands of the enemy. Firouz was killed by Khoushawaz.

Afterwards Noshirwan, the grandson of Firouz, conquered Balkh from the hands of the Hayatalites. It continued in the hands of the successors of Noshirwan till the time of the Arab conquest, when it passed into the hands of the Arab conquerors.

According to Maçoudi, Kai Kâus was the first King who transferred the royal residence from Irak to Balkh¹. His Maçoudi. (Kaiyanian) dynasty continued to live there and to hold it as their capital.² They called the river of Balkh, Kalef, and the foreigners inhabiting Khorasan knew it by that name. Balkh continued to be the capital up to the time of Queen Homai, the daughter of Bahman, who made Medain (Ctesiphon) her capital. According to some local traditions, Lohrasp built the city of Balkh, the beautiful (Balkh al-Hosana), whose well-watered territories and green forests had much attraction for him. Gushtasp, the son of Lohrasp, also had his capital at Balkh.³

It was when Gushtasp was on the throne of Balkh for 30 years that Zoroaster, the son of Esbiman (ذرادشت بن اسپیمان) appeared in his court. This Esbiman is the Spitaman of the Avesta.

There is one point in the legendary history, as given by the Mahomedan writers, that draws our special attention. An important point in the legendary history of Balkh. It is that of Nebuchednezzar being a General under Cyrus the Great. We know, that Western Classical authors speak of him as an ally of Cyrus. The Pahlavi Minokherad and the Dinkard support the statements of the Mahomedan historians.

This is a very large and important question—a question that seems to throw some side-light upon the two very puzzling, but at the same time very important questions of the history of Persia, *viz* :—

1. The Age of Zoroaster.
2. The question, as to, what relation of time, the Achæmenian dynasty stands to the Kayanian. Does it precede or succeed it?

There arises with these two main questions, several minor questions, as to why the Kayanians are not mentioned by the Classical writers and why the Parsee books do not refer to the Achæmenians, and so on.

¹ Maçoudi, traduit par Barbier de Meynard II, p. 119.

² *Ibid.*, p. 120.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

A clue to the solution of all these questions, which are dependent upon one another, may be found in the statement, that the Achæmenians and the Kayanians were contemporaries, the former ruling in the West, the latter in the East. Such a supposition would confirm the date of Zoroaster as given by Parsi books. But it is still an unsolved question and requires a very great consideration.



ART. II.—*Intermittent Springs at Rajapur in the Bombay Presidency.*

BY

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(Read 5th September 1914.)

During the course of an investigation into the well and spring waters of the trap area of Western India, our attention was called about two years ago to a curious series of intermittent springs, evidently all closely connected with one another, near the town of Rajapur in the district of Ratnagiri in the Bombay Presidency. This town, which lies at the head of a tidal creek running up from the sea, and about fifteen miles from the west coast, may also be said to be at the foot of the Western Ghats, and is at the mouth of two passes up those mountains (Anaskura and Phonda). The river valley in which it lies is very narrow, and the land rises very steeply from the river bed. The whole lies completely within the trap area of Western India, and the rocks for many miles round consist wholly of trap and its derivatives, including laterite.

Near this town and about two miles above it on the south side of the river, lies the curious series of intermittent springs to which we wish to draw attention. The best description of them in existence is probably that in the *Bombay Gazetteer* ¹ which is as follows :—

“On the top of a hill about two miles from Rajapur, close above the Unhala hot spring, a curious phenomenon is from time to time observed. Certain springs, at irregular intervals but almost always during the fair season, bubble up, and suddenly and without warning overflow the rocky soil, covering a considerable area of ground. This apparent freak of nature can only be accounted for, on the hypothesis of an underground syphon forcing the water through a permeable stratum. The natives regard the phenomenon as a miracle, and believe the water to be a true stream of the sacred Ganges.² According to local tradition, the springs were first observed some three hundred years ago, and up to the year 1821, continued to

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. X, page 22.

² The springs are locally termed “the Ganga.”

flow regularly every year for a month or six weeks in January or February. From that date to the present time, the phenomenon has been manifested only once in every two or three years. It occurred in February 1876, but has not since been observed (1880). The area covered by the springs, about 3,150 square yards, is surrounded by a high stone wall, and paved with stones. Fourteen cisterns of various sizes have been built to receive the water. The water invariably begins to overflow in the first of these cisterns, which holds less than a cubic foot. Within a few minutes of its first appearance, the remaining cisterns are rapidly filled. These cisterns are in no way connected with each other. Only one cistern overflows, and here the water is let off through the mouth of a cow carved out of stone. The volume of water pouring through this outlet is estimated to have a diameter of 2½ inches. This last cistern is said always to hold water, while the remaining cisterns run dry as soon as the springs cease to flow. During the overflow, the water bubbles up through all the interstices in the pavement, as well as through the beds of the cisterns. The spot is held in great veneration, and devout Hindus, unable to perform the journey to Benares, believe the water of these springs to be equally efficacious with that of the Ganges itself. Their awakening is hailed with joy for hundreds of miles and it is estimated that while the supply of water lasts about four hundred pilgrims daily visit the springs. Their history is said to be told in the *Medini Puran*. According to the legend a *kunbi*, called Gangaji Salunka, was in the habit of going regularly every year to the Vithoba temple at Pandharpur. At last he grew too old and feeble to make the journey. Working in his field on the day on which he ought to have started for Pandharpur, he was so grieved at the thought, that he could no longer accomplish his cherished task, that he sat down and wept. The deity taking pity on his distress and to reward his life-long devotion, to his unspeakable delight caused a stream of pure Ganges water to well up round him."

There is a further reference in the Bombay Gazetteer² which reads as follows :—

"About a mile from the hot spring is a spring whose water flows at uncertain times, never more than once in two years. The usual season of its flow is in the hot months, rarely or never during the rains. It suddenly begins, flows for two or three months, and dries up without warning. It is held in great reverence and called a Ganga. Immediately the flow begins, Hindus from long dis-

tances come and bathe, first in the hot spring, and then in the cold intermittent spring. A number of small ponds have been built for the use of the bathers. As in similar cases the spring is probably a natural syphon."

The springs are well known in Marathi legendary and poetical literature. The Marathi poet Moropant, who was born in 1651 Shak era, (1729 A.D.), and died in 1716 of the same era, wrote a number of verses to celebrate the appearance of the spring to be recited by the representatives of the temple and some of these are perhaps worth quoting in this connection. He visited Rajapur in 1711 (Shak era) or about 1786 A.D. The verses are as follows :—

गंगाप्रतिनिधितीर्थ कीर्तन.

(गीतिवृत्त.)

- श्रीमद्भार्गवराम प्रभुवर-शैरपात-जोत-संत्रास
सिंधु सरे, सद्भास त्यजुनि, ग्रैह जेवि लब्धमंत्रास. १.
ते इषुपातक्षेत्र, स्थळ जें सोडुनि जाय अर्जव तो
त्या सुरतीर्थमयाचा महिमा लघु कविस काय वर्णवतो ? २.
' त्या सुक्षेत्री ' म्हणती वृद्ध ' परमभक्त शूद्र तो भावें
चिंती गंगेसि, ' सुधारसपानें हृदय कां न लोभावें ? ३.
' हा गंगे ! तुज अंती अंतरालें को ' असें दरिद्र वदे
तो धांवा, मातेच्या हृदया शिशुचा, तयापरि द्रव दे. ४.
आली धावुनि, केलें जें गंगाद्वार तत्समान खेळें
पावावा या सुरभीपासुनि सुजनें, न, वेत्समान, खेळें. ५.

१. श्रीमद् भार्गवराम प्रभु यांच्या बाणाच्या पतनाने उत्पन्न झाली भीति ज्याला असा सिंधु म्ह. सागर. २. बाण. ३. पतन. ४. प्राप्त झाली आढे भीति ज्यास असा (हे सिंधूचे विशेषण). ५. समुद्र. ६. पर्वत विशेष. ७. भूत, पिशाच. ८. मंत्री, पंचाक्षरी. ९. काकण (बाण पडून झालेले क्षेत्र). १०. समुद्र. ११. मुकलें. १२. धान्याची मळणी काढण्याचें ठिकाण. १३. कामधेनु. १४. बालकास प्राप्त होणारा मान. १५. दुष्टानें.

- प्रकटे हँरिचरणसुता, उन्मूक^३नि क्षणांत मेदीतें
स्वैतरंगांहीं दावी, माय मुजांहीं शिशूसि वेदी तें. ६.
- श्रीगंगा मूर्तिमती होवुनि, कर्पूरजन्म कदलीतें
हृदयांत लाजवाया, ऐका सुरसिक! तयास वदली तें. ७.
- ‘बहु कारुण्यें द्रवल्यें, देवू बा ! काय वासरो ! ? मार्गे
बा ! माज्या या हृदयीं केंला न क्षणहि वास रांमार्गे. ’ ८.
- नमुनि भगवतीस खणे, ‘ हा माते ! म्यां बहु श्रमविलीस
जे तूं श्रीजगदीशें निजशुद्धजटांत कीं रमविलीस. ९.
- या चरणदशनाहुनि मागावें अधिक तें दिसे न मला
तुज तरि याहुनि बहुमत वर माते ! सांग कोण तो गमला ? १०.
- तरि मावळ्ये ! करावी, धावुनिया कलियुगीं, असीच दया
हा दास दीन नेणें मार्गोंसे, ह्मणसि, ‘ बोल हूं वद ’ या. ११.
- ते वैत्सला खणे, ‘ बा ! भूतदया सुगुण हा न सामान्य
हे नसती तरि कैसा होतासि यशें जगीं असा मान्य ? १२.
- आनें करितिल माचापासुनि वैशाखमास पावेतों
बा ! तें हें चातकशिशु आ करि जों, मेघ त्यास पावें तों. १३.
- परि तुजसम जे दुर्बळ, मोळे, सद्भक्त, तेचि तरतील
स्पर्श न करितिल बोलिश, ‘ पाणी पाणी ’ ह्मणोनि मरतील. १४.
- तुजकरितां प्रतिवर्षीं येइन, जन निंदितील, सोशीन
मीं शरण आलियांतें, प्रसाळुनि सर्व पंकें, पोशीन. ’ १५.

१. गंगा २. उपद्रव. ३. जांब (ज्यास मळणीचे तेल बांधतात). ४. ताट. ५. हे
बत्ता. ६. परशुरामापरार्थे. (पंक्त). ७. दयालु. ८. प्राणिमात्रांवर दया करणें. ९. भूखे.
१०. धिखल (पाप).

- ऐसे वदली गंगा, क्षीरे न्हाणून वत्स, तर्पून
वाणीतें प्रभु रक्षिति, अधनीं कन्येसि जेंवि अर्पून. १६.
- येते अद्यापि श्रीगंगा राजापुराचिया जवळ
कोंकण करिती, विखरुनि शुद्धयशश्चंद्रचंद्रिको, धवळ. १७.
- मज एकवेळ घडलें, सत्संगतिनें, अलम्य मर्जेन हो !
रचिलें सुतीर्थ कीर्तन, हें फळ त्याचेंचि होय सज्जन हो ! १८.
- या तीर्थकीर्तनाचा पडला, त्या तीर्थकीर्तनें विसर
नगें लेउनि, विसरावा मुक्तांचा सुगुणपूर्ण जेंवि सरें. १९.
- गंगा म्हणे, ' अहा या माझी कैसी सुकीर्ति धवळील ?
मद्रूप विसरला, जें केवळ कारुण्य मूर्त जवळील. ' २०.
- हे लागलीच चिता गंगेला, म्हणुनि मंज दिलें स्मरण
कीं गंगेचेंचि सुदृढ, सर्वजनोद्धार, सद्गताचरण. २१.
- कडियेवरि नच घेतां, स्तन्यामृत काय बाळ कवळील ?
स्तवन असोचि, गुरुदया नसतां जड पशुहि नीट न वळील. २२.
- जें गंगेसि व्हावें, गंगा प्रभुच्या पदींच तें वाहें
वाहे अन्या जैशा, तैशी ऐशाहि रीतिनें वाहें. २३.
- कीर्तनभक्ति ईलुसि मज दाखउनि, मनासि लाविला चटका
हा लाभ, परि निजमुखानुभवावांचूनि, ताविलाच टका. २४.
- गंगेला जायाला, मज हतभाग्या न शक्ति, न उपाय
स्तुति सूचविलि, प्रभुचे, देति प्रणतासि भक्ति नउं पाय. २५.
- भक्तमयूरमनोनट नातो, सामान्य कीं बरा नट तो
श्रीरामचि हें जाणें, धरला व्यापूनि सर्वही घट तो. २६.

१. उदक. २. चांदणें. ३. शुभ्र. ४. स्नान. ५. दागिना. ६. हार.
७. स्तनांतील दुग्ध. ८. थोडीशी. ९. नवविध भक्ति (भवण, कीर्तन, स्मरण, पादसेवा,
पूजा, वंदन, दास्य, सख्य, देहसमर्पण).

The story as given by Moropant is, hence, essentially as follows :—

It is said about two thousand years ago there was a Maratha farmer at Rajapur who used to visit Benares every year. In spite of very great difficulties he managed to make the pilgrimage regularly. In this way, as he grew old, he became unable to continue his practice, but was extremely sorry not to go as usual on pilgrimage. One day while threshing his grain, he prayed to the Ganges, "Oh Ganges, I am quite unable to visit your abode as usual, Oh Mother, come and make me happy with your appearance." Immediately there sprang up, from the base of the post at the centre of the threshing yard, a current of water which began to flow away. He said "Oh, here is my revered Ganges."

The post from the base of which the Ganges sprang has turned into a stately *banyan* tree, and occupies a place close to the reputed origin of the 'Ganga.'

Continuing, the account given by Moropant is as follows :—

"At the devotion of the farmer the revered Ganges appeared on the 10th and 11th day of the bright half of Pousha, of the year "Shrimukh" at the bottom of the post of the threshing yard (तिब्ब) at twelve noon. Twelve currents of water full of rice konda sprang up at twelve places. The first गंगापुत्र (Priest) was called 'Kale.' His birth place was Dhopeswar. He left it and went to settle at Konda-vadi near Rajapur by the side of the creek. The farmer's name was Gangaji and his surname Salunka."

The so-called *Madini Puran*¹ also mentions these springs as follows :—

श्रीवृत्त पापेश उवाच—
मम प्राणिप्रियाऽसि त्वमनस्त्वान्नि होमने ॥ ७ ॥
मत्तः कोयन्दशेसु भुक्स्थानमस्ति सुराचितम् ॥
सिद्धचारणयक्षाद्यैतुनिमिश्च सुसेवितम् ॥ ८ ॥
यतोऽण वारिज शोय मृषिमिश्च विनितम् ॥
स्नानार्थं रुचिरं भद्रे उष्णतीर्थमितीर्यते ॥ ९ ॥
उष्णतीर्थं न प्रथितं ग्रामस्तत्र भविष्यति ॥
तत्र स्नास्यन्नि येमर्त्या आर्द्रं वस्त्रेण संयुतः ॥ १० ॥

¹ This so-called Puran is not available in any library to which we have access, and is not mentioned in Aufrecht's Catalogue Catalogorum.

गंगां गत्वाऽमारिहन्ति तेषां यात्राकलं परम् ॥
 उष्णतीर्थार्थं नुष्पाणि च त्वारिहत् प्रमाणतः ॥ ११ ॥
 प्रागभिमुखं यत्स्थानं नानावृक्ष समन्वितम् ॥
 तत्र गच्छादतिष्ठस्व निखिलान् पावनान्कुरु ॥ १२ ॥
 ऋतुपंचकं स्नानात्वं वसंते प्रकटी भव ॥
 सार्धमारदयं भद्रे लोकानुग्रह कारणात् ॥ १३ ॥
 त्रयोदशैस्तीर्थैर्वर्षे स तत्र शुभानने ॥ ^१
 तत्र जप्तं तपस्तप्तं अमौ ययुर्हयते हविः ॥ १४ ॥
 अक्षयं चामवेष्ट्वा पितृणां च संशयः ॥
 महादेव वचः श्रुत्वा गंगा हर्षसमन्विता ॥ १५ ॥
 तथेत्युक्त्वा नमश्चक्रे जगन्म सखिभिः सह ॥
 शौनकादि मुनि श्रेष्ठाः श्रुणुष्व वचनं मम ॥ १६ ॥
 गंगा मनसि योमानस्तसमासितेनैव कल्प्यहम् ॥
 रे रे जन समूह मवतो यद्वितं भवेत् ॥ १७ ॥
 तद्भवामि प्रकर्तव्यं नात्र कार्या विचारणा ॥
 यदा निगमतो मानुस्तदायत्ये शिवाज्ञया ॥ १८ ॥
 स्नानार्थं धूत पापस्य तत्कर्तव्यं प्रयत्नतः ॥
 स्नानं कृत्वोष्ण तीर्थस्य मदमः स्नानमाचरेत् ॥ १९ ॥

श्री सहाद्रि खंडे श्रीधूतपापेश्वरी कथां अध्याय तिसरां श्लोक २७ पैकीं १९.

A free translation of these Sanskrit verses is as follows :—

"Shri Dhootpapeshwar says :—'O Ganges, I love you more than my own soul, hence I request you to go to a place about four miles away from my abode, where I have created a perpetual hot water spring, for sages to bathe, which is termed *Ushana tcertha* or *Unhala*. As days pass by, the village which will arise round this spring will be termed *unhala*. If a human being takes a bath in this hot spring, and still clad in his wet garments goes to the *Ganga* and bathes there again, he will have complete his pilgrimage. So you (Ganges) may live in a place beautified by various trees and shrubs, and about twenty

¹ There is another reading of the above two lines as follows :—

सार्धं मासद्वयं सुभूः स्थेयं दिनानुकंपया ॥ १३ ॥
 त्रयोदशैस्तिर्थैर्वै स्थातम्यं मदनुत्तया ॥

four arrows (about 160 cubits) distance from the hot water spring in a direction between east and south-east, and so you will release the whole mortal world from earthly troubles. You shall be 'out of view for ten months and with the beginning of spring, you shall begin to flow with your thirteen other sisters and remain flowing for two months and a half. *Jap, Tap, Yadhna*, and other austerities performed there will give pleasure to men. At the request of Madhav, the goddess Ganga, was very pleased, and agreed to his request; and at once, bowing to Mahadev, came to the place mentioned by him, with her thirteen friends, and remained there. *Soota* said to *Shounak* and other sages: "I now tell you what Ganga then said. She said: 'I shall appear from to-day whenever the sun will be in the sign *Meen* when you should give a bath to Dhootapapeshwar with my holy water.'"

Such are the legends connected with the origin of the intermittent springs. After they were established, the further history is contained in a 'bakhar' and runs, in summary, as follows:—The news of the existence of these springs rapidly spread, and people began to visit the place for bathing. At first the springs flowed seven years continuously. Then, on a certain day, Prataprudra, the king of Shaila, came to visit the place with his army, his pandits and shastries, and his family priests. He took a bath and sat down to hear the history of the Ganges explained by Vishwambhar who was one of his pandits. He did not show much surprise and said to the pundit: "You say that this Ganga has appeared through devotion, but I cannot believe it, because this kind of springs always appear in hilly country. There are many hot springs like *Pajrai*, *Jogai*, the waters of which are so hot that rice can be boiled in it, and I believe that this spring has a similar origin. You say this is the Ganges from Allahabad, but I doubt it since I have been there myself. *There* the course of the water is constantly shifting; One day where there is water the depth of a lance, the next day is almost dry, while this so-called Ganges flows continuously just the same for seven years. If the springs would only appear every year, and stop flowing at the beginning of the rainy season, then only I would believe in what you say." After speaking thus, the king sat down for dinner near the spring with his followers. While dinner was going on, a hot discussion on the point arose. Suddenly a humming noise was heard like that of a kite in the sky: the springs gradually dried up: and not a single drop of water was left, but only wet mud.

The king became angry, and requested the priests of the spring to bring back the water, and blamed them for its disappearance. He

then resolved that if the springs did not return in fifteen days, both he and the farmer would leave the country.

He ordered a pandit and another attendant to remain near the springs, which they did for twelve days without food. Then they were supplied with food in a dream and drank the water of the springs. On awakening they found the springs re-established, and an additional spring just below where the pandit had lain. The king at this gave 'dakshana' to the pandit with great reverence, and bought the land by the side of Kondalwadi down to the riverside and gave it to the farmer. He also offered one lakh *Honas* to build a ghat, a temple and cisterns, but was ordered in a dream to refrain from building, as if he did the springs would break open the pavements and flow.

The king then went home, and despatched pandits and to find if there were any old references to the springs, and offered a thousand rupees for any information. After seven years one of the Brahmins brought the *Medini puran* from the Kamrup country (Assam), and showed five cantos with a reference to it.

The *bakhar* was completed by a pandit from these verses, which was translated into Marathi by a clerk Narorao Madhyajane Kale. In this it is stated that the religious rites which are to be performed at Benares, Allahabad and Gaya may equally well be performed here. Those of Benares should be performed at the twelve cisterns. Those of Allahabad should be carried out at the hot spring. Those of Gaya should be done at the base of the Banyan tree.

In 1902 Mr. N. B. Rajvade of Rajapur published a short account of the springs. Unfortunately we have not been able, in spite of much effort, to get a copy of his pamphlet. We understand, however, that he strongly argued in favour of the true Ganges' origin of the springs, but so far as we can find he did not add any real new information with regard to them.

There is a grant in existence assigning half the value of the *inam* and *khoti* tenures of the land on which the springs exist to the family of Vadekar-Joshi, the other half being retained by Government. This grant we have seen, as it is in the possession of a member of the family now living in Poona. Its date is 1700 Shak or 1778 A. D. In this grant there is no mention of the intermittent springs, though the hot spring at the foot of the hill is indicated.

An interesting short account of the families of the custodians attached to the springs was given in the magazine *Karmanuk* in May 1902. The

whole place is in the care of a number of families of priests, termed *Ganga putras*, of whose origin we could get no record. Originally, it is stated there were sixty-four families of *Ganga putras*, but only twenty-one families remain. When the *Ganga* flows, the custodians obtain, so we were told, offerings amounting to about eight or nine thousand rupees, provided the flow lasts from one to two months, and provided it does not occur in the rainy season, when the steamers bringing pilgrims are stopped. The money received is divided as follows :—One-eighth is kept for the expenses of keeping the springs in order. The remaining seven-eighths is divided into twenty-two parts. One of these is given for the expenses of keeping the springs in order, and the remaining twenty-one parts are given, one to each family of *Ganga-putras*.

In recent years the springs have flowed with very great irregularity. We are indebted to Mr. S. N. Kurgutkar of Rajapur for a very carefully kept record of the dates on which the springs began to flow on each occasion since 1883, and also of the number of days they remained flowing. These are as follows :—

Date of starting.	Date of stopping.	Days of flow.
14th March 1883 ...	20th May 1883 ...	68
16th June 1885 ...	2nd July 1885 ...	17
30th December 1886 ...	12th February 1887 ...	45
21st October 1889 ...	8th November 1889 ...	18
10th December 1890 ...	29th January 1891 ...	45
6th August 1893 ...	21st August 1893 ...	16
7th July 1895 ...	24th July 1895 ...	18
29th July 1896 ...	15th August 1896 ...	18
5th June 1897 ...	26th June 1897 ...	22
3rd April 1899 ...	17th May 1899 ...	45
4th March 1901 ...	17th April 1901 ...	45
21st April 1902 ...	11th June 1902 ...	52
4th April 1905 ...	8th June 1905 ...	66
27th September 1908 ...	16th November 1908 ...	51
21st March 1910 ...	18th May 1910 ...	59
3rd May 1913 ...	7th June 1913 ...	36

It will be seen, therefore, that the number of days the flow continued has been extremely irregular, varying for 16 days in 1893 to 68 days in 1883. The length of time between the successive flows seems closely connected with the length of time the spring has been flowing on any occasion, and we should anticipate that the next flow will occur after a shorter interval than on the last occasion. The

following table gives the number of days of flow, and the number between successive flows in each case :—

No.	Date.	Length of time flowing.	Time dry before flow commenced.
		Days.	Days.
1	1883	68	.....
2	1885	17	756
3	1886	45	543
4	1889	18	979
5	1890	45	403
6	1893	16	924
7	1895	18	652
8	1896	18	370
9	1897	22	291
10	1899	15	642
11	1901	45	650
12	1902	52	368
13	1905	66	1,031
14	1908	51	1,189
15	1910	59	485
16	1913	36	1,088

The springs have the reputation of never flowing in the rainy season, but Mr. Kurgutkar's records show that this is by no means the case. The dates by months on which the flow has commenced in the last thirty years are as follows :—

Month.	Number of times springs commenced to flow in the month.				
January	None.
February	None.
March	3
April	3
May	1
June	2
July	2
August	1
September	1
October	1
November	None.
December	2

The figures thus show that during thirty-one years, the springs appeared sixteen times: seven times in the rainy season (June-October). But it will be at once noticed that nearly always when they have appeared in the rainy season, the flow has been very short, being 16, 17, 18, 18, 22, and 51 days respectively on the seven occasions, or an average of 18 days, if we exclude the last, but 23 days if this be included. On the other hand when they start in the months during the dry part of the year, they usually flow much longer, the average being 51 days.

The custodians of the springs seem to have no idea when they are likely to start flowing, except that a year or a year and a half after they have dried up they are on the *qui vive* for a new outbreak.

Description of the springs.—The springs themselves are situated in a series of cisterns contained in a compound surrounded by a high wall. These are at different levels, and their arrangement is shown in the plan, drawn to scale, which accompanies this paper. The general view of the cisterns is shown in the photograph, kindly supplied by Mr. R. M. Ranade, Drawing Master at the High School, Rajapur. This photograph shows the banyan tree of the legend and the thirteen open cisterns, while the fourteenth, which is roofed over, is in the building at the rear of the photograph.

The cistern which is roofed over, known as the *Kashi Kunda* is at a lower level than any of the others, and is, with the small *Kunda* near the banyan tree (to be afterwards described) the first to begin to flow. It is (again with the small *Kunda* near the banyan tree) the only one which usually overflows, and from it the overflowing water is discharged through a stone cow's head on to a stone platform from which it flows away into the fields. The actual *Kashi Kunda* cistern is a small one (three feet square) but the water normally overflows into a platform, about 11½ feet square and two feet deep. The actual small cistern is 7½ feet deep.

The series of three *Kundas* (Series A.) immediately to the south of the *Kashi Kunda*, and in the open air, are on a platform five feet higher than the *Kashi Kunda* platform itself. They are of equal size, and about 3 feet 6 inches square, and 2 feet 9 inches deep.

One foot higher than Series A., the largest platform in the compound occurs, including seven ordinary cisterns (Series B.), and one small one at the foot of the banyan tree where the flow always commences. This small cistern, only one foot square, is termed the original 'Ganga.' The water in it is abundant, and overflows continually as long as

there is any water coming at all. This water is allowed to run away by a stone channel into the fields outside the compound.

The other *Kundas* in Series B. vary in size. The largest, $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet square, lies near the original 'Ganga.' To the north of the platform lie three cisterns about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet square, and to the south three others, somewhat smaller, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet square. All the cisterns on this platform are three feet deep. None of them overflows except the largest one, and this does so usually only when the water has not been used for bathing, and then only a little water escapes through the channel provided about nine inches from the top.

The other *Kundas* form a further series (Series C.) to the south of the above, on a platform two feet higher than the last. They are of different size, one being seven feet by six feet in size (*Soorja Kunda*) and the other $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet square (*Chandra Kunda*). The depth of each of these is three feet.

The platforms are composed in all cases of laterite, except the edges of the cisterns which are composed of trap. The only exception is the *Kashi Kunda* whose platform is *entirely* composed of trap.

When we first visited the place in October 1911, there was no water in any of the cisterns. Many of the stones in the pavement of the cisterns were displaced, and we were told that the displacement was due to the force and action of the water when it came. We were told that the source of the water was a underground reservoir situated in a natural hollow surrounded by hills about a mile from the springs. There was no visible sign however at this place to indicate that it was the source of the water. Just to the south of this supposed natural reservoir is a well, which is very deep and whose water is very cold, and has no smell. Whatever be the truth of the story of the reservoir, the water of this well has nothing whatever to do with it.

In the following February (1912), the custodians were expecting the return of the springs, and were repairing the cisterns and the platforms. The stones forming the bottom of the cisterns were put in without any fixing materials. The upper part of the cisterns was well jointed with lime mortar to give an appearance of being strongly built, and admitting none but the Gau ges water from the bottom.

This applies to all the cisterns except the *Kashi Kunda* where all the stones in the lower part of the cistern are fixed with lead, except the bottom one on the south side, thus leaving only a long crack at that side to admit the water. The upper part was fixed with lime mortar as in the other cases.

We paid a third visit in May 1913, when the springs actually had begun to flow. We were told that on May 3rd, a little water was observed in cisterns Nos. 1. (*Kashi Kunda*), 8 (the largest kunda near original *Ganga*) and 14 (original *Ganga*) (see plan). The water was clear at 11 a.m., but then became white in colour, as if it contained either chalk or some similar material. Then the water gradually appeared in the other cisterns, and by evening the water was again clear, and remained so throughout the period of flow.

We went there on May 9th, and took the temperature of every cistern, with the idea of seeing whether there was any likelihood of a connection with the hot spring at the bottom of the hill. The actual temperatures found, were as follows:—

Cistern Number.	Temperatures.
1	31.5°C.
2	28.9°C.
3	28.9°C.
4	29.2°C.
5	28.9°C.
6	28.9°C.
7	28.9°C.
8	31.1°C.
9	30.0°C.
10	30.5°C.
11	29.8°C.
12	31.7°C.
13	31.7°C.
14	32.2°C.
Hot spring at foot of hill..	42.8°C.

From these figures we get the following approximate results:—

<i>Kashi Kunda</i>	...	...	...	31.5°C.
Kundas. Series A.	...	...	...	29°C.
Series B. 5-7	...	...	...	29°C.
Series B. 8	...	...	...	31°C.
Series B. 9-11	...	...	...	30-30.5°C.
Original <i>Ganga</i>	...	...	...	32°C.
Series C....	...	...	...	32°C.

The highest temperatures are found in the springs which actually overflows (Nos. 1, 8, 14) and in Series C. or the cisterns at the highest level. This would appear to indicate that the temperature of the reservoir supplying the springs is 32°C. or little higher, and that the other *kundas* are filled by comparatively slow seepage from this source.

The seepage into Series C. is more immediate than into those of Series A. and B. (except No. 8). It seems likely from the similarity of the temperature in Nos. 2 to 11 (except 8), that these are connected very closely with one another.

This connection between Nos. 2 to 11 (except No. 8) we were able to prove by emptying one of them (No. 3). Slowly the water level in the other eight *Kundas* was lowered more or less according to the position, and the water rose in the emptied cistern. In emptying No. 3, as the level was lowered, that in Nos. 2 and 4 was lowered almost at once. The records were as follows:—

Original depth of water.

No. 2	...	...	...	1 ft. 5 inches.
No. 3	...	..	...	1 ft. 5 inches.
No. 4	...	...	...	1 ft. 6 inches.

After emptying No. 3 till the depth was only four inches, the depths became as follows:—

No. 2	...	...	...	...	1 ft.
No. 4	...	...	...	...	1 ft. 1 inch.

There appeared a regular flow into No. 3 from the direction of No. 6. The water in Nos. 5 to 7, and 9 to 11 was only lowered two or three inches.

Some further openings where water was flowing, beyond the recognised *kundas*, were found to the west of the *kundas*. The southern edge of the platform below the *gaimukh* was leaking with water all along, at a temperature of 32° C., i. e., that of the original *Ganga*, while there were signs of water between the stones to the north of the 'original *Ganga*', and also between the platform of the *Kashi Kunda* and that of Series A.

There seems little doubt, in fact, that the source from which all the springs are supplied lies somewhere under the present large banyan tree, and to this extent the original legend is probably correct. There must be a crack in the rock leading direct to the *Kashi Kunda*, while the others are fed by seepage. This conclusion seems fairly certain for the following reasons:—

- (1) The various cracks in the ground seem to indicate an origin somewhere near the
- (2) In addition to the springs already noted, there are signs of spring water to the west of the tree,—very small in amount but quite visible.

- (3) The 'original *Ganga*', which fills first, has a hole large enough to put the hand in, on the side of the tree, from which the water comes.

There is some evidence that the hot spring at the foot of the hill is fed from the same original source which feeds these springs, but this question we hope to deal with in a later paper on the hot spring itself.

The total quantity of water flowing from the springs on May 9th, 1913, was slightly over six gallons per minute.

Character of the water.—The water in all the cisterns is of very similar character, and this incidentally proves that the springs have all a common source. On the whole the water is remarkably free from saline matter and in this respect is very similar to the hot spring at the foot of the hill. Samples of the water in every *kunda* were analysed,—the samples being taken at night when for several hours there had been no bathers. This, though it does not ensure the absolute natural purity of the water being maintained gives us nearly the natural conditions as the circumstances allowed. The actual total solids in the water of the separate *Kundas* were as follows, in parts per 100,000.

				Parts per 100,000.
No. 1	<i>Kashi Kunda</i>	...	...	30.0
" 2	Series A. {	...	...	37.0
" 3		...	...	31.0
" 4		...	...	34.0
" 5	Series B. {	...	...	36.0
" 6		...	...	Not analysed.
" 7		...	...	30.0
" 8		...	...	31.0
" 9		...	...	28.0
" 10		...	...	28.0
" 11		...	...	31.0
" 12	Series C. {	...	...	28.0
" 13		...	...	25.0
" 14	<i>Original Ganga</i>	...	...	26.0
Hot Spring at foot of hill		...	...	36.0

Too much stress must not be paid on small differences. It is evident that the water contains, as it comes from the spring, about 25 to 30 parts per 100,000 of solid matter, or rather less than the hot spring at the foot of the hill. In all cases the residue charred somewhat on heating, but only very slightly in the case of the 'original *Ganga*,' which represents the water as it originally issues. In all cases, even in the 'original *Ganga*' there is evidence of slight organic impurity

as shown by determination of the oxygen absorbed from permanganate solution, and by that of the albuminoid ammonia. The actual determinations were as follows :—

		Oxygen absorbed in 15 minutes. Parts per 100,000	Oxygen absorbed in 4 hours. Parts per 100,000	Free Ammonia. Parts per 100,000	Albuminoid Ammonia. Parts per 100,000
No. 1	Kashi Kunda...	'040	'055	'0008	'0160
" 2	Series A. {	'049	'057	'0013	'0114
" 3		'027	'123	'0006	'0138
" 4		'021	'144	'0066	'0196
" 5		'116	'252	'0746	'0394
" 6		not done	not done	not done	not done
" 7	Series B. {	'021	'135	'0012	'0114
" 8		'018	'110	'0013	'0076
" 9		'033	'108	'0012	'0172
" 10		'030	'108	'0012	'0112
" 11		'036	'184	'0008	'0092
" 12	Series C. {	'067	'138	'0013	'0114
" 13		'076	'126	'0008	'0116
" 14	Original				
	Ganga. ...	'092	'153	'0013	'0142
Hot Spring at Foot of hill		'032	'083	'0003	'0092

As in all waters derived from the *trap* area, the determination of 'oxygen absorbed' is not of great value in determining organic impurity. The 'albuminoid ammonia' is a much better test. This shows a water (if we eliminate special cases where there is obviously impurity arising from bathing) of only a little below the standard of purity which one is accustomed to associate with surface waters of the Deccan, such as those of the artificial lakes used for the water supply of Poona, &c. In other words it is not a water which has soaked through much surface soil, and has undoubtedly a deep seated source.

The water smelt slightly of what appeared to be sulphuretted hydrogen. There was, however, no chemical evidence whatever of the presence of this substance or of sulphides.

The analysis of the salts in the water is very interesting, though we were only able to carry it out for the commonest constituents. The water, in no case, gives a precipitate on boiling, though there is a large amount of calcium and magnesium carbonates present. These are, as is so often the case in trap waters, nearly always accompanied by a distinct alkalinity (which we have always calculated in terms of sodium carbonate) and an amount of carbonic acid which could only be present as alkaline bi-carbonates. The alkalinity varied a good deal, and it was

curious to find it absent in the 'Original Ganga' while present in the *Kashi Kunda* and all but one of the other sources. The actual figures are as follows:—

		Alkalinity (as Sodium Carbonate.)					
		Parts per 100,000.					
No. 1	<i>Kashi Kunda</i>	...	...	...	...	...	3'7
No. 2	Series A	...	...	...	...	...	2'2
" 3		...	...	...	...	...	3'0
" 4		...	...	...	...	...	0'7
" 5		...	...	...	...	...	0'7
" 6	Series B	...	...	...	...	...	Not done
" 7		...	...	...	...	...	3'0
" 8		...	...	...	...	...	2'2
" 9		...	...	...	...	...	none
" 10		...	...	...	...	...	7'4
" 11		...	...	...	...	...	1'5
" 12	Series C	...	...	...	...	...	2'2
" 13		...	...	...	...	...	0'7
" 14	Original Ganga	...	...	...	...	...	none.
Hot spring at foot of hill		...	...	...	...	...	0'7

On the whole the other constituents varied comparatively little in the different *kundas*. The magnesium and calcium are present in approximately equal amounts, the calcium usually predominating. Chlorides are very constant, while sulphates vary a good deal more. Nitrates were never present in any sample in measurable quantity.

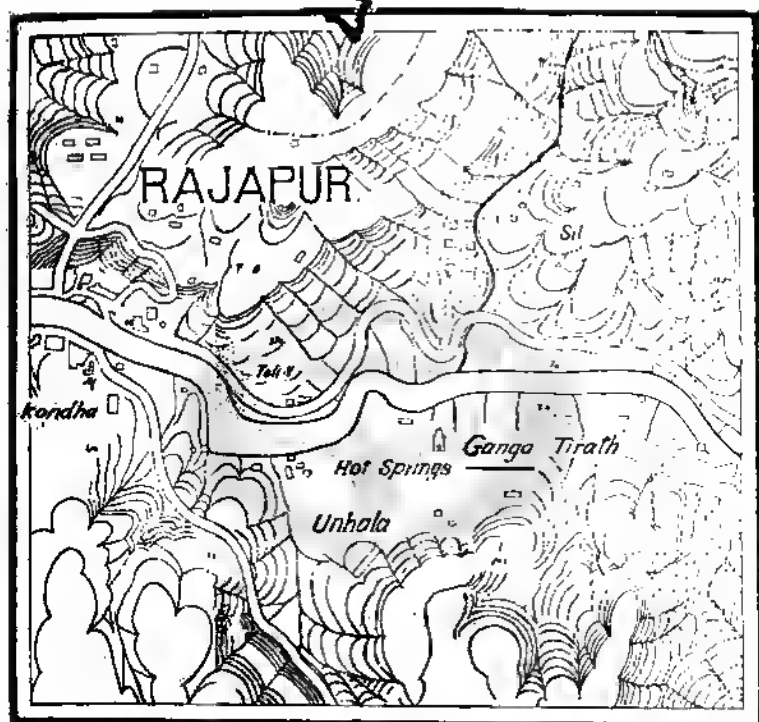
The percentage composition of the salts, so far as our analyses proceeded, is shown in the following tables:—

	Percentage Composition of Solid Residue.						
	Kunda No. 1.	Kunda No. 2.	Kunda No. 3.	Kunda No. 4.	Kunda No. 5.	Kunda No. 6.	Kunda No. 7.
Calcium (Ca.)	9'3	6'5	7'7	8'5	7'8	...	9'3
Magnesium (Mg.)	6'6	4'1	4'2	7'1	6'7	...	9'5
Chlorine (Cl.)	8'8	10'7	10'6	11'6	9'2	Not done.	13'2
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄)	26'1	13'3	8'0	12'1	20'6	...	26'1
Carbonic Acid (CO ₂)	20'9	26'0	26'1	26'4	27'9	...	32'7
Alkalinity (calculated as Na ₂ CO ₃)	12'3	6'0	9'5	2'2	2'1	...	99.

	Percentage Composition of Solid Residue.							
	Kunda No. 8.	Kunda No. 9.	Kunda No. 10.	Kunda No. 11.	Kunda No. 12.	Kunda No. 13.	Kunda No. 14.	Hot Spring
Calcium (Ca.) ...	9.0	7.1	10.0	6.5	8.6	9.6	9.2	8.2
Magnesium (Mg.) ...	4.2	6.2	7.8	5.6	10.9	7.9	10.9	7.9
Chlorine (Cl.) ...	10.6	9.4	9.5	12.8	14.1	13.2	10.1	7.8
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄) ...	25.2	14.7	8.3	11.9	8.8	9.9	6.3	4.6
Carbonic Acid (CO ₂) ...	27.3	28.9	22.2	26.1	32.1	36.0	40.2	45.1
Alkalinity (calculated as Na ₂ CO ₃) ...	7.2	None.	26.4	4.8	7.9	3.0	None.	2.1

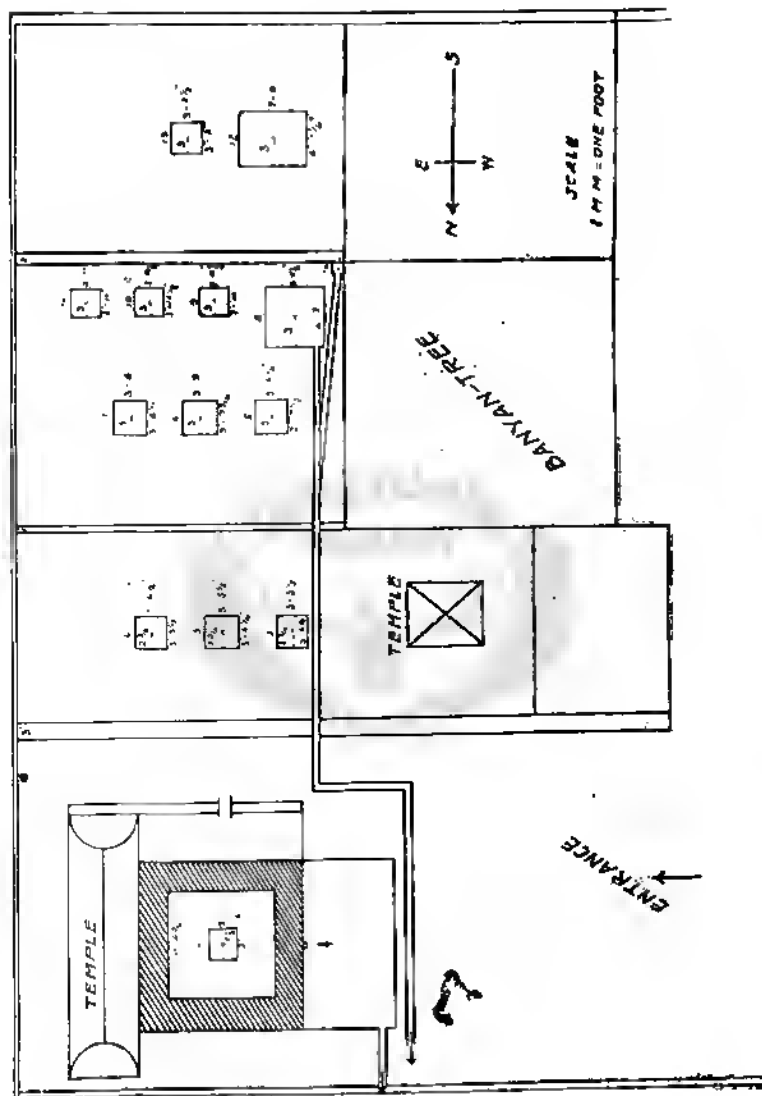
In summary, one may consider the salt content as that of a typical trap water. All the characteristic features of such a water are reproduced here.

Such then is the description of one of the most renowned series of intermittent springs in Western India, and of the flowing of the springs in 1913. Their reputation still remains: the commencement of a flow is still announced in many parts of Western India by the press, and a continual stream of pilgrims begins to arrive, anxious to bathe in the sacred Ganges. We have shown that the water is an ordinary trap water, and while we are not at present able to elucidate exactly the mechanism of this particular spring, there seems no reason to suppose that there is anything extraordinary about it, or that it differs in the manner in which the intermittency is produced from many others which are known in other parts of the world.



Plan of Country round Rajapur.

ART II.



Plan of Enclosure of Intermittent Springs, Rajapur.



Photo by K. M. Bandy, Drawing Master, High School, Kalyan.
General View of Birling Enclave.

ART. III.—*The Solar and Lunar Kshatriya races of India in the Vedas.*

BY

C. V. VAIDYA, M.A., LL.B.

(Read, 6th October 1914.)

It would be proper to state at the outset that I was led to study this subject in my own way on reading Mr. Pargiter's most valuable paper on the Earliest Traditional History of India published in this year's April No. of the journal of the R. A. S. of Great Britain and Ireland. Mr. Pargiter has devoted himself so zealously to the otherwise uninteresting study of the Puranas that he has been able to extract from them interesting information regarding the ancient history of India. His contention that the Puranic genealogies can afford material for constructing that history nobody can now deny and he has shown how that material can be so utilised. A few of his conclusions however will not be acceptable to many, especially his idea that the Solar dynasty of Indian Kshatriyas was Dravidian or that the Lunar Kshatriyas had their original kingdom at Allahabad or Prayaga. Indeed, according to my view, Mr. Pargiter has attached too much weight to the Puranas and has consequently arrived at conclusions which will not be readily acceptable to all. I set myself to study the materials therefore in my own way. Having already studied the Mahabharata and the Ramayana I was able to do so very easily. I looked into the principal Puranas and co-ordinated the facts according to my own light. But I more particularly looked into the Vedic Literature for the study of which Macdonell's Vedic Index proved to be a most invaluable book. In fact the historical material from the Vedas is already collected there and you have only to study it carefully. On this material I have come to certain conclusions of my own which I take the liberty of placing before this learned Society with the hope that they will be found interesting and will be carefully considered.

In two important matters my way of looking at things differs from that of Mr. Pargiter and it is necessary to describe this difference of standpoint in detail. In the first place I make no difference between Brahmin tradition and Kshatriya tradition as Mr. Pargiter does. In fact it is because Mr. Pargiter looks upon the Puranas as Kshatriya tradition and consequently as more reliable that he attaches so much more value to the Puranas than they deserve. Brahmin tradition is usually looked at askance by European scholars who have an inexplicable

bias against the writings of the Brahmins. But I do not take my stand upon this aspect of the matter. What I urge here is that no difference need be made between Brahmin tradition and Kshatriya tradition in this study. The Brahmins and the Kshatriyas were, in ancient times, except on very rare occasions, friends and even accomplices of one another. They came from the same race and even family as appears clear from the genealogies themselves. They stood to each other in the same relation as the Teutonic noblemen in the middle ages, the elder of whom became the prince and the younger the prelate. They were equally interested in exaggerating the glories of one another and were thus not antagonistic. The Kshatriyas extolled the holiness of the Brahmins and the Brahmins extolled the prowess and liberality of the Kshatriyas. In short there is very little discrimination to be made in the reliability of Brahmin or Kshatriya tradition. And I would urge that both of them should be viewed with the same searching scrutiny, neither more nor less than any other human traditions. The Brahmins or the Kshatriyas were certainly not more culpable in exaggerating matters than other peoples of the ancient world. Nay, if anything, I would accord Brahmin tradition greater weight than any other tradition. It is a phenomenon nowhere to be met with in the world that the Brahmins have preserved to this date what their ancient Rishis composed in the shape of hymn or dissertation thousands of years ago, without the addition or alteration of a single word. The Vedic Literature knows no different readings and no different rescensions. It has come down to us without any tampering and hence whatever exaggeration or untruth may have been used in the original composition, we feel sure that no subsequent colouring or emendation or omission has taken place in the course of thousands of years (5,000 at least according to my view). The world must therefore be thankful to the Brahmins for preserving almost hermetically sealed what the Indo-Aryan Rishis said or thought. This difficult task they have accomplished by making it the chief duty of their caste. They have, by several rules, ensured the maintenance of those who make the reciting of the Vedas their sole occupation in life and thus secured the preservation unimpaired of the Vedic Literature. It must be noted here that a similar provision was also made for preserving Kshatriya tradition. In my view if the Vedas recorded Brahmin tradition the Itihasa-Purana recorded Kshatriya tradition. Itihasa was the account of particular kings or events and Purana was genealogies. Genealogies were preserved in India as scrupulously as they were in Egypt, Chaldean, or Palestine. Their recitation was made the caste-duty of the Sutas, or sons born of Brahmin women by Kshatriya fathers. Itihasa-Purana was a branch of study even for Brahmins themselves. Mr. Pargiter seems to be incorrect when he says in a foot-note that the

Brahmins did not care to learn Kshatriya tradition. In the Chhandogya Upanishad we have the Narada-Sanatkumara dialogue wherein Sanatkumara asks Narada "What have you studied?" "I have studied the Rigveda" answers Narada "the Yajurveda, the Samaveda, the Atharva, the Itihasa-Purana, grammar, arithmetic, astronomy, the science of war" and so on. This clearly shows that even Brahmins studied Itihasa-Purana. But it was the special duty of Sutras and the reputed reciters of the Puranas, viz., Lomaharshana and his son were Sutras. Even now modern Kshatriya genealogies are preserved by Bhatas who enjoy equal respect with Brahmins in all Rajput States. The natural desire for preserving genealogies is so great in the Hindu community of the north that even Chamars have their Bhatas who preserve their genealogies and recite them at the time of marriage festivals. In short, the Indo-Aryans had made sufficient provision in their caste-system for the preservation of Kshatriya tradition: a provision which still subsists. My idea is that this system fell into abeyance for some centuries during the rise and progress of Buddhism when caste-system was convulsed or when non-Kshatriya kings during Buddhist or Greek or Shaka times had no interest in preserving Kshatriya genealogies. During several centuries, therefore, say from about 300 B. C. to 300 A. D., these genealogies became neglected and mutilated and when the Brahmins again asserted themselves under the Guptas and reconstructed the Puranas, the materials before them were meagre and incoherent. Hence while the Brahmins preserved their Vedic traditions intact, the Kshatriya traditions in the Puranas are incomplete, conflicting and generally untrustworthy.

This brings me to the second point of difference in my standpoint of view. I look upon the Puranas as the last in the list of our authorities in this study. The information they give is no doubt very valuable; but that information is garbled, is unconnected and incomplete, and is distorted so as to suit new ideas. Hence it must be admitted very cautiously. In fact I may arrange the authorities in this study in the following order, an order which is at once their proper order in point of priority of time as well as priority of value. For it will be easily conceded that whatever is more ancient is also more reliable. To speak in Indian form *पूर्व-वृत्त-प्रमाणम्* should be the rule. The authorities for the construction of ancient or pre-Buddhist history may therefore be arranged as follows:—

(1) *The Rigveda*.—It is almost contemporaneous evidence and as preserved untampered with is very valuable and naturally stands first in this list.

(2) *Yajurveda and Samaveda*.—These are somewhat later in date. I do not bring in the Atharvaveda whose date is so very uncertain.

(3) *The Brahmanas*.—As coming next after the Mantras, their evidence is of great value. They are the utterances of those who have some remembrance of the Vedic times and can speak with authority about them better than any later books.

(4) *The Vedangas*.—By their time the Vedic traditions had become hoary and a matter of speculation as with us. For their own times they are valuable. They are also valuable as coming in date after the Brahmanas. Vedangas include Yaska, Panini, Lagadha and the Kalpa or Shrauta Sutras.

(5) The later Sutras, *viz.*, Grihya and Dharma.

(6) Megasthenes, Arrian and other Greek writers, about the time of Alexander or Seleucus come in here in point of time. The information which they have recorded from personal observation and hearsay is very valuable and must be co-ordinated.

(7) *The Mahabharata*.—The date of the last or present edition of the Mahabharata according to my view is about 250-200 B. C. and hence its evidence is of less value than that of the Greek writers.

(8) *The Harivansha*.—Ditto.

(9) *The Ramayana of Valmiki*.—The date of the present form of the poem is about 100 B. C.

(10) *The Puranas*.—Their dates range from 300 to 900 A. C. and they naturally come last in the list of our authorities.

This is the order of our authorities and we must try to combine all the historical information they afford. Where statements are conflicting greater weight must be attached to the older of the statements. That is the only way in which the vagaries of the Puranas can be checked and one is thus alone able to find some rule for rejecting, as often we shall have to do, the exaggerated, mutilated or emended accounts of the Puranas.

But this does not exhaust the list of our authorities. There are two important new sciences the conclusions of which must be respected and co-ordinated in this study. They are ethnology and philology. The inferences derived from considerations of features and of language with regard to the history of races are very valuable and in recent times these sciences have much advanced. They have been applied to the people

of this country by noted scientists of the west and I think the conclusions which they have arrived at are of great value to us in the inquiry into the racial problems of India. They are therefore fit to be included in the list of our authorities and the value to be attached to their conclusions transcends the value of all other evidence.

I must lastly notice another piece of evidence which will be found to be of great value to us in this inquiry by way of analogy if not directly. I think the ancient history of India resembles to a very large extent the modern history of the discovery and colonisation of America. India was a vast unknown continent covered by forests and inhabited by people very much inferior in civilization, when the Indo-Aryans first discovered the land. The migration of Aryans from some unknown country in the north to several countries is spoken of in the *Vendidad*, I think, and it is stated therein that the Aryans came to *Septa-Simila* but *Aingra Mainyu* visited that land with serpents and heat. In this we have sure evidence that one branch of the Aryans came to India and settled there. Their history must naturally very greatly resemble the history of the colonisation of America with its oft-recurring struggles with the native races but sometimes with the co-operation and willing consent of the milder peoples thereof; and with its intestine strife between the different settlers themselves. The history of America during the first stages, therefore, in my view, has much importance by way of analogy and we may often consult it in our inquiry with advantage.

Having so far stated the materials on which I base my conclusions and the respective value to be attached to them I proceed to sketch some important points in the history of the Solar and Lunar races of Kshatriyas of India in the following pages.

The first fact of importance which we have to notice is that there were two invasions of India by the Aryans. To put it in a different way two hordes of Aryans came into India, of course from the north-west, by different routes and at different times. This fact is disclosed both by ethnology and philology and is supported by tradition. It was perhaps Dr. Hoernle first to point this out and Dr. Grierson has accepted the theory from a consideration of the modern Sanskrit-born vernaculars of India (see *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. I, page 358). The following extract from the last Census Report of India is relevant in this connection.

"These languages, according to Dr. Hoernle, were brought to India by two successive hordes of invaders. After the first horde had settled in the plains of northern India a fresh horde came in and penetrated the original mass like a wedge, blotting out the language in the centre and extending from Ambala in the north to beyond Jubbulpore in the

south and from Kathiawar in the south-west to Nepal in the north-east. Western Hindi is the representative of the languages of these peoples of the second invasion; while that of the earlier invaders covers Rajastani, Punjabi, western and eastern Pahadi and eastern Hindi" (page 325).

This conclusion suggested by a comparison of the several Sanskrit-horn vernaculars of northern India is very strongly corroborated by the conclusions arrived at from ethnological considerations. Sir Henry Risley took ethnological measurements at the time of the Census of 1901 and found that the people of the Punjab and Rajastan were undoubted Aryans with long heads and prominent noses. In the United Provinces he found medium heads and tolerably prominent noses and he looked upon their people as a mixture of Aryans and Dravidians. Now the Aryans who mixed with the Dravidians of the United Provinces must have been Aryans of a different type. They must have been broad-headed Aryans so that their mixture with the long-headed Dravidians has resulted in the medium heads of the present population of the United Provinces speaking generally. We thus find from ethnological considerations also that there were two hordes of Aryans who came into India, the first long-headed and the second broad-headed. The first occupied the Punjab and Rajastan and extended as far east as Mithila and the second came in subsequently like a wedge and mixed with the native Dravidians of the United Provinces now form the chief population of this vast tract. Now this conclusion deduced from both philology and ethnology is supported by tradition. These two Aryan hordes in my view were the two races which are known as the Solar and Lunar races of Kshatriyas from Mahabharata onwards. We have a distinct reference to them in the Mahabharata in a speech of Shrikrishna. This is what he says to Yudhishtira in the Sahbhaparya when the latter proposes the performance of a Rajasuya sacrifice. "Of the two races of Kshatriyas born from the sun and the moon there are at present in India 101 families and of these families the Bhojas of the Lunar race are the most numerous and occupy the middle land." This shows that the Kshatriya families of India in Epic times ranged themselves under two chief races, the Solar and the Lunar, and that the Lunar race, occupying the middle land, had at that time thrown the Solar race into shade. Thus we are fortified in believing that the first race of Aryan invaders was what was subsequently called the Solar race, that it occupied the Punjab and extended onwards along the foot of the Himalayas as far east as Mithila and that the second race of Kshatriyas which came into India subsequently and which was later on called the Lunar race came through Kashmir and like a wedge shoved itself through the territory of

the Sarasvati or Ambala downwards as far south as Kashiwar and Jubbulpore or even further south, covering many Bhoja kingdoms especially the Shourseni, Chedi, Magadha and Vidarbha Kingdoms and the Yadava kingdom of Dvarka. We shall try to see how far this conclusion finds support in the R̥gveda about whose time, of course, these invasions must have taken place.

The chief people of whom the R̥gveda frequently speaks are, as is perhaps well-known, the Bharatas. Now it is a misconception of many scholars, native as well as European, that these Bharatas were the descendants of Bharata, the son of Dushyanta, who is a well-known king of the Lunar race. According to my theory the Lunar race came later and mixed with the aboriginal population of the United Provinces forms the people who at present speak Western Hindi. The difficulty thus presented to me was however solved accidentally in my study and in a proper manner. I found that this Bharata was an entirely different king from the Daushyanti Bharata of later days. I accidentally came across the following shlokas in the Bhāgavata and was struck to see that the idea commonly entertained on the subject was erroneous. Bhāgavata, 11th Skandha, Chapter 2, says :—

प्रियव्रतो नाम सुतो मनोः स्वायम्भुवस्य यः ।

तस्याग्नीध्रस्ततो नाभिर्ऋषमस्य सुतः स्मृतः ॥ १५ ॥

तमाहुर्वासुदेवशो मोक्षधर्मविवक्षया ।

अवतीर्णं सुतवातं तस्यासीद् मक्ष्मपरंगम् ॥ १६ ॥

तेषां वै भरतो ज्येष्ठो नारायणपरमणुः ।

विख्यातं वर्धमेतच्छास्त्रा भारतमुत्तमम् ॥ १७ ॥

Transl. "Priyavrata was a son of the first Manu called Svāyambhuva. His son was Agnidhira and his son was Nābhi and his son was Rishabhā who is believed to have been born of the essence of Vasudeva. He had a hundred sons all well-versed in the Vedas. The eldest of them was Bharata after whom this land is called Bhāratavarsha". In Skandha 5, chapter 7, the same thing has already been stated; अजन्तं नभैतर्षं भारतमिति यत् आरभ्य व्यपदिशति. This clearly shows that India is called भारतवर्ष from Bharata who was a great grandson of the first Manu. This tradition recorded in the Bhāgavata is also found in the Vayu Purana where the line of Svāyambhuva Manu is described in detail. Priyavrata divided the world of seven Dvīpas among his seven sons. Agnidhira got Jambudvīpa and divided it among his sons. Nābhi got a portion of it and his son Rishabhā gave Bharata, his son, land to the south of the Himalayas. Says Vayu, chapter 33

हिमाद्रेर्दक्षिणं वर्षं भरताय न्यवेदयत् ।

तस्मात्तं भारतं वर्षं तस्य नाम्ना विदुर्बुधाः ॥ ५२ ॥

This the tradition of this country being called Bhāratavarsha refers to Bharata, a descendant of the first Manu and not to Bharata, the son of Dushyanta.

Another derivation of this name भारतवर्ष is given in the same Vayu Purana wherein Bharata is identified with Manu himself.

वर्षं यद्भारतं नाम यत्रेयं भारती प्रजा ।

मरणाच्च प्रजानां वै मनुर्भरत उच्यते ॥

निरुक्तवचनाच्चैव वर्षं तद्भारतं स्मृतम् ॥ ७६ ॥

The Matsya Purana gives the same story and repeats this very shloka. This shows that Bharata was also identified with Manu in later tradition. But he never is, we must remember, दौत्यन्ति भरत. The king whose name the land now bears is never thought to be Bharata the son of Dushyanta and Shakuntala, but is always another king much earlier who was born of the first Manu or was Manu himself. In the Nirukta to which reference is given in the Purana shlokas I found that Yaska interprets Bharata as Aditya or the Sun himself (अ० २ पा० १, भरत आदित्यस्तस्य भारती). This then is the tradition of the Nirukta and the Puranas. We shall find that the Rigvedic tradition is also the same and that it frequently speaks of this Bharata and not the later Daushyanti Bharata as I will presently show.

The difficulty then which naturally presents itself is solved. India is called भारतवर्ष not from a king of the later Lunar Kshatriya race but from a king of the earliest Kshatriyas who entered India. Here we have an analogy from American history. America was discovered and colonised by two hordes of people and in different directions just as it happened in India. The Spaniards, the Portuguese, the Italians and the French were the pioneers of discoverers of America. They were all of the Latin race. The subsequent discoverers were the Dutch and the English who naturally went northwards and came to Northern America. They were of the Teutonic race. The whole hemisphere is however called America from one Amerigo, an Italian discoverer, who first set his foot on the Southern Continent and the name has generally been adopted. He was almost a contemporary of Columbus who had only discovered some islands. The honour of discovering the main continent belongs to Amerigo and his name was properly given to the land and has cordially been accepted by all people. The case was exactly similar in

India. Bharata was a famous king of the first Kshatriyas who came to India and his name has been given in the country. The descendants of this Bharata who were subsequently known in Epic times as the Solar Kshatriyas gradually overspread the land from the Indus to the Gandaki or Sadanira, the boundary of the kingdom of Mithila. This is exactly what appears from the Rigveda, our oldest and best authority, as I now proceed to show.

The following information is given under the word Bharata in Vedic Index, Vol. II, page 95. "Bharata is the name of a people of great importance in the Rigveda, where they appear prominently in the third and seventh Mandals in connection with Sudasa and Tritsus, while in the sixth Mandala they are associated with Divodasa." Now I looked into the Rigvedic hymns mentioned here in the original and found that very interesting information could be gathered therefrom. The first thing apparent is that the Vasishthas were the Purohitas of the Bharatas. Now according to later tradition the Vasishthas were never the Purohitas of the Lunar race but served the Solar race throughout. Here is a confirmation of the view that these Bharatas were the people who subsequently were called the Solar Kshatriyas and the Vasishthas who appear also to be called Tritsus were their hereditary priests. The seventh Mandala of the Rigveda consists solely of hymns composed by the Vasishthas and it is but natural that the Bharatas should predominate therein. Rigveda vii 33, is very interesting in this connection. It says that in the fight with the ten kings called दशराज the Bharatas became afraid and defenceless like sticks asunder but Vasishtha by his strength and prayer became their leader and made them victorious. (दण्डा इवेहो अजनास आसन् परिच्छिन्ना भरता अर्भकासः । अभवच्च पुर एता वसिष्ठ आदित्यसुता विशो अप्रथमत् ॥ ३॥) In this hymn the birth of Vasishtha from the dual god Maitra-Varuna and the Apsaras Urvashi is also mentioned. Vasishtha is thus already a mythical person and born of gods. He saved the Bharatas in their difficulty. Secondly, Bharata's fire is frequently spoken of in different places in the Rigveda. The Aryans were worshippers of fire in contrast with the Dasas or aboriginies and hence Bharata's fire must have become a favourite name as typifying the Aryan religion. In Rigveda vii, 8 this Bharata's fire is mentioned as also the original king Bharata (प्रायमग्निर्भरतस्य शृण्वे । अग्नि यं पृष्ठं पूननाम तस्यै ॥ ४॥). "This is Bharata's own fire, he who defeated Piru in battle." In this sentence we have a distinct reference to King Bharata and his exploit is said to be that he defeated Piru. Under the word Piru Macdonell refers to this hymn and seems to interpret Piru as the well known king of the Lunar race, an ancestor of

Dushyanta, who is one of the five sons of Yayati and whose descendants are also frequently mentioned in the Rigveda as Pûrus. But the Shatapatha Brahmana explains in one place that Pûru in this hymn is the name of an Asura. On this Macdonell remarks that the Pûrus had been forgotten so far in the days of the Shatapatha that Pûru had become an Asura-Rakshasa. I have already said that the authority of the Brahmanas as coming immediately after the Mantras and as the utterances of Rishis who had some touch with the Vedic times ought to be given greater weight than all later authorities. In my opinion the Shatapatha Brahmana is here correct and this Pûru whom Bharata defeated must have been some aboriginal king. He cannot be the Pûru who was a son of Yayati and an ancestor of Dushyanta. As shown above this Pûru could not have been a contemporary of Bharata who was a king of the earliest Kshatriyas who came to India. The Lunar Pûru came into India later and the Pûru in this hymn whom Bharata conquered cannot have been that Pûru but some Asura or Rakshasa. One thing is at least apparent from this that if you take by Pûru, the Pûru of the Lunar race, this Bharata assuredly is not his descendant दैव्यन्ति भरत. Thus Bharata whose Agni is spoken of so frequently in the Rigveda is entirely a different and a much earlier king of a different race who fought with Pûru.

This is a digression, but an important and necessary digression. To return to our subject, Vasishtha's hymns (vii, 33 and 8) show that Bharata is the name of a king in the Rigveda, that his Agni is often spoken of and that his descendants were Bharatas whose Purohita was Vasishtha. The next most frequently mentioned subsequent king of the Bharatas is Sudasa whose battle with the ten kings on the banks of the Parushni is spoken of in detail in another hymn of Vasishtha, viz, Rigveda vii, 83 as also in vii, 18. I will speak of this battle further on. But Sudasa in hymn vii, 83, is the same king who fought the battle with the ten kings or दशरज expressly mentioned therein and the Bharatas are also mentioned in vii, 83 as defeated in दशरज or the battle with the ten kings. Other important kings presumably Bharatas whom Vasishtha speaks of (Rigveda vii, 19), are Purukutsa and Trasadasyu as I shall show later on. I shall now proceed to a consideration of the hymns in Mandala iii wherein also the Bharatas are mentioned expressly and by a Rishi whose name is very important.

This third Mandala consists of hymns entirely composed by Vishvamitra as Mandala vii consists of hymns by Vasishtha or his descendants. The first relevant hymn in the third Mandala is 23. This hymn is however said to be composed by Devashrava and Devavata, two

Bharata kings. "The Bharatas lighted or rubbed Agni, *viz.*, Devashrava and Devavata on the banks of the Drishadvati and Apaya and Sarasvati." This clearly shows that the Bharatas extended their occupation of the land as far as Sarasvati in the time of these two kings. The next hymn is iii. 33. It is a very eloquent hymn addressed by Vishvamitra to the two rivers Vipasha and Shatadru (Bias and Sutlej) combined. Probably the Bharatas had arrived at the confluence of these two rivers in some expedition and finding the swift rivers unfordable Vishvamitra prayed to the rivers to become fordable and they became so and the Bharatas were allowed to cross over, the water not touching even the exles of their carts (अथो अक्षाः सिन्धवा सौन्यामिः). "As soon as the Bharatas have passed over, let your streams flow on in rapid motion." (यदङ्ग त्वा भरताः सन्तरेयुः गन्धर्वाय इयिन् हन्वन्तः ।). The third interesting hymn is iii. 53. In this hymn Vishvamitra is represented to have assisted Sudasa by his prayers to Indra (विश्वामित्रो यदवहन्सुदोसमप्रियायत कुशिकेभिरिन्द्र). He even says that his prayer it was which saved the Bharata people. (विश्वामित्रस्य रक्षति ब्रह्मेदं भारतं जनम्). Three or four things, therefore, appear clear from this hymn. First, the Bharata people had already become very numerous, they being called भारत जन. (We have almost an echo here of the present भारतवर्ष). Secondly, their king was Sudasa and that Vishvamitra of the Kushikas saved him and his people by his prayers to Indra. Here we have a confirmation of the chief points in the later Puranic tradition about Vishvamitra. He was born of the Kushikas (whether they were Kshatriyas is not here apparent). Vishvamitra acted as priest to the same Sudasa whose family priest has already been shown to be Vasishtha. Vasishtha and Vishvamitra must therefore have sometimes become enemies. Later tradition of Rama brings in both Vasishtha and Vishvamitra as his friends. Vishvamitra always comes in in the stories of the Solar race kings such as Sudasa and Rama and Harischandra who, according to Vedic tradition, purchased Shunahshepa to redeem his son Rohita from a vow to Varuna. Vishvamitra saved this Shunahshepa by praying to Varuna and adopted him as Devarata or given by the gods. Shunahshepa's hymns are to be found in Rigveda Mandala I, and they plainly refer to this story of the Brahmanas. Vishvamitra is a person who figures in the history of the Bharatas in the Vedas and also in that of the Solar Kshatriyas of the Epic days and thus we are fortified in our conclusion that they are the same people. Sudasa is a Bharata king in the Vedas and he is a Solar king in the Puranas. His story is given in the Ramayana Uttarakanda Chap. 65, where Valmiki tells Shatrughna that Sudasa was one of his ancestors and that his grand-

son quarrelled with his Guru Vasishtha and became कृष्माश्वत् who again appears to have been assisted by Vishvamitra. Thus the rivalry between Vasishtha and Vishvamitra continues throughout the Vedic and the Epic tradition. Vasishtha assists Sudasa in the battle with the ten kings on the banks of the Parushni and Vishvamitra assists him in his eastern progress and enables him by his prayer to ford over the Vipasa and the Suttlej. I may add, Vishvamitra always figures in the Bharata or Solar race history, but he does not do so, to my knowledge, in the history of the Lunar race, a fact on which I will comment later on.

The next Mandala which mentions the Bharata people is the sixth wherein their king Divodasa is mentioned. This Mandala again consists of hymns principally or almost solely composed by Bharadvaja Barhaspatya or Bharadvaja, son of Brihaspati. The principal hymn which we have to refer to here is vi, 16. It is a long hymn and mentions Bharata, the Bhārata people, the Agni of Bharata and king Divodasa more than once. It also mentions Bharadvaja himself. (त्वमिमा वायं पुरु दिवोदासाय सुवते । भरद्वाज्य दाशुषे । 5, आग्निरगामि भारतो बृवहा पुरुचेतनः । दिवोदासस्य सत्यसि । 19, म देवं देववीतये भारता वसुवित्तमम् । आ स्वे यो नौ नि वीदतु । 41.) Surprise is expressed by some scholars (see Vedic Index) that Divodasa who is always spoken of in the Rigveda as the father of Sudasa should be associated with Bharadvaja while his son is always spoken of with Vasishtha and Vishvamitra. But I do not think there is matter here for surprise. The Vasishthas were undoubtedly the Purohitas of the Bharatas. They plainly appear so from the Rigveda itself. But that does not prevent other Rishis coming in religious relations with the Bharatas. Vishvamitra does so admittedly with Sudasa and so might Bharadvaja come in contact with his father Divodasa. It is curious to see that the contact of Bharadvaja with the Solar race people appears also in the Ramayana wherein the same Rishi or his descendant comes in the story with his affection for Rama and Bharata and his friendship with their father.

Such then are the coincidences which make it almost certain that the Bharatas of the Rigveda are the oldest Aryans who came to India and spread over the land from the Indus eastward as far as the Sarayu which is mentioned in three Rigvedic hymns. Their Rishis were Vasishtha and Vishvamitra and Bharadvaja, actors in the story of the Ramayana also and other legends of the kings of the Solar race. The kings of the Bharatas mentioned in the Rigveda are Bharata, Divodasa, Sudasa, Devashrava and Devavata and probably Purukutsa and Trasadasyu; and finally, we find, in one hymn of the

teenth Mandala Rama himself. Now Bharata, according to the Nirukta, is the Sun and he is also Manu and again a king of the first Kshatriyas who came to India, of the first Manu's race according to the Puranas. Sudasa is a Solar race king, as per Chapter 63 Uttarakanda already noticed, wherein the son of Sudasa's story is related. He was about to curse Vasishtha, but was prevented by his wife who implored him to remember that Vasishtha was their family priest. The shloka in the Ramayana is as follows :—

युष्माकं पूर्वजो राजा सौदासस्तस्य भूपतेः ।

पुत्रो वीर्यसहो नाम वीर्यवानतिशायिकः ॥

In this वीर्यसह who became कल्मषपाद, with feet blackened by the water taken for the curse, is said to be a son of Sandasa, who again is said to be an ancestor of Shatughna. And a Sudasa is actually found in the Puranic genealogy of the Solar race with his son Kalmashapada though his father is not Divodasa of the Vedas. I am of opinion that the Puranic genealogy must be considered to be here incorrect and must give precedence to the Rigvedic tradition which makes Sudasa a son of Divodasa and a grandson of Pijavana. Divodasa and Sudasa are found in Lunar race genealogies also, but the Rigvedic Sudasa is undoubtedly a Solar king; for his Purohita is Vasishtha both according to the Rigveda and the Ramayana. And hence Sudasa's father Divodasa must also be treated as a Solar king. Next Purukutsa and Trasadasyu are Solar race kings in the Purana genealogies and they are found nowhere else. And we have a confirmation of the same in the statement of the Shatapatha Brahmana (see Vedic Index) that they were Aikshvaka kings or kings of the race of Ikshvaku. Thus the names of the original Bharata and later kings as identified by the Brahmana and Purana traditions coupled with their association with the Purohita Vasishtha make it almost convincingly clear that the Bharatas of the Rigveda are the Solar race Kshatriyas of the Epics. These Bharatas appear to have spread from the Punjab as far east as Ayodhya even in the time of the Rigveda. I had formerly been of opinion that the Rigvedic Aryans had not gone much beyond the Ganges. But the fact now found that the Sarayu* river of Ayodhya is mentioned

* The Sarayu is mentioned in three Vedic hymns (Vedic Index). In the note on Sarayu Macdonell thinks that it is the Ayodhya river; but he refers to the opinion of some Vedic scholars, that it is the Kramu or Kurru of Afghanistan. In x, 64, it seems to be an Afghanisthan river. But in x, 61, it is associated with सरस्वती and सिन्धु and must be a large river like the R. Indus, for it is apparently a large river and seems also to be the river of Ayodhya. It may be stated here that Harasvati and Harayu are also rivers of the Zend people. These probably are old Aryan names which the Indo-Aryans in their new settlement in India assigned to Indian rivers, much as they did in America and elsewhere.

thrice in the *Rigveda*, makes it clear that they had already spread that far. The mention of Rama, the illustrious hero of Ayodhya, in the tenth Mandala of the *Rigveda*, becomes thus consistent and proper. The Aryans might even have gone still eastward as far as Mithila, which though not mentioned in the *Rigveda* is associated with Gotama; for Gotama is represented to be the Purohita of the Mithila Kshatriyas as Vasishtha is of the Koshala Kshatriyas and Gotama, the husband of Ahalya, is a Vedic Rishi and the composer of Vedic hymns. Such is then the history of the progress of the first Aryan invaders of India, *viz.*, the Bharatas, later called the Solar Kshatriyas and hence we see why their languages at both ends, *viz.*, the Eastern Hindi and the Punjabi, are allied to each other.

Having so far spoken of the Bharatas or the Solar Kshatriyas with their first famous king Bharata who gave his name to the whole country, *viz.*, Bhāratavarsha and their subsequent kings Divodasa and Sudasa, Purukutsa and Trasadasya and their Rishis, Vasishtha and Vishvamitra, Gotama and Bharadvaja, we will go on to consider the history of the advent and progress of the second horde of Aryan invaders, *viz.*, the Lunar Kshatriyas. They are also a *Rigvedic* people but they evidently appear to be a later one, although of the same race, language and religion. Their history resembles very much the history of the advent and progress of the Dutch and the English settlers in America. These, unlike their predecessors the Spaniards and the French, lived generally in friendly relations with the aborigines. Nay, they had regular treaties with what were called the Five Nations. They eventually came into conflict with the earlier settlers and their fights with them were often long and bloody. They were assisted in these fights by their aboriginal allies. Finally they conquered the Spaniards and the French and appropriated the whole of the Northern portion of America, which has now become Teutonic America. Central and South America remained in the hands of the Latin races or the first invaders and is often now appropriately styled Latin America. Their religion, though Christian, was and still is different from the religion of the subsequent invaders, *viz.*, the English and the Dutch. This short sketch of the history of the colonisation of America by the Teutonic and Latin Aryans of the west will show how strongly it corresponds with the history of the colonisation of the continent of India by the Indo-Aryans of the east.

The first Aryans who came to India were the Bharatas of the *Rigveda* and we have identified them on strong grounds with the Solar race Kshatriyas of the *Epics*. The identification of the second horde of Aryan settlers with the Lunar Kshatriyas of the *Epics* and the *Puranas* is still

more certain and complete. The first fact which deserves to be mentioned is, what was almost a revelation to me, that the Yadus, the Turvashas, the Anus, the Druhyas and the Pûrus are mentioned in the *Rigveda* very frequently and often together. The first two are mentioned together still oftener. They were, therefore, clearly allied races and the first two were particularly allied. They are mentioned sometimes in the singular and sometimes in the plural which shows that Yadu and Turvasha and Anu, Druhyû and Pûru were individual kings who gave their names to the races sprung from them. Here there is a clear coincidence with and confirmation of the Epic and Puranic version according to which they were the five sons of Yayati, an ancient king of the Lunar race. Yadu and Turvasha were Yayati's sons by his first wife Devayani, the daughter of Shukra and the other three were his sons by his second wife Sharmishtha, the daughter of the Asura or Persian king Vrishaparva. Hence, while sometimes all are mentioned together, we see why sometimes Yadu and Turvasha only are spoken of together in the *Rigveda*. The Puranas and the Epics give the name Turvasha of the *Rigveda* as Turvasu; but, I think, they do so to bring it in consonance with the other four names which end in u. The identification is otherwise complete and this little difference cannot count. The second fact of importance is that the *Rigvedic* hymns sometimes speak of these people with abhorrence, as people who should be killed or suppressed, and sometimes they speak of them with respect and affection. The Vedic Rishis sometimes invoke the blessings of their gods on them and implore them to give them power and prosperity, but they often ask their gods to destroy or defeat them. This clearly indicates that these people came later and were for some time intruders and therefore hated as enemies by the first settlers. They, however, eventually settled in certain lands and were then invoked blessings upon, being Aryans and professors of the same religion as the first settlers with certain differences only. This also explains the Puranic tradition that the Lunar Kshatriyas many times fought with the Solar Kshatriyas and eventually became supreme lords of the middle land. I will now proceed to set forth detailed proofs of these statements from the *Rigvedic* hymns and trace the history of the advent and progress of this second race of Kshatriyas.

The ancient ancestor of these Kshatriyas was, according to the Puranas, Purûrvas. Now Purûrvas is also a *Rigvedic* name. He is even there a mythical person. He probably lived in the Himalayas and married the heavenly nymph Urvashi. He learned from the Gandharvas how to produce fire and worshipped it. This clearly indicates that he was also a fire worshipping Aryan like the first race of invaders. He lived in the Himalayas about the Gandhamadana mountain and

among the Uttara Kurus so to speak, according to the Puranas, as also according to the Brahmanas. This shows that the ancestors of these Lunar Kshatriyas lived beyond the Himalayas and thus these people must have come from thence. Pururavas' son was Ayu and his son was Nahusha, names of which mention is also made in Rigvedic hymns. His son was Yayati who married two wives, Devayani and Sharmishtha according to the Puranas and had two sons by the first wife and three by the second, a circumstance which finds support from the Rigveda as already stated. This Yayati is also mentioned as a fire-worshipper in the Rigveda. He appears to have still been beyond the Himalayas and it was his sons who came to India and settled, like a wedge in the previous Aryan settlement, about the region of the Sarasvati or as we might say Ambala.

It must, here, be stated that the story of the Puranas, that Yayati ruled in Prayaga and divided the land of India among his five sons in a certain manner must be rejected as a later theory started by the last editors of the Puranas. Mr. Pargiter seems to accept it; but it appears to me that this story conflicts with the inferences derivable from the Rigvedic references; and I think that the now generally accepted belief that the Aryans both of the first and the second race of invaders came from the north-west and gradually spread themselves over the land is more probable. As I have already said, where the Puranas and the Rigveda conflict, greater credence ought to be given to the Rigvedic version. Now in the Rigveda we have a distinct mention that Pûru was settled on both the banks of the Sarasvati (Rigveda vii, 96). Pûru, therefore, could not have got the middle land about Allahabad according to the Puranas. And how could he come to occupy the banks of the Sarasvati? For the other portions of India were also, according to the Puranas, given to his four brothers. The Puranic version must have become current about 300 A.D. naturally enough. By that time the Indians had lost all memory of the Aryans having come from beyond the Himalayas and their land from the beginning was what they had occupied so long. The centre of their land was at Prayaga in the Puranic days. They saw that Rama, their greatest hero, was at Ayodhya, also in the centre and they thought Ayodhya was the first and oldest kingdom of the Solar Kshatriyas founded by Manu himself. Though Krishna belonged to Mathura, the greatest line of the Lunar race was that of the Pauravas and the last Paurava king of fame, Udayana (immortalised together with his minister Yaugandharayana by Gunadhyā in his Brihatkatha), belonged to Prayaga or Kaushambi more correctly. Hence they represented Prayaga as the centre and origin of the Lunar race. The Puranic division of Bharatavarsha

among the sons of Yayati does not again represent history but the state of things that existed in the time of the Puranas or the time nearest to them. As Mr. Pargiter has himself shown (see page 273, J.R.A.S., 1914), Pūru got the middle kingdom according to the Puranic version of Yayati's division of India and the Pauravas were then supreme about Allahabad. Yadu got the south-west and they were in the south-west at that time occupying Kathiawar and Maharashtra and Ujjain. Turvasu got south-east and, according to the Puranas, the Pandya, Chola and other kingdoms of the south belonged to Turvasu's line. Druhyu got the west and Anu the north. The Anavas were according to the Puranas the ancestors of some of the Punjab kings, while Druhyu, according to them, was the ancestor of the Gandhara and other western people. Mr. Pargiter himself hereafter observes: "These positions agree with the subsequent notice of the Yadavas and the Anavas" (Page 274). In my opinion it is the subsequent position of these and Pūrus and Turvasus which misled the Purana's last editors into this story of Yayati ruling in Prayaga and dividing the Indian empire among his sons in the particular manner. The last positions of the Solar and Lunar races, *viz.*, Ayodhya and Prayaga, were taken to be their first positions by these last editors of the Puranas, because they had no idea whatever of the real course of history, *viz.*, that the Aryans spread from the north-west to the south-east and south. But Purūrava, even according to the Puranas, was north of the Himalaya about Gandhamadana, the region assigned subsequently to the Uttara Kurus and his son and grandson were probably still there. Yayati's sons came to India and Pūru probably first occupied the Sarasvati tract and it is from hence that the Lunar race spread south-east and south which were not occupied by the Aryans and also tried to oust the first settled Aryans in the east and the west, *i.e.*, in the Punjab and in Oudh. I think Dr. Grierson's theory based on language that the population of the U. P. expanded from its original seat near the Upper Ganga and the sacred river Sarasvati seems to be supported by the oldest evidence of the Rīgveda and is more probable than the last Puranic version that it spread from Allahabad westward towards Kurukshetra.

This is a digression no doubt but again a necessary and important one. I should reject the Puranic version on this point and accept the story of the occupation of the region of the Sarasvati first, by the Pūrus as evidenced by Rīgveda vii, 96 (उभे यज्ञे महिना गुप्ते अन्धमी अधिभिषमिन् पुरः) a hymn to Sarasvati. Here they became strong and firmly settled. Here the Lunar race evolved its civilization. Here came to be the most sacred land in India, *viz.*, the region of the Sarasvati. Here the later Aryans flourished in Kurukshetra. Here was the language most pure-

Here the Lunar people appear to have come from beyond the Himalayas by Gilgit and Chitral and perhaps from about the Manasa lake and not by the usual pass in the north-west, *vis.*, the Khyber. For it appears even from the Brahmanas that the speech of the Uttara Kurus and the Kuru Panchala was similar and was considered specially pure. (See Vedic Index under Kuru.) Dr. Grierson remarks that even now in the language about Gilgit and Chitral "words are still in everyday use which are almost identical with the forms they assumed in the Vedic hymns and which survive only in a corrupted state in the plains of India." (*Imp. Gas.* Vol. I, page 356). The evidence of the Rigveda, the Brahmanas and the actual present state of the Himalayan languages lead one to believe that the Lunar people of the second Aryan invasion descended first into the region about the Sarasvati or modern Sirhind, through Himalayan passes and thence spread elsewhere. Taking this fact as our basis we will now proceed to discuss the history of these Lunar races as disclosed by the Rigvedic hymns.

The first and most important hymn to which I have to refer is Rigveda i, 108. This is addressed to the two gods, Indra and Agni, and says in verse 8, "Oh Indra and Agni, even if you be among the Yadus and the Turvashas, the Druhyus, the Anus and the Pûrus, you come here and drink the Soma juice prepared for you."

यदिद्राक्षी यदुषु तुर्वशेषु यदद्रुह्यनुषु पूरुषु स्थः ।

अतः परि वृषणा वा वि यातमथा सोमस्य पिबत सुतस्य ॥ ८ ॥

Now this verse uses the words in the plural and shows that the Yadus, Turvashas, Druhyus, Anus and Purus had become peoples. Secondly, they are also allied peoples and among themselves formed two sets, the first two and the other three. Thirdly, they were Aryans, and worshipped the same gods as the other Vedic Aryans, *vis.*, Indra and Agni. Thus all the chief points in connection with the Lunar Kshatriyas are apparent in this one verse of the Rigveda. It must also be noted that the Rishi or composer of this hymn is Kutsa Angirarasa, the relevancy of which fact I will explain later on.

The next point of importance is that these allied races of the Aryans came into conflict with the Bharatas or the earlier settled Kshatriyas in different regions. The first king of the Bharatas with whom they fought appears to be the same Divodasa who was of so great a fame among the Vedic Rishis as a generous donor. His favourite appellation in the Rigveda is Atithigva or one to whom Atithis or guests go. The first hymn to be noticed on this point is Rigveda ix, 61, verse 2. "Indra broke the castles and towns of Shambara for the

sake of Divodasa and then smote Yadu and Turvasha" (I usually take the sense as translated by Arnold *पुरः सद्य इत्यादिभिर्दिगोदासाय शम्बरम् । अथ स्य तुर्वशे यदुम्* h) Here is a reference to the aid of Indra given to Divodasa to conquer his aboriginal enemy Shambara and then his Aryan enemies Turvasha and Yadu. There is another reference to a fight between Aryan Bharata kings with Yadu and Turvasha about the river Sarayu in which the Bharata kings are said to have been killed, a hymn already noticed, *अ०. Rigveda iv, 30 (उत त्या तुर्वशायद् अस्मानरो शचीपतिः । इजो विहीं अपास्यद् ॥ १० ॥ उत त्या सद्य आर्यो सरयोरिन्द्र वारताः अर्णविरत्यादिः ॥ १८ ॥)*. But the most important fight between the Bharatas and the later Aryans was the fight called दशरत्न or fight with the ten kings. It is noticed in three hymns composed by Vasishthia and given in his Mandala, *viz.*, the seventh. It was fought between Sudasa, the Bharata king, assisted by his Purohita Vasishthia and five aboriginal kings and the five Aryan peoples, Yadu, Turvasha, Anu, Druhyu and Pūru. It was fought on the banks of the Parushni or the modern Ravi of the Punjab. The first hymn to be noticed is vii, 18. The Vedic hymns are, of course, always composed in praise of certain deities and cannot ordinarily be expected to contain historical information. But even the Vedic Rishis in their hymns to their gods could not avoid mentioning prominent past or contemporaneous events and hence it is that we are enabled to glean some historical information about these hoary times in the past. The hymn vii, 18, is an eloquent hymn by Vasishthia and contains a vivid description of the battle of Sudasa with his ten opponent kings. The hymn is not fully intelligible but it appears certain to most Vedic scholars that Sudasa in this battle conquered the ten kings leagued against him on the banks of the Parushni, which, while he forded easily and safely by the aid of Vasishthia's praise of Indra, drowned his enemies and many of these were killed. Sudasa was first in a difficult plight and the ten kings hoped to plunder him but after all, the river suddenly submerged them as they were trying to divert its stream and it was Sudasa eventually who got great plunder. Six thousand Anus and Druhyus who were taking cattle, says the hymn, slept on the battlefield. This is what can be gathered about this fight from this important hymn. The Aryan kings were, of course, Turvasha, Yadu, Anu, Druhyu and Pūru. Yadu is not specially mentioned but he must be taken to be included in Turvasha. The aboriginal tribes mentioned are Pakhtas, Bhūlānas, Bhāmantāins, Vishanīs and Shivas. A great deal of conjectural information can be derived from these names; for instance, the Pakhtas are some modern Afghan tribes among whom the name Pashtu is still pronounced according to Dr. Grierson as Pakhta. Or that the Vishanīs might be some aboriginal people who tied to their heads pairs of horns like some modern rude races of America.

But that there were Aryan and non-Aryan kings leagued against Sudasa in this fight is not a matter of conjecture but is what is expressly mentioned in another hymn which I next proceed to notice. It is hymn vii, 83, by Vasishtha also, wherein he says that the gods Indra and Varuna assisted king Sudasa when he was opposed by his Aryan and Dasa enemies. (दासा च वृषा हतमार्गोणि च मुदासमिश्रा बह्णावसावतम्.) "You smote and slew his Dasa and Aryan enemies and helped Sudasa with favour"—Arnold's Translation. There is a further clear reference in the hymn to ten kings attacking Sudasa. (यत्र राजभिर्देशभिर्निबाधितं न मुदासमावतं नृत्सुभिः सह; "You protected Sudasa with the Tritsus when he was oppressed by the ten kings." It thus appears clear that there were in this battle ten kings, five Aryans and five non-Aryans, whose names we have already given. It seems to be a great effort by all the new Aryan invaders with their aboriginal friends to suppress the first settled Aryans, viz., the Bharatas. But in this they failed and Sudasa with Vasishtha's help prevailed. The five aboriginal peoples correspond curiously enough to the Five Nations of American history leagued with the English in their fights against the French; and we have thus one of those many curious analogies in history which suggest and support the saying "History repeats itself." And, as in American history, although Sudasa, the older Aryan king, prevailed in this battle, his race was eventually overshadowed by the later invaders as I now proceed to show.

In hymn vii, 19, Vasishtha appears to speak of the Pûrus in a favourable manner though he still refers therein to the defeat of Yadu and Turvasha by Divodasa. This hymn seems to give ground to some Vedic scholars to think that Purukutsa was a Pûru king and hence I think it proper to give a detailed translation of two of its verses. (त्वं धृष्ट्यो धृष्टता वीतहव्यं प्रायो विप्रभिरुक्तिभिः मुदासम् । न पौरुकुत्ति वसदस्युमावः क्षेत्रसाता वृत्रहत्येषु पूरुम्॥) "You, Oh valient Indra, protected, by all your protection, Vitahavya and Sudasa and Trasadasyu, Purukutsa's son and Pûru in his fight with the Vritras (or aboriginies)." In this verse many kings are mentioned and I would take each separately and thus treat Pûru as different from the preceding Trasadasyu. In fact, as I have already said, the authority of the Brahmanas is supreme in this matter and Purukutsa and Trasadasyu being, according to the Shatapatha, Aikshvaka or descendants of Ikshaku, cannot be Pûrus or descendants of Pûru. There are other kings also mentioned in this hymn, viz., Kutsa (verse 2), and Dabhati who killed the aboriginal (दस्यु) enemies, Chumuri and Dhuni (verse 4). And in verse 8, we have a mention of the Atithigva (i.e., of course Divodasa) for whose sake Indra killed Yadu and Turvasha (नि त्वर्षं नि यादं शिशोश्चान्तिथिगवाय शंस्यं करिष्यन्). Thus then it appears that at

the time of this hymn composed by some Vasishtha, the Pûrus had become settled and popular while the Yadus and Turvashas were still considered the enemies of the Aryans. Other hymns show that even the Yadus and Turvashas became eventually settled in the country and reconciled with the first Aryans and are mentioned favourably by composers of hymns. In many hymns the blessings of Vedic deities are invoked on even Yadus and Turvashas. These hymns are principally to be found in Mandala viii, which consists of hymns chiefly composed by the descendants of Kanva. They are (as shown in the Vedic Index) 4, 7, 9, 10, and 45 of this eighth Mandala. Hymn 4 is by देवालिपि काण्व and mentions the Kanvas often and also Turvasha and Yadu, and Kanva is said to have taken 6,000 cows from a Turvasha king. Hymn 7 is by पुनर्वसु काण्व and praises the favour of Maruts shown to Yadu, Turvasha and Kanva. (येवाव पुनर्वसु यदु येन कण्वं धनसूतम् । राये सुतस्य धीमहि). In hymn 9 Shasha-Karna Kânva (शशकर्ण काण्व) invokes the favour of the Ashvins on Yadu and Turvasha and Kanva (इमे सोमासो अघि तुर्वशे यदाविमे काण्वेषु वामथ ॥ १४). Hymn 10 is by पगथ काण्व to the Ashvins whose favour is invoked on Anu, Druhyu, Yadu and Turvasha in different directions (see verse 5). Lastly, in hymn 45, विशोक काण्व the Rishi praises Indra and Agni and says that undeniable strength was given by them to Yadu and Turvasha. (सत्यं तच्चुर्वशे यदौ विदानी अन्धदाय्यम् ॥ २७). All these different notices of Yadu and Turvasha and even of Anu and Druhyu are favourable and found in hymns by Rishis of the Kanva family. The natural inference from this is that they had established themselves by this time and that their Rishis were the Kanvas or persons born in the Kanva family. A remarkable confirmation of this fact is found in the Purana and also Brahmana tradition in that the Purohita of Daushyanti Bharata was Kanva and Dushyanta got Shakuntala from Kanva's Ashrama. Thus Vedic and Puranic traditions lead us to believe that the Purohitas of the Lunar race or rather of the Yadus and Turvashas were Kanva and his descendants. The same idea is, I think, expressly supported by a hymn in the first Mandala which I proceed to notice. Hymn i, 36, is by Ghaura Rishi and is in praise of Agni. In this hymn Kanva is frequently mentioned and along with him Turvasha and Yadu. See verses 17 and 18. (अग्निर्वेषे सुवीर्यमग्निः कण्वाय सोममम् । अग्निः प्रावन्मिषोत मेध्यातिथिमग्निः सता उपस्थितम् ॥ १७ ॥ अग्निना तुर्वशं यदुं परावत उपदेव इवायहे ॥). I think we shall not be far wrong if, from all the hymns of the Kanvas relating to Yadu-Turvasha in the eighth Mandala and this in the first by Ghaura, we infer that Kanva stood in the same relation to Yadu-Turvashas or the Lunar race Kshatriyas as Vasishtha stood to the Bharatas or Solar race Kshatriyas. It may here be mentioned that

the Puranic genealogy derives Kanva from the family of Pūru himself, i.e., from मतिनार, tenth descendant of Pūru and some fourth ancestor of Bharata. (See Harivansha I ch. 32.)

The next hymns to be noticed mentioning Yadu-Turvashas favourably are Rigv. i, 54, by Savya Angirasa to Indra, verse 6 (त्वमाविथ नर्यं तुर्वशं यदुं त्वं तुर्वीति वयं शतक्रतोः १), and i, 108, already noticed, by Kutsa Angirasa, in which all the five Yadu, Turvasha, Anu, Druhyu, and Puru are mentioned together. I said before in noticing this hymn that I would explain the relevancy of its Rishi later on. This is the place to record the remark that the Angirasas appear to be other Rishis who are connected with the Lunar Kshatriyas. The Rishi of i, 36, is Ghora and he appears to be an Angirasa, and of i, 54 is Savya Angirasa, so that in all the three hymns of the first Mandala, viz., 36, 54 and 108 in which the Yadu Turvashas are favourably mentioned, the Rishis are Angirasas (Ghora, Savya and Kutsa). Now in the Chhandogya Upanishad it is mentioned that one Ghora Angirasa taught a certain Vedantic doctrine to Krishna Devakiputra who is presumably the Yadava Shri-Krishna of the Mahabharata. The Angirasas, therefore, also appear to be the favourite Rishis of the Lunar race in addition to the Kanvas as Vishvamisra was of the Solar race in addition to Vasishtha.

The remaining hymns in favour of the Yadu Turvashas are i, 174, by Agastya to Indra, iv, 30, by Vamadeva (about Sarayu already mentioned), v, 31, by Avasyu Atreya, vi, 45, by Shamyu Barhaspatya and x, 49, by Indra Vaikuntha in which Nahusha is also mentioned; see verse 8 (अहं सप्तहा नहुषो नहुषः प्राधावयं शवसा तुर्वशं यदुम्). The first of these hymns must be specially noticed as the reference therein to Samudra is somewhat strange if interpreted literally as is done by Arnold. The verse is (त्वं धुनिरिन्द्र धुनिरतीर्कणोरपः सीरा न स्रवन्तीः । प्र यत्समुद्रमति शूरं पथि पारया तुर्वशं यदुं स्वस्ति ॥) If this line means that Indra should take Yadu and Turvasha safely over the sea, Yadu and Turvasha must be taken to have crossed it like Bhujyu, the favourite seafaring king of the Rigveda whom the Ashvins are said to have safely brought over the sea in their own boat. Had the Yadus and Turvashas progressed as far as the sea in the days of the Rigvedic Rishis? Some Aryans had undoubtedly done so, as, for instance, the above-mentioned Bhujyu and it may perhaps be that the Yadus had also travelled so far in those days. The word Samudra in the hymn has, however, been taken to mean the sky where the heavenly waters burst. In v, 35, above-mentioned, Indra is also said to have stilled the flooded waters of the Sudugha for Yadu and Turvasha who were beyond these waters. Thus the progress of the Yadus and Turvashas across rivers and even up to the sea may be taken to be indicated in these hymns.

Having spoken so far of the five allied races, Yadu, Turvasha, Anu, Druhu, and Puru I will now proceed to note the progress of each individually as evidenced by the Vedas. The Yadus are not mentioned in the Yajus and Sama, nor are they apparently mentioned in any of the several Brahmanas. (Of course I speak as usual on the authority of the Vedic Index). They, therefore, may be taken after their defeat in the Punjab to have moved south, south-east and south-west in which regions they are actually found in Epic times. In these directions there was plenty of room for expansion as the first Aryans had only occupied the Punjab and the region eastward along the Himalayas. The Yadus do not appear to have founded kingdoms of their own and hence perhaps the tradition that they were under a curse by Yayati. They lived under the Bhojas in Shaurasena about Mathura. This Mathura, according to Epic tradition, originally belonged to the Rakshasa or aboriginal king Madhu from whom it was first conquered by Shatrughna, Rama's brother, and after the decline of his descendants it was taken possession of by the Bhojas and Yadavas. Mr. Pargiter thinks that Madhu was not a Rakshasa but was actually the Yadava chief Madhu from whom his descendants were called Madhavas. I do not, however, think it proper to abandon here the version of the Harivansha and the Ramayana. For it is more consistent with the course of history as sketched above that this region of the Yamuna should first be in the possession of the Rakshasas, then that of the first Aryan or Solar race and then of the Lunar race which, as we have seen, endeavoured in different directions to oust the first settled Kshatriyas. Instead of this Mr. Pargiter would first have the Lunar Aryans, then the Rakshasas and then the Solar race. This is by the by. The Yadavas settled in Mathura and perhaps thence went south-west as far as Dvaraka on the sea. The only indirect reference to the Yadavas in the Brahmanas is that to Krishna Devakiputra in the Chhandogya Upanishad who, as stated before, learned Vedantic doctrines from Ghora Angirasa. Were it not for Shrikrishna, the Yadavas would have been entirely forgotten in the later Vedas and Brahmanas and even the Epics. It was he who raised them to immortal renown by his Bhagavadgita and by his prominent part in the Mahabharata fight which probably falls in time between the final compilation of the Rigveda and the composition of the Brahmanas. The latter naturally thus mention persons taking part in the Bharata fight and hence the reference in the Chhandogya to Krishna Devakiputra may properly be taken to apply to Shrikrishna of the Yadavas, the great counsellor of the Pandavs in the Bharata fight.

We will next consider the progress of the Turvashas. These entirely disappear so to speak in the later Vedic times. But there is one important reference to them in the Brahmanas which discloses their

fate. They became merged in the Panchala people according to a statement in the Shatapatha Brahmana. Of these Panchalas I shall speak later on. Before proceeding further I might mention here that the Puranas, especially Harivansha (I, chap. 32), represent Pandya, Kola, Kerala and Chola as descendants in this Turvasha's line. This is clearly a later theory of the Puranas. We must remember that one great incentive to the later editors of the Puranas to make additions to genealogies must have been the desire to connect the famous lines of kings in their time with some heroes or persons mentioned in the Vedas and the Epics and thus secure to them venerated antiquity of connection much as the Romans loved to connect themselves with Homeric heroes. Now the Pandya, Chola and Kerala people were outside the pale of Aryanism for a long time. They were Dravidas and non-Aryans like the Angas and the Vangas, and even according to the Vedas residence in their country led to fall from Brahmanism. Yet in later Puranic times the Hindus went into and settled in these lands and then attempted to connect kings in them with Vedic and Epic lines of Kshatriyas. This descent of the south-east kings may properly be treated as imaginary and being opposed to the statement of the Shatapatha that the Turvashas merged into the Panchalas, the later Puranic version may be rejected as a tradition not worthy to be accepted.

Coming next to the other set of the three races, *viz.*, Anus, Druhyus and Pûrus, we find that the Pûrus became by far the most important people both in later Vedic times and in Epic days. This explains the story of the blessing of Yayati to his son Pûru for obeying his wishes. "Pûru," thus runs the boon "would be the king of the ancestral land and would be very prosperous. In fact the Pûrus would be so numerous that they would overspread the whole country. Nay, the earth may be divested of the Sun and the Moon but never of the Pûru people." (अपौरवा तु हि मदी न कदाचिद्भविष्यति ।) Now the Pûrus first settled, as already stated, in the region of the Sarasvati, having ousted the originally settled Kshatriyas from there. They extended thence their conquests east, west and south by and by till they became the lords of the whole of India in the days of the Pandavas. The contests of the Pûrus with aboriginal kings are mentioned in many Rigvedic hymns. They are, as given in the Vedic Index, i, 59, 131 and 174, iv, 21 and 28, vi, 20, and vii, 5 and 19. Looking into these references we find i, 59, is a hymn to Agni by Nodha Gautama in which he says "Agni whom the Pûrus follow as the slayer of Vritra or aborigines." (यं पूरवा वृत्रहणं सचन्ते ।); i, 131, is a hymn to Indra by Parucchea in which he says (विदुष्टे अस्य वीर्यस्य पूरवः पुरो) "Purus of old have known";

iv, 21, is by Vamadeva to Indra (हेता वृषं वरिषः पूर्ये कः) "who gave freedom to Pūru by slaying Vritra?" (iv, 28, as also i, 174, are I think, wrongly included here as they contain no mention of Pūru). vi, 20, is addressed to Indra by Bharadvaja (प्र पूरः स्तुवन्त एना यज्ञैः). "The Pūrus laud thee, oh Indra, that thou destroyed seven castles of the Dasas for Purukutsa." vii, 5, is by Vasishtha to Agni (वैश्वानरे पूर्ये शोशुचानः पुरो यदग्ने दयन्त दीदिः) "Oh Agni, for Puru thou lightest up and rendest their castles"; and lastly vii, 19, already noticed, where Vasishtha says to Indra (प्र पौरुक्षि वसदस्युमावः शैवसातौ वृषहन्त्येषु पूरम्) "Thou protectedst Trasadasyu and Pūru in their fights with Vritras." On these hymns two or three observations have to be made. Vritra usually stands in Vedic verses for Dasa enemies and they have castles or forts or fortified villages which have to be carried. Secondly, vii, 19 and more particularly vi, 20, give ground for supposing that Purukutsa and Trasadasyu were of the Pūru line. But as I have already stated, on this point the authority of the Brahmanas should be respected and as the Shatapatha says that they were Aikshvakas and as they are also found in Puranic genealogies among the descendants of Ikshvaku alone and nowhere else, here Brahmana and Purana traditions combine to prove that they were Aikshvaka or Solar race kings. In vii, 19, the line plainly means Trasadasyu and Pūru, while in vi, 20, we may say that the Pūrus in their prayer to Indra give example of Indra's aid to Purukutsa not as a king of their own people but of another people, Purukutsa being well-known as a favourite king of Indra. Thirdly, Pūrus became eventually so numerous that according to later authorities (of course not later than Yaska), the word Pūrus stands generally for men. In some of the above verses the word has been so interpreted by commentators, but as Prof. Macdonell has observed, Pūrus may be translated as Purus without difficulty in all these cases.

The historical inference from these and previous verses is that after several fights with non-Aryans Pūru established himself firmly in the region of the Sarasvati. His later or previous contests with the Aryan enemies of the Solar race, especially with Sudasa on the Parusmi in his or his race's progress westward in the Punjab also appear. His line flourished both at home and abroad. The first known king in his line was Ajamidha, the Ajamidhas being spoken of in the Rigveda also. The next is Bharata, son of Dushyanta, who is not mentioned in the Rigveda but is mentioned in the Brahmanas and who performed sacrifices on the Sarasvati, Yamuna and the Ganges which shows that he extended his dominion eastward. The Bharatas mentioned in the Brahmanas are his descendants and not the Bharatas of the

Rigveda as the Shatapatha clearly introduces them by first mentioning Daushyanti Bharata. The epithet Daushyanti appears to be purposely used in the Brahmana to discriminate the two Bharatas. The next famous king was Kuru who became so famous that the ancient land of the Pûrus came to be called Kurukshetra. Now this Kuru is also not to be found in the Rigveda. This non-mention of course does not prove that the compilation of the Rigveda preceded him, but we may take it that his fame had not become exaggerated in the time of the Rigveda. The Bharatas and still more the Kurus, however, became famous in the Brahmana literature. The Kurus are always mentioned therein with the Panchalas and they were one people, it seems, in their time. This probably indicates that the Mahabharata fight had been fought before this and, all the Panchala princes being dead, the Pandavas and especially their great-grandson Janamejaya Parikshita became their king. This Janamejaya Parikshita is also a favourite king with the Brahmanas. Thus then the chief people of the Pûru race were the Kuru-Panchalas in later Vedic times.

I must speak of the Panchalas here in more detail. According to the Puranic genealogies the Panchalas were the descendants of a younger branch of the Pûrus. Their first great king was Srinjaya, even according to the genealogies and this Srinjaya gave his name to his descendants. The Srinjayas are mentioned in the Rigveda also. The first mention is in Rigv. vi, 27, where Srinjaya is said to be a son of Devavata. (संजयाय त्वर्षं परादुचीवतो देवताय शिखन्) "He who gave Turvasha to Srinjaya, the son of Devavata and the Richivats." This is looked upon as identifying Richivat with Turvasha. The next mention is still more important. It is Rigveda iv, 15, which shows that his Agni is also mentioned and thus invests him with greatness. अयं यः संजये पुरो देवता स मिथ्यते । "This is the fire which is enkindled in the eastern altar of Srinjaya, the son of Devavata." The last four verses of this hymn mention Somaka the young son of Sahadeva who gave donations to the Rishi or composer of this hymn, viz., Vamadeva and he invokes blessings on him. (एवं वा देवावधिना कुमारः सहदेव्यः । दीर्घायुस्तु सोमकः). This Sahadeva and Somaka were most probably born in the line of Srinjaya and hence they are mentioned in this hymn. Srinjaya, Sahadeva and Somaka are actually found in the Panchâla genealogy and Somaka is the fourth ancestor of Drupada. He performed a Rajasuya and became renowned as is mentioned in the Aitareya Brahmana. The Panchalas were thus Srinjayas in Rigvedic times and their name Panchala became famous in the times of the Brahmanas. The Mahabharata uses both the

names Srinjayas and Panchalas and even Somakas from their famous King Somaka. Somaka must have been later than Kuru. The Panchalas were settled to the south-east of the Kurus between the Ganges and the Yamuna. The name Panchala is derived by Harivansha and the Puranas from the five sons of a king (who were thought to be enough for the world, पंच बलम्) but this is a quibble. Probably they were so called because composed of five peoples. The merging of different peoples into one people is not an infrequent event in history and I believe this merging means that one people elect the sovereigns of another people as their kings and thus mingle with them. This happened either because they were conquered or the family of their kings became extinct. The Kuru-Panchalas became one people in this second way after the Mahabharata fight. The Panchalas themselves must have been composed of five peoples in some such way. We have a distinct mention of the mingling of three peoples, *viz.*, Srinjayas, Turvashas and Krivis, the first in the Rigvedic hymn vi, 27, and the second in the Shatapatha Brahmana. These three and two more peoples probably went to form the Panchalas, so famous in the times of the Brahmanas and the Epics for their learning as well as their valour.

The people who thus most predominate in the later Vedic times are people of the second Aryan invasion especially of the line of Pûru and in this line again the peoples more prominent than the rest were the Kurus and the Panchalas or Srinjayas. But the Solar race people were not entirely extinct in later Vedic times. In the Punjab they were probably over-shadowed by the Lunar people. The general population there must doubtless have remained Solar but the kings were generally of the Pûru line. It is hence why a Pûros is found in the Punjab in the days of Alexander. It is sometimes surmised that this finding of a Poros on the Hydaspes in the Punjab shows that the Pûros came from the north-west and extended eastward. But, according to the course of history we have sketched above, the Pûrus first came into India about the region of the Sarasvati and thence extended west. We find a confirmation of this latter idea in the Mahabharata where Janmejaya is said to have conquered Takshashila in the Punjab after he was installed in the kingdom of the Kurus at Hastinapura. After the Mahabharata fight the Kurus became the overlords of India, and perhaps Takshashila still remained defiant and hence it was that Janmejaya found it necessary to go and conquer that land. The founding of Takshashila by the Solar Aryans is indicated in the Ramayana story of Bharata having conquered the land from the Gandharvas. This is probably a restatement of the real fact that the older Bharata and his people, the Solar Kshatriyas, settled in that country originally.

Whatever that may be, in the Punjab the kings generally appear to have been Lunar race Kshatriyas in the days of the Brahmanas and the Epics. But the Solar race people had their kingdoms in the east and they were the Kosala-Videhas of Brahmana fame. The Brahmanas love to speak of the Kosala-Videhas as much as they love to speak of the Kuru-Panchalas. The Kosala-Videhas were plainly a different people from the latter. Macdonell accepts the opinion of Dr. Grierson and others based on language, *viz.*, the affinity of eastern Hindi with Punjabi rather than with western Hindi, and says under the word Kuru that these Kosala-Videhas must have been shoved onward by the Kurus when the latter took possession of the land about the Sarasvati. I may even say that they may have come eastward even before the coming in of the Kurus, *i.e.*, when the whole land from the Punjab eastward up to Mithila was occupied by the Solar race people. Professor Macdonell, however, expresses some doubt about this in a footnote on the word Kuru and refers to the narrative given in the Shatapatha of the progress of Agni from the Sarasvati to the Sadanira, the eastern boundary of the Videha kingdom and thinks that it may be argued from the story that the Kosala-Videhas were of the same race as the Kurus. But I do not think that any such inference is necessary. The Aryan fire went from the Sarasvati no doubt but no mention is made of the Kurus in this story and hence the Agni may have gone forth eastward even before the days of the Kurus or even Pûrus. Moreover the story in the Shatapatha (IV, 1, 10) is that Videgha Mithavya took fire in his mouth and went eastward up to the Sadanira where he had to take it out and lay it on the ground in consequence of a question by Gotama Rahugana, his priest. Hence, says the Brahmana, no Brahmin crosses the Sadanira. Now this name of Gotama tallies with the later Epic story that the priests of the Videhas were Gotamas, as I have already mentioned. It seems to me then very probable that these Kosala-Videhas were of the Solar race and had their differences in religious matters from the Kuru Panchalas, the representatives of the Lunar race people. The Kosala-Videhas were more famous in the days of the Brahmanas for their philosophic tendencies than their ritual purity and their great king Janaka had disputations with Yajnyavalkya on philosophy which have been preserved in the immortal Upanishads. This laxity in ritual also connects the Kosala-Videhas with the people of the Punjab who are said to be also lax in this matter, as much as the affinity of language; and the remarks of Prof. Macdonell on this head under Kusala and Kashi in the Vedic Index should be interpreted in this way to support their affinity with the eastern Aryans than with the Kuru-Panchalas.

We have lastly to see what became of the Anus and the Druhyus. The latter are mentioned separately in two Vedic hymns viii, 10 and vi, 46. The first has already been noticed. The second mentions Druhyu and Pāru, two only, together. What subsequently became of the Druhyus does not appear either in the Rigveda or the later Vedic literature. Perhaps they were the fourth people who merged in the Panchalas. Puranic tradition makes the Gandharas their descendants. The Gandharas are mentioned in the Chhandogya. The Anus probably became a great people even in the days of the Rigveda for in one hymn their Agni is mentioned specially, see viii, 74 (आग्न्यं वृषहन्तमं ज्येष्ठमग्निमानवम्). But there is no mention of them in the later Vedic literature. The Puranas state that they gave rise to several dynasties in the Punjab, especially to the Shibi dynasty whose famous king was Shibi, son of Ushinara, mentioned among the sixteen great performers of Ashvamedha sacrifice in the Mahabharata. I am not quite sure if the Puranas are correct here but I think this is not the place to discuss that point. This completes our list of the Vedic references to the Lunar people whose five branches, the यदु, तुवशा, अनु, द्रुघु and पूरु are famous even in the Rigveda.

To take a resume, the conclusions of ethnology and philology as applied to India by Sir H. Risley and Dr. Grierson quoting Dr. Hornle show that there were two Aryan races who invaded India at different times and settled in this country. The first, longheaded Aryans, settled in the Punjab and in Rajputana and are found there even now, with offshoots about Ayodhya and Mithila whose present language, Eastern Hindi, is allied to the Punjabi and Rajastani. The second race of Aryans was broad-headed and mixed with the Dravidian original population of the country is now found in the large tract from Ambala in the north, to Kathiawar in the south-west and Jubbulpore in the south-east and Nepal in the north-east. The present language of these people is Western Hindi. Now tradition also represents that there are two races of Aryans in India, *vis.*, the Solar race of Kshatriyas and the Lunar. This naturally suggests that the first race of Kshatriyas who came to India must be identified with the Solar race and the second with the Lunar race. And we find that this inference is strongly fortified by references in the Vedic literature, especially in the Rigveda, our oldest and most trustworthy authority. The Rigveda frequently mentions a people called the Bharatas. Now it is almost a riddle to Vedic scholars who these people were and what became of them. As stated by Prof. Macdonell under the word Kuru the general opinion is that these Bharatas merged in the Kurus. Now my suggestion, based on conclusions derived from Ethnology, Philology and Tradition, is that these Bharatas being the older Aryans

should be identified with the Solar race Kshatriyas of the Epics and the Puranas. Strong grounds for this identification are not wanting. The first is that their Purohitis were the Vasishthas, also called Tritsus in the Rigveda. Now the Vasishthas are in Epic and Puranic tradition inseparably connected with the Solar race. Secondly the famous king Sudasa of the Bhāratas is found in the Ramayana as an ancestor of Rama and Shatrughna. Sudasa is found in the Puranic genealogies also in the Solar line, but his father is not Divodasa as in the Rigveda. I think Puranic genealogy ought to give way in this matter. Sudasa, (Pijavana), Divodasa and Vadhryashva form the ascending line according to the Rigveda. It may be noted here that names ending in Ashva are found mostly in the Solar race and Vadhryashva (Rg. vi, 61 and x, 19) seems to be a Solar race king. Thirdly, Vishvamitra in the Rigveda is also a Rishi of the Bhāratas and according to Epic and Purana tradition also, Vishvamitra is chiefly connected with the history of the Solar race.* Fourthly, the names of Purukutsa and Trasadasu† are to be found in the line of Ikshvaku only, in the Puranas and they are Aikshvaka also according to the Brahmanas. For all these reasons I identify the Bhāratas as the Solar race people of the Epics. They are usually mistaken for the later Bharatas, *vis.*, the descendants of Daśyami Bharata, but wherever this Bharata is mentioned in the Brahmanas the epithet Daśyanti is found added and he is not mentioned in the Rigveda at all. This mixing up of the two has led to the popular notion that India is called Bharatavarsha from this second Bharata. But tradition, even Puranic tradition, plainly contradicts this idea and states that India is called Bharatavarsha from Bharata, a grandson of the first Svayambhuva Manu. According to another Purana, Bharata who gave the name to this country is Manu himself or even the Sun. Hence we have a further confirmation of the first Bhāratas being Kshatriyas

* The Puranas derive Vishvamitra from the Lunar line, but there is a contradiction here between the Puranas and the Ramayana and there is a contradiction among the Puranas themselves. Ramayana, Balakanda, Chapter 51, gives the ancestry of Vishvamitra as Prajapati and then Kushika at once, in whose family of course Vishvamitra was born even according to the Rigveda. He is hence neither Solar nor Lunar according to the Ramayana but he is plainly a person of the older race of Kshatriyas. The Puranas derive Vishvamitra in the Lunar line in two ways. Harivansha derives him from Amavasu, another son of Pururavas than Ayu whose son was Nahusha; while in another place it derives him from Ajamidha and Janhu. I think the Puranic genealogy ought to give way here to the Ramayana which makes Vishvamitra born in the oldest line of Kshatriyas. Curiously enough this uncertainty of descent still remains attached to their modern Kshatriya representatives, *viz.*, the Rathods who are derived differently both in the Solar and the Lunar lines.

† Kurushravana, a king in the Trasadasu family is supposed to be a Kuru, but I do not see why he should be so. In the Rigvedic hymns he is expressly said to be a Trasadasu and not a Kuru. The beginning word Kuru cannot make him a Kuru in race in the same way as Dridadana cannot be a Dasa or non-Aryan as actually suggested by a German Vedic Scholar.

of the Solar race. These Bharatas became so numerous that Bharata in one place in the *Aitareya Brahmana* stands for warrior generally.⁶ In the *Nirukta* in one place Bharatas are said to mean priests also along with Kurus. The reason why Bharatas may be substituted for Kurus in sacrificial formulas as mentioned in Vedic Index under Kurus, is not because they were identical with Kurus but because they were a different people with equal renown, and whenever they were meant their name was to be substituted in the sacrificial formulas. In fine, there are very strong reasons to identify the Bharatas with the Solar race people of the later, *viz.*, Epic days. Their representatives in the days of the *Brahmanas* were the Kosala-Videhas the undoubted Solar race Kshatriyas of the *Epics* and the *Puranas*.

The identification of the Lunar race Kshatriyas in the Vedas is not a matter of any difficulty. They are, of course, the Yadus, the Turvashas, the Anus, the Drnhyus and the Pârus, so frequently mentioned in the *Rigveda*. Of these the Pârus became numerous and supreme and in their line came the Kuru-Panchalas of Epic and Puranic fame. The Yadus also became famous and were the progenitors of the Yadavas amongst whom was born Krishna referred to in the *Chândogya*. The Anus are supposed to give rise to several Punjab kings, *e.g.*, the Shishis and the Madras who had their counterpart beyond the Himalayas, the Uttara Madras as the Kurus had theirs, the Uttara Kurus. All this is so plain that later Epic and Purana tradition may be said to find complete support in the *Rigvedic* and *Brahmana* references. And in my opinion the five races, Yadus and others, had for their ancestor Yayati though this is doubted by Prof. Macdonell under the word Yayati in the Vedic Index. Purûravas, Ayu, Nahusha and Yayati are all mentioned in the *Rigveda* and form, so to speak, the starting line of the Lunar race. There is, of course, no express mention in the *Rigveda* of this connection between Yayati and the five peoples, Yadu and others, but some such connection may be inferred from hymn i, 31, where Yayati is mentioned. This hymn is composed by *Hiranyastupa* Angirasa and the Angirases are connected, as we have already seen, with these five peoples. Moreover the fourth verse in this hymn may almost be taken to contain the confirmation of the later traditional genealogies of the Puranas, as it shows that (besides the Rishi Angirasa) Agni was revealed originally to two persons, Manu and Purûravas (स्वमग्ने मन्वे यमगशयः पुरुरवमे भुक्ते भुक्तरः 1) followed by verse 17 (मनुत्वरं अगिरस्वदङ्गिरो

⁶ Macdonell says under Kuru that Bharatas in this passage (II. 25) means the Datsyynadi Bharatas and they attacked the Satrantas. Sayana, however, translates Bharatas by warriors and Satrantas by charioteers. This interpretation seems correct though the derivation of Bharata given by Sayana is fanciful. I think the word Bharatas became subsequently a synonym for warriors and even for priests as stated further.

ययातिवत्सदने पूर्ववच्छुचे) in which ययाति is plainly substituted for पुरुरवा as his representative. Thus, the Purana tradition, supported by these references in the Rigveda, cannot be fairly ignored. I think therefore, that the Lunar race kings from Pururavas down to Ajamidha are mentioned in the Rigveda, and from Bharata to Kuru and Janmejaya even, in the Brhmanas. In short the Lunar race Kshatriyas are undoubtedly a Vedic people identifiable with Pururavas and his descendants, Yadu, Turvashtu and others.

Before concluding this paper I must advert to a very important question which arises at this stage and it is this : if the Solar and Lunar origins of the two races are not expressly mentioned in the Vedic literature how did the idea arise in Epic days? The idea of the descent of all races from one ancestor is not a fancy of the Indo-Aryans only but of many peoples ; and the birth of heroes or great men from gods is also a myth which many people have believed in. Not only did the Greeks in ancient times make their heroes the sons of gods, but even in later history we find the Mexican Aztecs looking upon the Spaniards as the children of the Sun. The notion, therefore, that certain races were born from the Sun and the Moon was not an unnatural one with the Epic and Purana writers. But some reason must have influenced the selection of these gods as the ancestors of the two races of Kshatriyas and we may try to see what this reason may have been. Manu is even in the Rigveda the son of Vivasvat, or the Sun. It is not an idea of the later Indo-Aryans but even of the Vedic Rishis and the word Bharata which was the origin of the name of the ancient Rigvedic people the Bharataris, is explained by the Nirukta to mean the Sun. The idea, therefore, that the first race of Kshatriyas was descended from the Sun was inherited by the Epic writers from the Rigveda itself. The birth of the other race of Kshatriyas from the Moon was a natural idea as opposed to the Sun and hence they must have been looked upon as descendants of the Moon. Or perhaps, these people coming from the north may have been called descendants of the Moon for Soma is the lord of the north. We may add that the first race of Kshatriyas, being in Epic days in the east, may have been looked upon as descendants of the Sun. Lastly, it is also possible to explain this idea on a difference between these races in their observance of the year which is plainly discernable in the story of the Mahabharata fight. The Pandavas had to pass twelve years of exile and one of incognito according to the covenant at their gambling game. Now the Kurnas argued when the Pandavas appeared in Virata's fight that they were discovered before their time, but the Pandavas replied that they had kept their word truly and fully. Bhishma decided the point in favour of the Pandavas and held that they had kept their word by the Lunar year

of 354 days. This decision would undoubtedly be strange if the Pandavas observed the Lunar year only for the purpose of this covenant. I think this phase of the question has not sufficiently attracted the attention of scholars. I hold that this decision clearly proves that the Pandavas generally followed the Lunar year like the Muhammedans of the present day. In the Taittiriya Samhita you have clear references to different years observed by the Aryans, *viz.*, the Civil year of 360 days, the Solar year of 365 days and the Lunar year of 354 days. Of course later Aryans observed the Solar year only and these differences have now disappeared entirely. But in ancient times the Pandavas, the latest branch of the Lunar race people, must have observed the Lunar year in much the same way as they observed polyandry so common among the Himalayan people; while the Kurus or rather the Dhartarashtras as older people must have observed the solar year generally in vogue among the older Kshatriyas. The people of the Punjab and of Ayndhya and the other eastern people seem to have observed the Solar year and they were all on the side of the Dhartarashtras, while on the side of the Pandavas were all southern Aryans chiefly of the Lunar race, *viz.*, the Panchalas, who were apparently polyandrous still and the Yadavas and the Chedis and the Magadhas. In my opinion the different peoples ranged on either sides observed different years and they were, so to speak, people of the old tradition and the new tradition. The former observed the Solar year and the latter the Lunar year. Hence might also arise the idea that the Pandavas, Panchalas, etc., were the descendants of the Moon. It is true that some peoples of this race were observers of the Solar year as the Dhartarashtras themselves and the Madras, etc., but they were all inhabitants of the Punjab and must have adopted the year of the first settled Aryans there. I put forward this theory with some diffidence, but I think it to be of sufficient importance to find a record here. I have already given expression to this view in another place and detailed the whole theory as it appears from the story of the Mahabharata. I touch it here in bare outline and I put it forward only as an alternative to account for the Epic names assigned to these two most famous races of Kshatriyas, *viz.*, the Solar and the Lunar races who have so gloriously distinguished themselves not only in the Vedic, the Epic and the Puranic days, but also in the modern history of India commencing with Mahomedan times.

ART. IV.—*Goethe's Parsi-nameli or Buch des Parsen, i.e.,
the Book of the Parsees*

BY

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(Read, 23rd November 1914.)

I.

THE subject of this paper was first suggested to me, about six years ago, by an interesting article of Prof. Dowden in the *Contemporary Review* of July 1908,¹ entitled "Goethe's West-Eastern Divan." The word Divan (دیوان) in Persian means "A collection of miscellaneous poems." These collections generally contain "poems in the alphabetical order of the final letters of the various ending rhymes."² For example, the last letter of each couplet of the first group of odes is 'alif' or 'a'; then the last letter of each couplet of the second group is 'bē' or 'b'; and so on. The Divan of the celebrated Persian poet, Hafiz, who as we will see later on, suggested to Goethe the idea of his Divan, serves as an illustration of this arrangement of the odes.

The Buch des Parsen, i.e., the Book of the Parsees, which forms the subject of this paper, is a part of Goethe's "West-östlicher Divan," i.e., the West-Eastern Divan. Of the twelve parts or books of the Divan, it forms the 11th part or book. As far as I know, all of Goethe's German works are not translated into English. The Divan is one of such untranslated books.³

On reading the above article, my knowledge of German having got all rusty, I had requested my friend, Father Noti of St. Xavier's College, to kindly translate for me the Buch des Parsen. On resuming my study of the subject recently, I found that Goethe had, in his "Noten und Abhandlungen" (Notes and Discussions), in connection with his "West-östlicher Divan," written, under the head of "Aeltere Perser" (Old Persians),⁴ some notes on the ancient Persians. Father Hömel has, at my request, kindly translated it for me. I give both

¹ Vol. XCIV, pp. 234-42. ² Dr. Steingass's Persian-English Dictionary.

³ It forms the 14th Volume of the Stuttgart Edition (1867) of Goethe's Works in our Library.

⁴ Goethe's Werke Vierzehnter Band (14th Volume), Stuttgart Edition (1867), pp. 138-41.

these translations at the end of this paper, hoping that they will help some students interested in the subject. I beg to tender here my best thanks to Father Noti and Father Hömel for their kindness to translate the poem and notes for me.

Goethe speaks of his *Parsi-nāme* as "*Vermächtniss altpersischen Glaubens*", i.e., "The Testament of the old Persian faith." He places his views in the mouth of a poor but pious man, who, on the approach of death, says a few words of advice to some young men who had nursed him and honoured him.

I propose to deal, in this Paper, with the following subjects in connection with Goethe's *Parsi-nāme* :—

1. An outline of Goethe's Life and a few traits of his character, to enable us to understand well the circumstances which led the German poet to write on an Iranian subject.
2. A short account of his *West-Eastern Divan*, of the twelve books of which the *Parsi-nāme* forms the eleventh book.
3. An account of his *Parsi-nāme*, with a few observations on the most salient points of the book.
4. Translations into English of Goethe's *Buch des Parzen* and of his Notes on the Ancient Persians.

II.

1. A SHORT OUTLINE OF GOETHE'S LIFE.

To properly understand the time and the circumstances under which Goethe wrote his *Divan*, and in it the *Parsi-nāme*, one must know, at least, a short outline of his life. One of his biographers, Mr. Oscar Browning thus speaks on the subject: "Goethe differs from all other great writers, except perhaps Milton, in this respect, that his works cannot be understood without a knowledge of his life, and that his life is in itself a work of art, greater than any work which it created. This renders a long and circumstantial biography a necessity to all who would study the poet seriously. . . . He is not only the greatest poet of Germany; he is one of the greatest poets of all ages. . . . He was the apostle of self-culture . . . and taught both by precept and example the husbandry of the soul. . . . As Homer concentrated in himself the spirit of Antiquity, Dante of the Middle Ages, and Shakespeare of the Renaissance, so Goethe is the represen-

To understand
Goethe's poems
well, his life must
be known.

tative of the modern spirit, the prophet of mankind under new circumstances and new conditions, the appointed teacher of ages yet unborn.¹

Johnan Wolfgang von Goethe was born² in Frankfort on 28th August 1749. He was the only son of his parents, who both formed a religiously inclined pair. His father had received the title of Imperial Councillor in 1742, at the age of 32. At first, Goethe was instructed at home by his father. French culture was much prevalent at the time. He came into great contact with it, through the soldiers of France who were at Frankfort during the Seven Years' War, in which France sided with the Empire against Frederick the Great. In 1765, at the age of 16, he went to Leipzig for further study. There he wrote several smaller poems and songs. He returned to Frankfort in 1768, at the age of 19, and remained there without any definite aim for a year and a half.

During this period, he came into contact with Mrs. Klenenberg, a member of the Moravian school. She drew his attention to the mystical writings of the saints and to Alchemy. The latter led him to the study of science, in which he, later on, made many researches. He then went to the University of Strasburg in April 1770 and studied there till August 1771. Here, he got most of the impulses of his later more active literary life. Then, his mind was for some time diverted from a literary to a scientific line, and he studied Anatomy, Midwifery and Chemistry, especially the last. He also studied here Art, and the Cathedral of Strasburg served him as a model of Gothic architecture.

Here, in Strasburg, he came into contact with Herder, who was 5 years older than him and who created in him a taste for Nature in Art and for the principles of the remantic school. In August 1770, he took his degree as Doctor of Law, the subject of his dissertation being "The duty of providing an established Church." He then returned to Frankfort. He now wrote several works.

¹ Goethe: His Life and Writings, by Oscar Browning (1892), pp. 136-37.

² The house, in which he was born, is still to be seen in Frankfort. During my two days' visit of Frankfort, in 1889, I had the pleasure of visiting his house on 28th September 1889. I have put down in my note-book, the number of his house as "No. 22 Grosser Hirschgraben". There is also his statue in Frankfort. On its four sides, his literary works are represented. On one side, is represented his Poësy—Tragedy and Comedy; on another, his Faust and Mephistopheles; on the third, a group of five works; on the fourth, some of his other works. In the Museum of Antiquities, I saw, on a glass plate, the representation of the Persian winged Paroliar with the flame of fire before it.

In the spring of 1772, he left Frankfort for Weizlar, a quiet country town and one of the seats of the Holy Roman Empire. The Emperors held their Courts of Justice there. Here, he contracted the friendship of Lotte (Charlotte), the second daughter of one Herr Buff. At one time, Lotte spoke to him of the other world and of the possibility of returning from it. It was arranged between them that whoever "died first, should, if he could, give information to the living about the conditions of the other life."¹

The fate of a young man named Jerusalem, whom he met at Weizlar, and who committed suicide for failure in a hopeless passion for a married woman, suggested to Goethe the composition of the Werther. This work is said to have influenced many a lover who shot himself with a copy of Werther in his hand. Werther and

His Works
which laid the
foundation of his
Fame.

Götz were the two works of Goethe which laid the foundation of Goethe's fame. Götz was a name of the chivalrous age which he had assumed in play with other literary friends discussing old chivalrous subjects. The assumption of that name gradually led him to write that work. Götz was published in 1773 and Werther in 1774. While writing such works Goethe also practised as an advocate at the Court at Weizlar. At this time, he conceived the idea of writing *Cæsar*, *Faust*, *Mahomet*, the *Wandering Jew* and *Prometheus*. To write the drama of Mahomet, he studied the Koran.

At the special invitation of the Duke of Weimar, who had passed through Frankfort, Goethe went to Weimar in November 1775. Before the Seven Years' War, all the German princes looked to France for culture. But now, they "were beginning to take an interest in German literature."² Most of them had literary men of genius in their courts. So, the Duke of Weimar had Goethe who "rose like a star."³ Weimar was known at the time as the German Athens. The Duke invested him with the title.....of Geheimlegationsrath (Secret Legation Councillor), with a seat and voice in the privy council, and an income of £180 a year..... Goethe devoted himself with industry and enthusiasm to the public business.⁴ The first ten years at Weimar were interrupted now and then by long journeys, one of which was to Switzerland in 1779. Goethe was the principal adviser of the Duke of Weimar, who, in 1785, formed

Tendency of the
Time. From
French to German
Culture.

¹ Life and Works of Goethe by Lewis, Vol. I, p. 183.

² "Goethe: His Life and Writings", by Oscar Browning, p. 36.

³ Ibid., p. 60.

⁴ Ibid., p. 62-63.

the Fürstenbund or league of princes, under the supremacy of Frederick the Great, to resist the ambition of Austria under Joseph II.¹ He thus took an interest in the question of the independence of Germany.

The year 1786 was very important for him. He saw that the work and the pleasures of the Court of Weimar, where he had spent 10 years, had kept him away from his literary pursuits and from his study of art and science. Many of his literary compositions had remained unfinished. His study of science was kept off. It is said of his scientific studies that he had a glimpse of Darwinism before Darwin. "He succeeded in seeing, as in a vision, the great scheme of evolution applied to all phenomena of the natural and moral world."² So, to pursue quietly for some time, all his favourite studies, and to satisfy "his longing to possess his soul in peace,"³ he journeyed in Italy from September 1786 to June 1788. He travelled *incognito* under the name of Müller. He returned to Weimar in June 1788, a new man, i.e., a man with a new idea about art, viz., that, not only the work of art must be solid, firm and simple, but "that life itself should be a work of art."⁴ He resolved to be free from "the distractions which had hitherto confused him".

In 1788, he entered into, what is called a "half-marriage" with Christiane Vulpius, a healthy blooming young girl, who first presented herself before him with a petition seeking some favour for her brother. Her simple beautiful features attracted Goethe. He took her home and made her his housewife. Several reasons are assigned, why he remained in an improper liaison with her and did not marry her, one being her low position in life. A son was born to him of this girl. About 15 years after the first liaison, he thought it advisable to marry her. The first half-marriage and the second legal marriage both were subjects of scandalous talk in the country and threw a slur upon the conduct of this great poet.

In 1792 and 1793, Goethe went with his master, the Duke of Weimar, to war. During the intervals of fight he pursued his favourite study of Optics and of the various branches of Natural Science. In the Autumn of 1793, the Duke left the Prussian service. Goethe, now being free, took to the management of the theatre for which he now wrote several pieces. He now contracted the friendship of Schiller,

¹ Ibid., p. 71.

² Ibid., p. 75.

³ Ibid., p. 78.

⁴ Ibid., p. 86.

who was younger than him by about 10 years. Their friendship inspired both of them mutually. Schiller's influence led Goethe to finish his *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre*. The death of Schiller in 1805 upset Goethe for a time.

In 1806 was fought the great battle of Jena. Weimar was plundered. Goethe's friends lost everything. Goethe's property was saved by the firmness of his wife. Napoleon entered the town but Goethe did not go to see him. Then it was in 1808, that Napoleon, the military dictator, saw Goethe, the literary dictator of the time, at Erfurt, where the sovereigns and princes of Europe met in a Congress.

In October 1808, Goethe, at the express desire of Napoleon, had an interview with him, when he (Napoleon) went to Weimar to attend the conference of princes. When Goethe entered, Napoleon welcomed him with the words "*Vous êtes un homme!*" When he left, Napoleon said to his courtiers "*Voilà un homme.*" Goethe was held in the expression of his view, as in the case of his defence of Giordano Bruno. So, he liked Napoleon's appreciation of him. He speaks of his words as "the wonderful words with which the Emperor received me." As his biographer says "Goethe could not ask anything more than the recognition contained in these words, coming from such a mouth. He declared, too, that 'Napoleon had put the dot above the i (of his life).'" It is said of that cynic philosopher Dionysius, that at midday, he went about with a lamp. When somebody asked him, why he went out with a lamp during daylight, he said, he went out in search of a "man," meaning thereby, that he found none whom he could really call a "man." When we remember this pretty anecdote, we see the full force and meaning of the words of Napoleon, calling Goethe a "man."

The year 1809 was an important one for Goethe, because, he then, as it were, began a new era. The troubled period—a period of nearly 10 years—of sorrow, owing to the wars and other circumstances, was over. Many were the causes of the sorrows of these ten years, the principal of which were the following:—1 The death of his dear friend, Schiller, on hearing the news of which he is said to have wept bitterly; 2 the plunder of his town of Weimar; 3 the death of Duchess Amalia, a great admirer and friend of Goethe; 4 the death of his mother; and 5 his own illness.

¹ The Life of Goethe by A. Bielschowsky, translated by W. A. Cooper, Vol. II, p. 411.
Life and Works of Goethe by Lewis, Vol. II, pp. 366-67.

² Ibid., Bielschowsky, Vol. II, p. 453, note 77. ³ Ibid., p. 414.

He now wrote an autobiographical account of his early life under the title of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (Poetry and Truth). His biographers think, that it is not a faithful account. The last part of it appeared in 1814. During this time, the Germans were uniting and rising to overthrow the power of Napoleon. Goethe took no part in the movement. The reason for this coldness was his "natural indifference to the details of human affairs",¹ as shown by the fact, that even in the midst of weighty affairs like war and court business, he flew to his studies. Again, he, "was a man of thought rather than of action". He thought Napoleon to be "the greatest living depository of power."²

Now the habit of contemplation began to grow upon him more and more. So, in 1814, at the age of 65, he struck, as it were, a new line of poetical activity. In 1812, he first saw Hammer's translation of Hafiz. On the death, in June 1828, of the Grand Duke, Karl August, a life-long companion from the time of his youth, he is said to have uttered the words "Now it is all over". He died in 1832.

III.

A FEW TRAITS OF HIS CHARACTER.

In the above short outline of his life, we have referred to the principal events of his life. But some of the traits of his character require to be specially referred to. It is said, that he began to grow up, as a boy of observing habits, which gave him a contemplative or meditative bent of mind. The great earthquake of Lisbon in 1755 is reported to have killed about 60,000 men. This natural phenomenon and the Seven Years' War made him more contemplative in his boyhood. "From Nature to Nature's God," was the bent of his early life. He was, at first, a little inclined to mysticism, and his association, at an early age of about 20, with Klettenberg, a lady, who was a mystic, led him a little further towards mysticism. He was more inclined in pantheism in his belief.

According to his biographer, G. H. Lewis,³ Tacitus noticed, that a kind of Nature-worship was, as it were, a "natural tendency" of the ancient Germans. Goethe, was, from his early years inclined towards this natural tendency. As early as in 1770, Goethe defended M. Giordano Bruno, who was burnt in 1600 for declaring that the earth moved, a teaching which the Christian Church at the time had declared to be heretical. Giordano Bruno was a student of Nature, and this study had led him to a kind of pantheism—a monotheistic

¹ Goethe by Oscar Browning, p. 124. ² Ibid., p. 125.

³ Life and Work of Goethe Vol. I., p. 300.

pantheism which one observes in the East. As said by Goethe's biographer Mr. G. H. Lewis, "Pantheism, which captivates poetical minds, has a poetical grandeur in the form given to it by Bruno which would have allured Goethe had his tendencies not already lain in that direction." Bayle criticised this pantheism of Bruno, and Goethe said against this criticism: "Je ne suis pas du sentiment de M. Bayle à l'égard de Jor. Brunus, et je ne trouve ni d'impiété ni d'absurdité dans les passages qu'il cite."¹

In the above references to the views of Goethe, we saw, that he was pantheistic in his belief. However, it seems that Goethe's view of Pantheism his pantheism was not of any gross character. It was not a pantheism opposed to monotheism. As Dr. Ketkar has, while speaking of Hinduism, said, "Monotheism and pantheism should be regarded as synonyms, and pantheism is the only possible form of any consistent monotheism"² This pantheism, taking it to be synonymous with monotheism, was the result of the mind soaring from Nature to Nature's God. Goethe himself thus presents his view on the subject: "To discuss God apart from Nature is both difficult and perilous; it is as if we separated the soul from the body. We know the soul only through the medium of the body, and God only through Nature. Hence the absurdity, as it appears to me, of accusing those of absurdity who philosophically have united God with the world. For everything which exists, necessarily pertains to the essence of God, because God is the one Being whose existence includes all things. Nor does the Holy Scripture contradict this, although we differently interpret its dogmas each according to his views. All antiquity thought it in the same way; an unanimity which to me has great significance. To me the judgment of so many men speaks highly for the rationality of the doctrine of emanation."³

This view of Nature corresponded to the view of the East, more especially of India. So, we see, that from an early age, he was, as it were, inclined to the philosophic views of life held by the East.

In his Memoirs, written by himself, while describing his portraiture of Mahomet in a hymn which he had once composed, he gives us an idea of his views as how to rise from Nature to Nature's God. He says:

How he carried the mind from Nature to Nature's God.

"The scene is supposed to represent a bright and serene night. Mahomet salutes the multitude of

¹ Ibid., pp. 101-102.

² Dr. Shridhar v. Ketkar's "Essay on Hinduism, its formation and future", quoted in the Academy of 15th June 1912, p. 740.

³ Life and Works of Goethe by G. Lewis, Vol. I, pp. 102-3, Bk. II.

stars as so many divinities. To the propitious planet Gad (our Jupiter), then rising above the horizon, he pays special homage as the king of all the stars. The moon next appears, and captivates for a while the eyes and the heart of the pious adorer of Nature. Presently the brilliant rising of the sun excites him to renewed homage. But the aspect of the heavenly bodies, notwithstanding the satisfaction with which they inspire him, leaves his heart a prey to desire. He feels that there is still something greater; and his soul is elevated to the contemplation of the only, eternal, and infinite God, to whom all things owe their existence. I had composed this hymn with the deepest enthusiasm."¹

It was such a view of grand Nature that led him to look with reverence to the Sun.

IV.

2. HIS WEST-ÖSTLICHE DIVAN.

Having given an outline of his life and having spoken of some of the traits of his mind, we now come to the subject of his West-Eastern Divan.

Goethe was drawn towards the East, as said above, long before he wrote the Divan. In his autobiography, while speaking of Mademoiselle Von Klettenberg, he refers to the Missionaries, and says: "I happened to advocate the people whom they sought to convert, and to declare that I preferred the primitive state of those ignorant nations to that to which they had been brought."²

Again, as referred to in our account of his life, he was drawn to the East by his study of the Koran for his book on Mahomet. He had studied the life of this great Mahomedan prophet. While speaking of him and while defending his character and personality, he thus speaks on the work of great prophets:—

"I perfectly understood how a man of superior genius should desire to turn to the advantage of his fellow-creatures, the divine faculties which he is conscious he possesses. But, having to do with men of grosser

¹ "Memoirs of Goethe," written by himself (1824), Vol. II., pp. 113-14.

² "Memoirs of Goethe," written by himself (1824), Vol. II., pp. 117-18.

intellects, he is compelled, in order to secure their friendship, to lower himself to their level; and this necessity degrades his eminent qualities by assimilating him to his inferiors. Thus the celestial powers of genius are depreciated by an amalgamation with worldly speculations; and views directed to eternity, lose their sublimity, and become narrowed by their application to ephemeral objects. . . . I found that history presented situations completely similar. It was thus that I conceived the idea of borrowing, from the series of events which compose the life of Mahomet, the groundwork of a dramatic representation of those bold enterprises so forcibly presented to my mind; and which, though determined by noble feelings, too frequently end in crime."¹

One of Goethe's biographers has said, that when Goethe turned to the East, for a kind of diversion and tranquillity or peace of mind, India did not appeal to him so much as Persia did, because he found it "too monstrous a jumble." Goethe, after referring to the Scandinavian Edda, which contains a reference to the story of Zoroaster laughing at his birth, as said by Pliny, thus gives his views of the Indian Mythology:

"A similar kind of interest attached me to the Indian fables, with which I began to get acquainted by means of Dapper's *Voyage*, and which I added to my mythological stores with pleasure. The altar of Ram became the ornament of my tales; and, notwithstanding the incredible multiplicity of the personages, of these fables, the ape Hanneman was the favourite of my auditory. But I found all these monstrous personages unfit to form part of my poetical furniture; the imagination being either unable to conceive them at all, or only able to comprehend them under absurd and ridiculous forms."²

Goethe wrote his *West-östliche Divan* during the sunset of his life, when he was in his 65th year. It was the political storm in Europe that drove him to the harbour of peace and tranquillity in Asia. As his biographer³ says: "During the storms of war, Goethe had more and more withdrawn, in spirit, from the European world and taken refuge in the original abode of man in Asia, in order in those far-off regions to restore that serene harmony of his being which had been disturbed by the

¹ "Memoirs of Goethe," written by himself Vol. II, pp. 112-13.

² "Memoirs of Goethe," written by himself (1821), Vol. I, pp. 436-7.

³ Dr. Beilschowsky, translated by W. A. Cooper. Vol. III, p. 2.

discordant notes of the restless age. It was only natural that the trend of events should turn the eyes of all to the Orient Goethe participated in this general movement China and India could not hold his attention ; China was too barren, India too monstrous a jumble. Persia, on the other hand, tempted him to linger. He became acquainted with the culture of this country through its most congenial representative, Hafiz, the celebrated poet of the fourteenth century. Hammer's translation of Hafiz's collection of songs, the *Divan*, had appeared in 1812 and 1813, and Goethe needed but to read the introduction to this work to be most strongly attracted by the life and writings of his Oriental brother."

In one place in his *Memoirs*, he says :

"For some years past the events of my life having compelled me to call my own powers into action, I devoted myself with ardent zeal and unremitting activity to the cultivation of my mental faculties. . . . My mind was wholly directed to Nature, who appeared to me in all her magnificence. . . . I accordingly formed a religion after my own mind."¹

He named his *Divan* the *West-Eastern Divan*, because, taking the imagery from the East, he had planted therein his own Western views. "He made the first attempt to transplant Eastern poetry to a German soil,"²

Why the *Divan* was named *West-Östliche*.

Just as the success of Firdousi in Persia in writing his *Shah-nâmeh*, an epic based on ancient historical tradition as of Persia, led many other Persian poets to write many *namehs* or books on the line of his *Shah-nameh*, Goethe's success in Germany in writing on Eastern subjects is said to have led other German writers like Rückert (1788-1866), Platen (1796-1835), and Heine (1799-1856), to write on Eastern subjects. Rückert, who was a Professor of Oriental languages, and is said to have known 30 languages and who was a translator of Oriental poems, had, following Goethe, named one of his poems, *Östliche Rosen* (1823), i.e., "Eastern Roses". His "*Rostem und Sohrab eine Heldengeschichte*" (*Rustam und Sohrab*, an epic or heroic story) is based on a Persian episode. As said by another biographer, who calls Goethe, "the German Hafiz",³ it was not only the Oriental works of Von Hammer, but works of other Oriental scholars also that

¹ "Memoirs of Goethe," written by himself (1824), Vol. II, p. 121.

² Goethe: "His Life and Writings," by Oscar Browning (1892), p. 126.

³ The Life and Works of Goethe by Lewis, Vol. II, p. 398.

had influenced Goethe. Mr. Lewis names (Silvestre) Dr. Sacy.¹ I think that the name of that distinguished French traveller and scholar, Anquetil Du Perron, who had visited India in 1785-61 and who had then published his translation of the Zend Avesta of the Parsées in 1771, may be added as the name of one who had very likely influenced Goethe in his work of the "Buch des Parsen." Dr. Thomas Hyde, the author of "Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum," also seems to have influenced him.

Goethe, in his West Eastern Divan was chiefly inspired by Hafiz. Oscar Browning thus speaks on the subject: "At a time when North and South and West were splitting in sunder, when thrones were breaking up and empires trembling, he sought a willing refuge in the restoring fountain of the Eastern poet." These two poets had, as pointed out by his biographer, many traits in common. Dr. Bielschowsky says:

"The land of Shiraz seemed the very image of himself. Had he himself, perchance, lived once before upon the earth in the form of the Persian? Here was the same joy of earth and love of heaven, the same simplicity and depth, truthfulness and straightforwardness, warmth and passionateness, and, finally, the same openness of heart towards everything human and the same receptive mind free from institutional limitations. Did not the same thing apply to him that the Persians said of their poet, when they called him 'the mystic tongue' and 'the interpreter of mysteries', and when they said of his poems that to outward appearance they were simple and unadorned, but that they had a deep, truth-fathoming significance and highest perfection of form? And had not Hafiz, like him, enjoyed the favour of the humble and the great? Had he not also conquered a conqueror, the mighty Timur? And had he not, out of the destruction and ruin, saved his own serenity, and continued to sing peacefully as before under the old accustomed conditions?"

"Thus Goethe found in Hafiz a beloved brother of a former age, and, gladly treading in the footsteps of his Oriental kinsman, produced, to compete with the Eastern Divan, one in the West, which had to be styled West-eastern, as the Western poet blended the ideas and forms of the East with those of the West, and boldly assumed the mask of the Persian singer without sacrificing an iota of his own profound personality."

¹ Goethe: His Life and Writings, p. 146.

² "The Lure of Goethe," translated by W. A. Cooper, Vol. III, p. 3.

Goethe's West-Eastern Divan consists of the following twelve books, and of these, the Book of the Parsees forms the 11th book :—

The Twelve Books of the West-Östlicher Divan.

1. Buch des Sängers, *i.e.*, the Book of Singers.
2. Buch Hafis, *i.e.*, the Book of Hafiz.
3. Buch der Liebe, *i.e.*, the Book of Love.
4. Buch der Betrachtungen, *i.e.*, the Book of Contemplation.
5. Buch des Unmuths, *i.e.*, the Book of Sadness.
6. Buch der Sprüche, *i.e.*, the Book of Proverbs.
7. Buch des Timur, *i.e.*, the Book of Timur.
8. Buch Suleika, *i.e.*, the Book of Zulfikha.
9. Das Schenkenbuch, *i.e.*, the Book of the Cup-bearer.
10. Buch der Parabeln, *i.e.*, Book of Parables.
11. Buch des Parsen, *i.e.*, the Book of the Parsees.
12. Buch des Paradieses *i.e.*, the Book of Paradise.

Goethe has given Oriental names to all the above 12 books of his Divans. He has called the books "Nāmeḥ" which is the Persian word for a book (نامه). He has called the first book "Moganni-nāmeḥ" and has given "Buch des Sängers," *i.e.*, the "Book of Singers," as its German equivalent. He has taken this name from a long ode¹ or rather a booklet of Hafiz, called Mughanni-nāmeḥ (مغنی نامه). In fact, this booklet of Hafiz which gives its name to the first book of Goethe's Divan, gives some names and makes several allusions which remind us of the ancient Persians or Parsees. Therein, we find allusions to the Turānian King Afrāsīāb, his son Shideh and his minister Pirān², the hereditary enemies of Irān, and to Salīm and Tur, the sons of the Irānian King Faridun. Therein, we also find a reference to the Zindehrud (زندهرود) referred to by Goethe.

The second book Hafis Nameh has Buch Hafis, as its German name. The word hafiz (حافظ) in Persian, means one who learns his Koran well by heart. This was the poetical name of the Persian poet.

¹ Ode 687 in Col. Wilberforce Clarke's Translation of Hafiz. Vol. II p. 993.

² Col. Clarke is wrong in saying that he was a great general of Irān (*Ibid.*, p. 996 note). He was the great Minister and General of Turān.

The third book, "Buch der Liebe," i.e., the "Book of Love," must be *Ishq* or *Ashq*-nameh and not *Ushk*-nameh as Goethe has termed it. The Persian word for Love is *Ishq* (عشق).

The fourth book, "Buch der Betrachtungen," i.e., the "Book of Contemplation," is named *Tefkir*-nameh. The word is Arabic *Talkir* (تفكير) meaning "reflection, consideration."

The fifth book, "Buch des Unmuths," or "Book of Sickness," is entitled *Rendsch*-nameh, which properly speaking is *Ranj*-nameh, (رنج نامه) i.e., the "Book of Troubles."

The sixth book, "Buch der Sprüche" or the "Book of Sayings or Proverbs" is named *Hikmet*-nameh (حکمت نامه) i.e., the book of wise sayings.

The seventh book, "Buch des Timur" or the "Book of Timur" has taken its name from *Timur* or *Timurlane*, who had, at one time devastated Asia. It is believed, that in the character of *Timur*, Goethe had, before his mind, *Napoleon*, the *Timur* of the West of his time.¹

The eighth book, "*Suleika*-nameh" or the "Book of *Zuleika*," has taken its name from the well-known eastern female character of *Zulikha*, who has been the subject of the song of several Eastern poets. The story of *Yousaph* and *Zulikha* is as much known in the East as that of *Romeo* and *Juliet* in the West. In *Zulikha*, he had in his mind *Marianne vom Willemer*, the newly married wife of his old friend *Willemer*, under whose influence he had fallen in his old age.

The ninth book, "*Das Schenkenbuch*," i.e., the "Book of the Cup-bearer", is named *Saki*-nameh. Goethe has taken this name from a long ode or rather a booklet of verses of *Hafiz* himself. This booklet is named *Saki*-nameh (ساقی نامه). Therein, every alternate couplet begins with the word *Sâkî* (i.e., O Cupbearer!). This poem of *Hafiz* has, in the very beginning, an allusion to *Zardusht* زردوشت or *Zoroaster* and his sacred fire. It has also several allusions to eminent kings and personages of ancient *Iran*, like King *Jamshed*, *Tabundau* (*Rustam*) and his celebrated horse the *Rukhs*, *Mincheher*, *Buzurj Meher*, *Nashirwan*, *Kai Kâus*, *Kai Kobâd*, *Dârâ* and *Kai Khusru*.

¹ Goethe: His Life and Writings by Oscar Browning (1892), p. 126.

² It forms Ode No. 686 in Col. Wilberforce Clarke's Translation.

The tenth book, "Buch der Parabeln" or the "Book of Parables" is entitled Mathal-nameh (Masal-nameh *مثال نامه*) from the Arabic word *masal* which means, a fable, adage or parable.

The eleventh book, which is the subject proper of this Paper, is "Buch des Parsen" or the "Book of the Parsees." It is entitled Parsi-nameh. Lewis translates the words "Buch des Parsen", by "Book of the Persians."¹ But Prof. Dowden translates them by "Book of the Parsees."² There are several reasons why the latter rendering is preferable. Firstly, the proper German word for 'Persian' would be 'Perser' and not Parsi. The word 'Parsi' is rendered into German dictionaries by 'Parsee.' Secondly, the contents of the book shew, that Goethe does not speak in this poem of the modern Persians. Of course, as one would naturally be led to think from the fact of the Divan of the modern Persian poet Hafiz having led him to write his Divan, that Goethe speaks of the modern Persians or Persians in general. But that is not the case. He speaks of the ancient Persians, the ancestors of the modern Persians. And thirdly, Goethe heads his poem in the very beginning as "Vermächtniss altpersischen Glaubens, i.e., "the Last Will of the Old Persian Religion."

The twelfth or the last book, "Buch des Paradieses", i.e., the "Book of Paradise", is entitled "Chuld-nameh." It is Persian Khuld-nameh (*خلد نامه*). The first part of the name is Arabic (*خلد*) *khuld*, meaning eternity, paradise. The word 'paradiese' in the German name of the book (English *paradyse*, Fr. *paradis*) is *ferdous* (*فردوس*) in Persian, meaning a garden, a vineyard, paradise.³ It is originally an Avestan word *pairi-daêza* (*پری دژا*) meaning lit. "an enclosed place." It is one of the four Avesta or old Iranian words that have entered into the old Hebrew of the Bible.

Sarah Austin thus sums up the feeling, breathing through the Divan. "Through all the songs of the Divan breathes the untroubled feeling of an unexpected reconciliation with Life, and a cheerful acquiescence in the conditions of our being. The period of time within which this collection of lyrical matter had birth is shown in the opening song. It is the period in which all was wreck and confusion ;

¹ Life and Works of Goethe by G. H. Lewis, Vol. II, p. 399.

² *Contemporary Review* of July 1868, Vol. XCIV, p. 4.

³ Firdousi, the Homer of the East, derives his name from this word, Firdous.

thrones were overthrown, and nations panic-stricken. And now, when all seemed gloom and despair, the poet had fought through the fight with himself and the outer world; he had gained the power to penetrate with cheerful courage into the deep origin of things in which men still received heavenly wisdom from God in earthly language, and did not distract their heads. The poet, become one with himself and with the world, stands firm against all outward shocks, and is no wise disheartened by them The poet stands isolated and self-dependent. This, which had at first given Goethe such intense pain, has now lost its bitterness. He is become like one of those happy sages of the east, whose unclouded brightness and serenity of soul nothing temporal could disturb; who find their country everywhere, because peace and content reign in their own bosoms." ¹

Goethe's other biographer also says a similar thing: "The *West-östliche Divan* was a refuge from the troubles of the time. Instead of making himself unhappy with the politics of Europe, he made himself happy studying the history and poetry of the East. He even began to study the Oriental languages, and was delighted to be able to copy the Arabic manuscripts in their peculiar characters This forms the peculiarity of the *Divan*—it is West-Eastern; the images are Eastern; the feeling is Western In this Eastern world we recognize the Western poet." ²

* V.

3. HIS PARSI-NAMEH.

Coming to the *Parsi-nâme* itself, before examining it a little in details, I will here briefly sum up its contents in the words of Prof. Dowden ³: "The Book of the Parsees is mainly occupied with the noble 'Legacy of the old Persian faith,' uttered to his disciples by a poor and pious brother now about to depart from earth. The worship of the Sun and of fire, seemingly so abstracted, is regarded by Goethe as profoundly practical. The dying saint enthusiastically aspires towards the light, but his lesson for his brethren is wholly concerned with conduct;—'daily fulfilment of hard services'—such is his legacy in a word; their part it will be to keep pure, as far as human effort can, the soul, the air,

¹ Characteristics of Goethe, from the German of Falk, von Müller, &c. (Conversations-Lexicon, and Supplement) by Sarah Austin (1833), Vol. II, pp. 241-43.

² Life and Works of Goethe by G. H. Lewis, Vol. II., p. 398.

³ His article on "Goethe's West-Eastern Divan" in the *Contemporary Review* of July 1908 Vol. 94, p. 41.

of this elevating worship was daily within reach of every one, even the most lowly. The poor would step forth from his hut, the warrior from his tent, and the most religious of actions would be accomplished. To the new-born child, the baptism of fire¹ was administered in such rays, and all day long, and all life long, the Parsee saw himself accompanied by the Great Luminary in all his doings. The moon and the stars were lighting up the night; they too were out of reach belonging to the realms of the endless. Fire on the contrary walks by man's side, giving light and warmth to the best of its capacity. It becomes a sweet and pious duty to say prayers in presence of this substitute, to bow to what was felt as infinite. Nothing is cleaner than a bright sunrise, and such was to be the cleanliness with which fires were to be kindled and kept, if they were to be and to remain sacred and sunlike."

From Nature to Nature's God is a principle upon which Zoroastrian teachings about worship are principally based. Nature is the grand manifestation of God. If a Zoroastrian is asked about the evidences of the Existence of God, his reply should be that the principal evidence is, what is now spoken of as, the "Argument from Design." Chapter 44 of the Yaçna serves as an instance. A Parsee's prayer, now named, *char disa ni nama* (ચારે દિસાની નમઃ), i.e., obeisance in all four directions, in reciting which four times, he turns each time to all the four directions, East, South, West and North, beginning with the East and ending with the North, shews his faith, that he believes in the omnipresence of God, in his attractive presence in the great objects of Nature, the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, &c.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie, the great American millionaire when he was once in Bombay, on seeing a Parsee pray before the Sun and the great sea at Back Bay, thus spoke of what Goethe calls the "elevating worship of the Parsis": "Fire was there in its grandest form, the setting Sun, and water in the vast expanse of the Indian Ocean outstretched before them. The earth was under their feet, and wafted across the sea; the air came laden with the perfumes of 'Arabia the blest.' Surely no time or place could be more fitly chosen than this for lifting up the soul to the realms beyond sense. I could not but participate with these worshippers in what was so grandly beautiful. There was no music save the solemn moan of the waves as they broke into foam on the beach. But where shall we find so mighty an organ, or so grand an anthem?"

¹ Vide the *Sad-dar* which speaks of kindling a lamp or fire on the birth of a child.

"How inexpressibly sublime the scene appeared to me, and how insignificant and unworthy of the unknown seemed even our cathedrals 'made with human hands,' when compared with this looking up through Nature unto Nature's God ! I stood and drank in the serene happiness which seemed to fill the air." ¹

Goethe's comparison of the splendour of a king with that of the great luminary reminds us of King Akbar's view, expressed by his great minister Abul 'I Fazal in his Akbar-nameli. He says :

"His Majesty maintains that it is a religious duty and divine praise to worship fire and light ; surely, ignorant men consider it forgetfulness of the Almighty, and fire-worship. But the deep-sighted know better. As the external form of the worship of 'the select' is based upon propriety, and as people think the neglect of some sort of worship abominable, there can be nothing improper in the veneration of that exalted element, which is the source of man's existence and of duration of his life ; nor should base thoughts enter such a matter.

"How beautifully has Shaik Sharaf-ud-din Munyari said : 'What can be done with a man who is not satisfied with the lamp, when the Sun is down ?' Every flame is derived from that fountain of divine light (the Sun), and bears the impression of its holy essence. If light and fire did not exist, we should be destitute of food and medicines ; the power of sight would be of no avail to the eyes. The fire of the Sun is the torch of God's sovereignty". ²

The tone of justification for the veneration paid to the Sun, adopted here by Abul Fazl, in the words, "If light and fire did not exist, we should be destitute, etc.," reminds us of a similar tone of justification used in the Avesta in the Khurshed Nyāish and Kurshed Yasht (the Invocation in honor of the Sun) and implied in the words "Should the Sun not rise up, then the Dævas would destroy all things, etc." ³

With regard to the baptism of fire to the new-born child, referred to by Goethe, one may refer to the Persian custom described in the Persian Sud-dar. It says : "When the child becomes separate from the mother, it is necessary to burn a lamp for three nights and days, if they burn a fire it would be better." ⁴ Dr. Thomas Hyde, in his "Veterum Persarum

¹ As quoted by B. Lang in his "Modern Zoroastrians," p. 220.

² The Ain-i-Akbari, translated by Blochmann, Vol. I., p. 48.

³ Yt. vi. S. B. E., Vol. XXII., p. 86.

⁴ Chapter XVI of S. B. E. Vol. XXIV., p. 277. Text, edited by Mr. B. N. Dhabhar, p. 15.

et Partiorum et Medorum Religionis Historia", published in the middle of the 18th century, rests a good deal upon the Sad-dar for some parts or his version about the ancient Persians. It is possible that this work also was one of the books studied by Goethe for his materials about the ancient Persians.

Before we proceed further, we would notice here, what Mr. G. H. Lewis, a biographer of Goethe, says of Goethe's views in 1813, about the practice of paying reverence to the Sun as a manifestation of God. Mr. Lewis says ¹ ?

Goethe's view
about the Venera-
tion for the Sun.

"But against dogmatic teachings he opposed the fundamental rule, that all conceptions of the Deity must necessarily be *our* individual conceptions, valid for us, but not to the same extent for others. Each has his own religion; must have it as his individual possession: let each see that he be true to it, which is far more efficacious than trying to accommodate himself to another's. . . .

" 'I believe in God,' was, he said 'a beautiful and praiseworthy phrase; but to *recognize* God in all his manifestations, *that* is true holiness on earth ' He looked upon the Four Gospels as genuine, 'for there is in them a reflection of a greatness which emanated from the person of Jesus, and which was of as divine a kind as was ever seen upon earth.' If I am asked whether it is in my nature to pay Him devout reverence I say—certainly! I bow before Him as the divine manifestation of the highest morality. If I am asked whether it is in my nature to reverence the Sun, I again say—certainly! For he is likewise a manifestation of highest Being. I adore in him the light and the productive power of God; by which we all live, move, and have our being."

With the Persian reverence for the Sun and the fire is connected the idea of what Goethe calls, "Würde der Sämmtlichen Elemente", i.e., the "Dignity of all the Elements." Goethe thus speaks of this subject in his "Notes and Discussions":

"It is, however, important to notice that the ancient Parsres did not worship fire only: their religion is clearly based on the dignity of all elements, as manifesting God's existence and power. Hence the sacred dread to pollute water, the air, the earth. Such respect for all natural forces that surround man leads to every civic virtue. Attention, cleanness, application are stimulated and fostered."

¹. The Life and Works of Goethe (1833), Vol. II, p. 394.

"The strange mode of disposing of their dead is due to excessive care of not soiling the pure elements. The municipal police too acts on these principles: Cleanliness of the streets was a matter of religion. . . . Owing to such living and practical worship it is likely, there should have been that incredible population to which history bears witness."

The Iranian idea of purity entertained by the view of a German Scholar, Dr. Rapp, who wrote about 50 years after Goethe, is worth noting here, as it supports the view of Goethe. Dr. Rapp says:

Another German scholar's view of the Iranian Idea of Purity.

"The Iranians had a cultivated sense for purity and decency; whatever has in the slightest degree anything impure, nauseous in itself, instils into them an unconquerable horror. This has a connection in part with the fact, that the impure is mostly even unhealthy and harmful, but in several cases the cause of the impurity does not allow of being traced back to that fact. The Iranians had in a certain measure a distinct sixth sense for the pure. All of that sort has, according to their view, their origin in darkness, in obscurity; in such substances, according to their conceptions, the evil spirits dwell, and when they let such sorts to approach near to them, they thereby offer to the evil spirits admission into, and dominion over themselves."

Goethe refers to the Iranians' solicitude to keep the ground, water, and air pure. He attributes the origin of their custom of the disposal of the dead to that solicitude for not soiling the ground. He makes his testator direct, that even fields be laid out on a neatly purified ground.

To keep all ground neat and pure is one of the oft-repeated *far-mans* of the Avesta. In the *Vendidad*, such a ground is represented as feeling pleased and delighted. In reply to Zoroaster's questions, Ahura Mazda describes at some length the different kinds of ground which feel delighted. They are the following:—

1. The piece of ground where the pious say their prayers. In other words, a place of worship is the first that feels delighted.

1. "Die Religion und Sitte der Perser und übrigen Iranier nach den griechischen und römischen Quellen" (Religion and Customs of the Persians and other Iranians, according to the Greek and Roman authors). German Oriental Society's Journal, Vol. XVII, Leipzig, 1863, pp. 52-56. Translated from the German of Dr. Rapp by Mr. K. R. Camm, in his "The Zoroastrian Mode of Disposing of the Dead", p. 19.

2. The place where righteous persons live with their families in peace, piety and plenty.
3. The water-less ground when irrigated, and the moist ground when dried or reclaimed, feel delighted. The ground feels more delighted when cultivated.
4. The ground where cattle are bred.
5. The ground where cattle go for pasture and which they fertilize by their manure.

On the other hand, the following pieces of ground feel grieved :—

1. The ground of volcanic crevices which are seats of unhealthiness and disease.
2. The ground where men are buried.
3. The ground which has graves or tombs—structures over it. According to the spirit of the teachings of the Avesta, pure and simple burial—though not good in itself—is far better than burial with structures, which delay quick decomposition and prevent the bodies from being soon reduced to dust. The structures make the burial-ground, seats of diseases.
4. Uneven ground, full of holes and crevices which engender sickness.
5. The ground, whereon people lead an unrighteous life.

The following classes of persons are spoken of as those who make ground feel delightful :—

1. The man who disinters buried bodies and exposes them, and thus frees the ground from being impure and unclean.
2. The man who destroys tombs or structures over the graves and thus helps an early decomposition.

Goethe makes his testator direct, that waters of canals, streams, and rivers must have "a free course and cleanness. As Purity of Water. Senderud¹ comes to you quite pure, from the mountain regions, so let him depart again quite

¹ The Senderud of Goethe is the Zenderud (سند رود) of Isfahan, of which M. Barbier de Meynard, basing his work on the *Modjem el-Bouldan* of Yakout and other Arab and Persian writers, says: "C'est un des noms de la rivière célèbre qui passe à Isfahân et arrose plusieurs bourgs et campagnes de son territoire. C'est une grande rivière dont les eaux sont douces et fécondantes (*Dictionnaire Géographique, Historique et Littéraire De la Perse*, p. 289).

pure." He dilates a little on this subject in his notes and discussions and refers to the Iranians' "sacred dread to pollute water, the air and earth." He adds "on the one hand they would not soil a river, and on the other hand they were digging canals with careful economy of water and they kept them clean."

Both Herodotus and Strabo refer to the Iranians' scrupulous care for the cleanliness of water. Herodotus says: "They neither make water, nor spit, nor wash their hands in a river, nor defile the stream with urine, nor do they allow any one else to do so, but they pay extreme veneration to all rivers."¹ Strabo says: "The Persians never pollute a river with urine, nor wash nor bathe in it; they never throw a dead body, nor anything unclean into it!"²

The Avesta enjoined, that an Iranian should never spoil the water of rivers. Not only that, but if he saw some decomposing matter in a stream or rivulet, he should stop at once, whether he be going on foot, driving, or riding, and go into the water as far as he can and remove the filth. This injunction was latterly stretched a little too far, and applied even to salt water; and we find from Tacitus,³ that in the time of the Roman Emperor Nero, Tiridates, a Zoroastrian king of Armenia, refused to go to Rome when summoned to that court, on the ground, that he had to cross the sea, where he would be obliged to pollute the water against the dictates of his religion.

Goethe speaks of the religion of the Parsees as based on "the dignity of all elements," and, while speaking of their Purity of Fire. "strange mode of disposing of their dead," says that that is "due to excessive care of not soiling the pure elements."

Now, one can easily understand how air, earth, and water can be kept pure, but not so easily, how fire can be kept pure. Of course, a Parsee is asked to be careful to see, that he places dry, clean, and fragrant wood over his sacred fire. That is a kind of physical purity. But in a Pahlavi writing attached to the Pahlavi Shāyast lā Shāyast,⁴ fire, not only the sacred fire of the fire-temples but also the culinary fire burning in one's hearth at home, is required to be kept pure and clean. Here, it is the work of spiritual purity that is spoken of. Physical purity is here a symbol of moral purity. So, it

¹ Bk. I, 138. Cary's Translation (1889), p. 62.

² Bk. XV, Chap. III, 16. Hamilton and Falconer's translation, Vol. III, p. 137.

³ Works of Tacitus, Vol. I. The Annals, Book XV, p. 24. The Oxford Translation.

⁴ S. B. E. Vol. V., p. 273. Shāyast lā Shāyast, Appendix, Chap. XV, 12.

is said, that if one cooks upon the fire of his house some food that he has purchased from money dishonestly acquired, he defiles the fire, he makes it impure. Similarly, if a worshipper offers to the sacred fire of the fire-temple odoriferous wood or incense that is bought from money acquired dishonestly, he displeases the fire.

With purity and cleanliness, go, to a certain extent, Order, Harmony, Discipline which help one in their daily fulfilment of duty and work. Goethe makes his testator direct:—"When you plant trees let them stand in rows, for he (the Sun) gives prosperity to what is well ordered."

'Order' is one of the characteristic teachings of the Avesta. The word 'Asha' which is one of the few technical words of the Avesta that cannot be sufficiently well rendered into another language, significantly contains the idea of Order. The word Asha is Sanscrit *rita* and philologically corresponds to right. What is good, right or perfect in points of Order, Discipline, Purity, Harmony, Truth, Beauty, is Asha. It carries with it, the idea, not only of physical Order, but moral Order. Ahura Mazda, is the Ashoân Asho, the Most Orderly of the Orderlies.

VI.

4. PARSI-NAMEH, BOOK OF THE PARSEES.

Testament of the Old Persian Faith.

(Translated by Father Noti from the German.)

What testament, brethren, is to come to you from him who is departing, from him the poor and pious, whom you, juniors, have patiently nursed and whose last days you have honoured by your cares?

Often we have seen the king riding along, decked with gold and accompanied by gold on every side, gems being sown like dense hail-stones on him and on his nobles.

Did you ever envy him for this? and did you not more nobly feed your eyes, when the Sun on morning's pinions arose in his arched course over the innumerable peaks of Darnawend?

Who could keep his eyes from looking at that spectacle? I felt, I felt a thousand times, during so many days of my life, that I was carried along with him at his coming, to recognize God on his throne and to call him the Lord of life's fountain and to act (in a way) worthy of that sublime sight and to proceed on my way in His light.

But when the fiery circle ascended and was completed, I stood as if dazed in darkness, I struck my breast and threw my limbs, front forward, down to the ground.

And now let me make a holy testament for your fraternal will and memory : the daily observance of heavy duties : no other revelation is required.

As soon as a new born child moves pious hands, let him forthwith be turned towards the Sun, let him be bathed, body and soul, in the fiery bath. He will feel every morning's grace.

Let the dead be given to the living ; let even the animals be covered with rubbish and earth and let what seems to you impure, be concealed, as far as you have the power.

Let your field be laid out on a neatly purified ground, in order that the Sun may like to shine upon your industry. When you plant trees, let them stand in rows, for he (the Sun) gives prosperity to what is well ordered.

Also the water must never lack in its channels a free course and cleanness. As Senderud comes to you quite pure, from the mountain regions, so let him depart again quite pure.

That the soft fall of the water may not be weakened, take care, to dig out diligently the channels. Reeds and bulrushes, newts and salamanders, let them be destroyed, one and all.

When you have thus purified earth and water, the Sun will like to shine through airs where he is worthily received and where he produces life and salvation and welfare of life.

You, who are harassed from labour to labour, be consoled ; now the universe is purified and now ~~Man may venture~~, to strike the image of God out of the flint.

Take joyfully notice, where the flame is burning : clear is the night and lithe are the limbs.

On the active fires of the hearth, what is raw in the saps of plants and beasts, is made mature.

If you carry wood, do it joyfully : for you carry the seed of the earthly sun. If you pluck *Pambeh*,¹ you may confidently say : This will be made into a wick and bear the Holy.

¹ Pambeh is Persian پنبه meaning cotton or twist.

If you piously recognize in the burning of every lamp the semblance of a higher light, no mishap shall ever prevent you from adoring the throne of God in the morning.

This is the imperial seal of our existence, this is the mirror of the Deity for us and the angels, and all that but stutter the praise of the Most High, are gathered there in circles round circles.

And wish to bid good-bye to the banks of Senderud and to soar up to Darnawend to meet him rejoicing, when he comes up at dawn and to bless you from there in all eternity.

If Man values the earth, because the Sun shines on it, if he delights in the vine, which weeps at the touch of the knife, as it feels, that its juices, well-matured and world-refreshing, will become incentive to many powers, but stifling to many more : he understands, that he has to thank for this that heat which makes all this prosper ; he will, when drunk, stammer and totter ; he will when moderate, sing and rejoice.

VII.

THE ANCIENT PARSEES.

(Translated by Father Hömel from the German.)

Gazing at Nature formed the basis of the worship of the ancient Parsees. Whilst adoring the Creator, they turned towards the rising Sun, as the most strikingly glorious phenomenon. They fancied they saw there God's throne, surrounded by brilliant angels. The pomp of this elevating worship was daily within reach of every one, even the most lowly. The poor would step forth from his hut, the warrior from his tent, and the most religious of actions would be accomplished. To the new-born child the baptism of fire was administered in such rays, and all day long, and all life long the Parsee saw himself accompanied by the Great Luminary in all his doings. The moon and the stars were lighting up the night ; they too were out of reach belonging to the realm of the endless. Fire, on the contrary, walks by man's side, giving light and warmth to the best of its capacity. It becomes a sweet and pious duty to say prayers in presence of this substitute, to bow to what was felt as infinite. Nothing is cleaner than a bright sunrise, and such was to be the cleanliness with which fires were to be kindled and kept, if they were to be and to remain sacred and sunlike.

Zoroaster seems to have been the first to transform this noble and pure religion of Nature into an intricate worship. Mental prayer,

which includes and excludes all religions, and which penetrates the whole of life only with a few privileged minds, develops with most men only as an ardent, enrapturing feeling of the moment ; but if this disappears, man is restored to himself, and being neither contented nor occupied any longer, he relapses into endless tedium.

To fill this tedium with consecrations and purifications, with walking to and fro, bowing and stooping, forms the duty and profit of the Priests ; in the course of centuries, these carry their trade to endless triflings. He who is able to take a prompt survey from the primitive childlike worship of the rising Sun, to the silliness of the Guebers, as it is to be found even at the present day in India, the same will see in the former a fresh nation starting from sleep to salute the early dawn, and in the latter a backward people who try to expel common tedium by pious tedium.

It is, however, important to notice that the ancient Parsees did not worship fire only ; their religion is clearly based on the dignity of all elements, as manifesting God's existence and power. Hence the sacred dread to pollute water, the air, the earth. Such respect for all natural forces that surround man leads to every civic virtue. Attention, cleanliness, application are stimulated and fostered. On this, culture of the soil was based : for, on the one hand, they would not soil a river, and, on the other hand, they were digging canals, with careful economy of water, and they kept them clean. The circulation of these canals gave rise to fertility of the soil, so that the cultivation of the realm was, at that time, ten times larger. Everything on which the Sun smiled was pursued with the utmost zeal, and more than anything else they tended the vine, the Sun's favoured child.

The strange mode of disposing of their dead is due to excessive care of not soiling the pure elements. The municipal police too acts on these principles : cleanliness of the streets was a matter of religion ; and even at present, when the Guebers are expelled, banished, despised, and at last finding shelter in ill-famed slums of a suburb, it happens that a dying follower of that religion bequeathes a certain sum, in order that some street of the city may be cleansed forthwith and thoroughly. Owing to such living and practical worship, it is likely, there should have been possible that incredible population to which history bears witness.

So tender a religion, based on God's omnipresence in his visible works, cannot but have a special influence on morals. Look at its principal positive and negative commandments : Not to lie ; not to

make debts ; not to be ungrateful ! The fruitfulness of these doctrines will easily be understood by every moralist and ascetical teacher. In fact the first negative commandment implies the two next, and all others ; for, they are, in fact, derived from untruthfulness and faithlessness. This is probably the reason why the devil is referred to in the East merely as the perpetual liar.

But, as this religion leads to musing, it is likely that it will lend to effeminacy, as there is indeed some trace of the womanish character in their long loose garments. There was, however, a powerful safe-guard in their manners and institutions. They used to carry arms even in times of peace and in familiar life, and they practised the use of arms in every manner possible. Most clever and fast racing was customary among them ; their games too, like the one played with clubs and balls in large play-grounds, kept them vigorous, strong and nimble ; and relentless levies of troops would transform each and every one into heroes at the beck and call of the king.

Let us turn back on their religious feelings. At first, public worship was limited to a few fires, and for this very reason it was more venerable ; then a reverend priesthood multiplied more and more, and at the same rate fires became more numerous. It lies in the nature of perpetually incompatible relations, that the closely united spiritual power should, on a given occasion, rebel against temporal power. Omitting that the Pseudo-Smerdis, who seized the kingdom, had been a priest, that he had been raised, and for some time supported by his colleagues,—we find on several occasions that the priests were dangerous for the rulers.

Scattered by Alexander's invasion, not favoured under his Parthian successors, raised and gathered again by the Sassanides, the Parsees always stuck to their doctrines, and opposed the ruler by whom these were infringed. Thus roused in every possible manner the utmost aversion in both parties, at the union of Kooshru with the fair Schireen, a Christian.

At last, the Parsees were expelled for good by the Arabs, and driven to India. What was left of them and their mental followers in Persia, is despised and insulted down to the present day ; at times tolerated, and persecuted at other times according to the whim of rulers, this religion is still persevering here and there in its primitive purity, even in desolate nooks, as has been said by a poet in "The Old Parsee's Testament."

It can hardly be doubted that in the course of ages much good is due to this religion, and that it contained the possibility of the higher civilization which spread over the Western part of the East. Yet it is exceedingly difficult to convey some notion as to how and whence this civilization was spreading. Many towns were scattered throughout many districts like centres of life; but what appears most marvellous to me is, that the fatal neighbourhood of Indian idolatry could not influence this religion. It is striking that, while the towns of Balkh and Bamian were so close to each other, we see how in the latter the silliest idols of huge dimensions were made and adored, whilst in the former there remained temples of the pure fire, there spring up large monasteries of this confession, and there flocked together numberless *moheds*. How glorious was the organization of these institutes may be gathered from the extraordinary men who came from thence. Out of them came the family of the Barmekides, who were so long flourishing as influential State-Servants, until they were at last,—like an almost similar house of this kind in our day,—rooted out and driven out.¹

¹ I beg to draw the attention of my readers to a very learned and interesting paper by Dr. A. F. J. Remy, entitled "The Influence of India and Persia on the Poetry of Germany (1901)." It was after the above paper was printed that a casual look at my note-book reminded me of this paper, and it was too late to make any use of it here.

ART. V.—*Barlaam and Josaphat.*

BY

H. G. RAWLINSON, M.A.

(Read 17th December 1914.)

The year 633 A. D. is a memorable one in Mahommedan annals. From this date (the year after the death of the Prophet), begins the era of Mahommedan conquest. In 634 the Byzantines under Heraklius were defeated at Hieromax. In the following year the Persians were vanquished at Kādisiya, and Damascus was conquered. Mahommedan rule was in many respects tolerant and enlightened, and the Khalifas were patrons of art and literature. Hence it is not surprising that the ruler of Damascus took as his Prime Minister one Sergius, a Christian by creed, though perhaps, to judge from his surname Mansūr, of semi-Arabic descent. Sergius, after many years of distinguished service, retired to end his days at the monastery of Saint Sabas near Jerusalem. He was succeeded by his son John, who, sheltered behind the Khalifa's throne, carried on a furious conflict with Leo the Isaurian, whose famous Iconoclastic Edict of 726 A. D., had raised a storm of angry dispute in the church. Finally, St. John retired to the monastery where his father had dwelt, and spent his declining years in literary and theological pursuits. There seems very little doubt that St. John of Damascus is the "John the Monk, an honourable and worthy inhabitant of the monastery of St. Sabas," who, we are told in the Introduction to *Barlaam and Josaphat*, was the author of that work. One of the strongest arguments in favour of this view is the famous passage on the veneration of Images (xix. 165),¹ which is singularly appropriate to the opponent of Leo. This is the traditional belief, though it is not actually supported by any MS. earlier than the 12th century. It has, however, been combatted by several writers, notably Zotenberg;² and Catholic scholars are rather inclined to uphold Zotenberg's views, as they naturally hesitate to attribute to a distinguished saint the onus of having introduced Buddhistic legends into Catholic Hagiology.

The story of Barlaam is a typical monkish legend. It is a tale of an Eastern, non-Christian Court. The King Abenner, is a savage perse-

¹ Boissonade's text in *Anecdota Græca*, Paris, 1832, Vol. iv.

² Zotenberg has written much on this work, both in French and German. He edited it in German with E. Meyer in 1843 (Strassburg) and published a *Notice sur le livre de B. and J.* in Paris 1886.

ator of Christianity. He has a son, Iosaph or Josaphat, and at his birth the astrologers prophecy that he shall become a Christian. Abenner, furious at this, attacks the Christians even more savagely than before, and brings up Iosaph in the strictest seclusion. But Iosaph, driving one day in his chariot, sees a sick beggar, lame and blind, at the Palace gates, and begins to ponder on the problem of human suffering. Then a holy man named Barlaam gains admission to the Palace, and narrates to the young Prince the Apologue of the Four Caskets. Encouraged by the reception of this parable, he then discloses himself as the unworthy messenger of God, preaches the Gospel to Iosaph, and finally converts him. The process is a lengthy one, and Barlaam's sermon, with its numerous apologues, occupies the greater part of the book. It is a very complete exposition of Christian doctrine, and contains the eloquent plea for the veneration of Images mentioned already. Iosaph is converted and baptized. Abenner, discovering what has happened, is furious. He persecutes the Christians more cruelly than ever, and sending for Iosaph, argues with him in vain. Finally he employs one Theudas, a second Simon Magus, to cast his spells upon Iosaph. This, too, proves useless, and Theudas, acknowledging himself worsted, becomes a Christian. Ultimately Abenner himself is converted. On his death Iosaph reigns for many years, till, at the approach of old age, he determines to forsake the throne and join the holy Barlaam in his cell. At last both die, having become mighty saints: they are buried by the people in a costly tomb, and many miracles are wrought at their sepulchre, so that all India rang with their fame.

The story of Iosaph became immensely popular in the Middle Ages. In the twelfth century, it was translated into Latin by Simon Metaphrastes. Thence it was incorporated in the Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine. This was printed by Caxton in 1483, and by Wynkyn de Worde in English in 1527. From the Golden Legend, it passed into nearly every language in Europe. Versions are found in Bohemian and Polish; in 1204 a Norwegian king rendered it into Icelandic, and in 1712 an edition in the Tagala dialect of the Philippine Islands appeared at Manila. Nothing need be said here of Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian or Hebrew renderings. The Apologues or Parables were particularly popular in the Middle Ages. They appear, in one form or another, in the *Gesta Romanorum*, the *Decameron*, in Gower and a host of other places. The Parable of the Man and his Three Friends forms the basis of the plot of *Everyman*, and lastly, the Story of the Three Caskets was immortalized by Shakespeare in the *Merchant of Venice*.

Meanwhile, Barlaam and Josaphat had come to be regarded as historical personages. They found their way into Greek Menologies and finally into the Greek calendar, St. Barlaam's day being August 26th and St. Josaphat's November 27th. From the East, St. Barlaam and St. Josaphat were brought, probably by the Crusaders, to the West, and duly found a place in the Martyrology of Gregory XIII., 1582. That the Church never officially recognized them is shewn by the fact that they are assigned neither Masses nor Offices, but they were accepted without question in popular belief. In 1571, a relic of St. Josaphat was presented by the Doge of Venice to the King of Portugal, and it is to this day preserved in the Church of St. André in the city of Anvers in France. A Church is said to be dedicated to St. Josaphat at Palermo. It should, however, be added that there is more than one Josaphat among Christian Saints. There is the Hungarian martyr, Josaphat Kuncevye (1580 A.D.) and it is possible that relics and church are both his, or that the Josaphat of the Church is a syncretism of the two.

The whole atmosphere of the story was no doubt suggested by the *Acts of Thomas*, one of the apocryphal *Acta* of about the fourth century A. D., written probably originally in Syriac by an author of strongly Gnostic tendencies. The *Acta Thomæ*, as is well-known, deals with the supposed adventures of the Apostle at the court of the Indo-Parthian monarch Gondophares, a historical personage, as we know from the coins. In the same way, Abenner no doubt represents some Indo-Parthian monarch. His territory "marches with the borders of Persia" (*προσγγίται τοῖς ὅποις Περσίᾳ* ¹), and his Prime Minister bears the significantly Indo-Parthian title of satrap (*Ἀρχισατραπίας*).² Besides, the Mission of St. Thomas to India is specifically referred to.³ It has, however, been suspected that the story of Iosaph is a great deal older than the *Acta Thomæ*. Some very remarkable resemblances have been traced between the story of Iosaph and that of Gautama Buddha, in that great collection of fables known as the *Jātaka* stories, which undoubtedly represents the popular Buddhist version of Gautama's life and exploits. The parallels are, indeed, singularly close and numerous. First of all, the king consults the astronomers on the birth of Iosaph. "But one of the astrologers, the most learned of all his fellows, spake thus:—'From that which I learn from the courses of the stars, O king, the advancement of the child now born of thee, will not be in thy kingdom but another, better and greater beyond compare.'⁴" In the same way, in the Buddhist legend, eight fortune tellers are called in by the king to view the child Gautama, and one of them, Kondanna,

¹ I. 3.² II. 9.³ I. 4.

Trans. Woodward and Mattingly (Loeb Library. 1914. p. 33.)

declares, "there is naught to make him stay in the household life. He will most undoubtedly become a Buddha, and remove the veil of ignorance and folly from the world".

The next parallel is even more striking. In Barlaam, the king, in order to frustrate the prophecy of the astrologers, huilt for Iosaphat "an exceedingly beautiful palace, with cunningly devised gorgeous chambers; . . . and he forbade any to approach him, appointing, for instructors and servants, youths right seemly to behold. These he charged to reveal to him none of the annoyances of life, neither death, nor old age, nor disease nor poverty nor anything else grievous that might break his happiness And if any of the attendants chanced to fall sick, he commanded to have him speedily removed, and put another plump and well-favoured servant in his place, that the boy's eyes might never once behold anything to disquiet them". This is precisely what Suddhodana does in the Buddhist story. "'From this time forth,' said the king, 'Let no persons be allowed to come near my son. It will never do for my son to become a Buddha.' . . . And the king procured nurses for the future Buddha, women of fine figure and free from all blemish". But man proposes, God disposes. Iosaph when he grows up, insists on going out driving. In his first expedition, "he descried two men, the one maimed, and the other blind. In abhorrence of the sight, he cried to his esquires, 'who are these, and what is this distressing spectacle?' They, unable to conceal what he had with his own eyes seen, answered, 'these be human sufferings, which spring from corrupt matter, and from a body full of evil humours'. . . . The young prince ceased from his questionings, but his heart was grieved at the sight which he had witnessed, and the form of his visage was changed by the strangeness of the matter." Another day he goes out, and in the same way happens with an old man, "well stricken in years, shrivelled in countenance, feeble-kneed, bent double, grey-haired, toothless, and with broken utterance." Again the prince asks the same question, and receives the same answer. Filled with anguish, he exclaims, "Bitter is life and fulfilled of all pain and anguish. If this be so, how can a body be careless in the expectation of an unknown death, whose approach is as uncertain as it is inexorable?"¹ This, again, is just what happened to Gautama. He mounts his chariot for a drive in the park. "'The time for the enlightenment of the prince draweth nigh,' thought the gods. 'We must shew him a sign.' And they changed one of their number into a decrepit old man, broken-

¹ Warren *Buddhism in translations* (Harvard, 1906), p. 52.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 35.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 55-59.

toothed, grey-haired, crooked, and bent of body, leaning on a staff and trembling, and shewed him to the future Buddha. . . . Then said the future Buddha to the charioteer, 'Friend, pray who is this man? Even his hair is not like that of other men.' And when he heard the answer, he said, 'Shame on birth, since to everyone that is born, old age must come.' "

These parallels are very remarkable, and may be accepted without hesitation. The story of the Great Renunciation was first brought to modern Europe by Marco Polo, who tells it in connection with the Śrī Pāda on Adam's Peak in Ceylon.¹ This was at the end of the thirteenth century. In 1612, Diego de Couto noticed the resemblance between the two stories; this was scientifically established by Laboulaye in 1859,² and by Benfy and Leibrecht in the following year.³ It has been further suggested that many of the apologues have also an Eastern origin, but apparently this has not yet been definitely proved.⁴

The question arises, how did the author get hold of the Buddha story? The story appears to have become known generally in the Eastern Church through the influence of Manes, the founder of the Manichaean heresy, who called himself "the new Buddas," and introduced both Buddhist and Christian doctrines into the strange farrago of beliefs which he compiled.⁵ Persia was the meeting place of many creeds, and Gnosticism, another heresy due to contact with Eastern beliefs, was strongest there. The *Acts of Thomas* is deeply imbued with Gnostic teaching, and was probably originally written in Syriac. One theory, then, which may be reasonably propounded, is that St. John availed himself of some Gnostic or Manichaean accounts of Buddhism. Another possible theory is that there actually existed at one time a Syriac or Arabic translation of certain Buddhist books, such as the *Jātakas*, containing an account of the Great Renunciation.⁶ This is quite possible when we consider the famous fables of Bidpai. Certain stories from the *Pañcha Tantra* and the *Hitopadeśa* were translated by one Barzanyeh, at the Court of Nushirvan, into Pehlevi. From Persian they were translated into Arabic, in the life time of St. John, by one Abdalla-ibn-Mukaffa. The Mahomedans, in their thirst for knowledge, translat-

¹ Travels, III, 27.

² Journal de Débats, July 1859.

³ Jahrbuch für Roman, 1860, p. 314.

⁴ See Max Müller on this point, in his essay on *Migration of Fables* (Selected Essays, I, p. 306.)

⁵ See the *Archelus* et *Manetis Disputatio* of Archelus, Bishop of Carthage, 278 A. D., and Jerome's *Contra Jovin.*, I. ii. 26.

⁶ The *Libri* mentions a *Kāṭabāt-Budh*; See Rehatsek's translation, probably of an abstract, in *J. R. A. S.* XVII, 1872.

ed a large number of Hindu works, literary and scientific, in this manner, and it is quite possible that there was a version, now lost, of the story of Gautama, or at least of some of the *Jātakas*. It will be remembered that in the Introduction the author directly *calls* the story a translation, "brought from India by John the Monk," (*ιστορίᾳ ψυχροφίλῃ ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδίας μετενεχθεῖσα διὰ Ἰωάννου μονάχου*), and he does not claim in the least to have invented it. Another passage, at the end of the Introduction, is still more explicit. The Author talks of the story as one "that has come to him, which devout men from the inner land of the Ethiopians, whom our tale calleth Indians, delivered unto me, *translated from trustworthy records* (*ἐκ ἐμπιστευμάτων ταύτης ἀπειθῶν μεταφράσαντες*). Nothing could be more explicit than this. Besides this, it is probable that the name Iosaphat ("The Lord gathers") is chosen on account of its resemblance to Younasaf, the Persian form of Bodhisattva.¹ That the whole story is a farrago borrowed from various sources, is illustrated by the discovery that the entire speech of Nachor² is taken wholesale from the *Apology of Aristides*.

¹ Benfey tries to connect Theudas and Devadatta. This may be so, but Theudas is probably a stock character based on the Simon Magus legends.

² XXVII, 240.

ART. VI.—*The successors of Rāmānuja and the growth of
sectarianism among the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas.* (1138-1310.)

BY.

V. RANGACHARI, M.A.

(Contributed.)

INTRODUCTION.

Any one acquainted with the enormous mass of post-Rāmānujic Śrī-Vaiṣṇava literature will notice one most conspicuous feature about it,—its sectarianism. Two sets of treatises there are, two sets of biographies or *Guruparamparās* which give two different accounts of the personalities and achievements of the successors of Rāmānuja, accounts which are of course one-sided and conflict with each other, and which the critical historian has to compare and criticise with a view to the description of the true trend of events which took place after Rāmānuja. A grasp of the history of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism of this period is absolutely impossible without an understanding of this phenomenon. A historian who does not take into account this double set of biographical histories, this double set of controversial writings, both equally ancient and both beginning immediately after Rāmānuja, can hardly be an impartial historian. There is always the danger of depending on the works of one school alone and ignoring the other either owing to ignorance or to sectarian prejudice. And that is what some have already¹ done, thereby deluding the historic world into wrong, incomplete and one-sided knowledge of Vaiṣṇava history. The two sets of literature are due to the division of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas, immediately after Rāmānuja, into two schools of thought which later on, by the end of the 14th century, developed into the two great sects of Vaṇḍagalaīs and Teṇḍagalaīs. The differences between the two schools, the causes philosophic, ethical and linguistic, which gave rise to them, will be described in detail in their proper place; but here it is enough to draw attention to the fact that the unity of Vaiṣṇavism died after Rāmānuja; that its growing sectarianism gave rise to sectarian literature; that the hierarchical succession of the one sect is different

¹ E. G. the writings of Messrs. Govindacharya and Gopinatha Rao. The latter appeared in the *Madras Review*, 1905, and the former in various recent numbers of the *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*.

from that of the other ; that a true history of Vaishṇavism is impossible without an adequate acquaintance with the literature of both the sects.

With these premises I shall proceed to sketch the history of Vaishṇavism in this age. My treatment of the subject will naturally fall under three heads. I shall first describe the *Guruparamparā* or apostolic succession according to the Vaḍagalai school. I shall then describe that given in the Teṅgalai school. I shall incidentally compare the events and personalities as given by the two schools, and as a necessary part of the explanation, describe in the next section the differences, doctrinal and otherwise, between them. This done, we shall be able to understand the activities of the two great men, Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya and Vēdāntāchārya, who come at the end of this transitional period and who have been, rightly or wrongly, considered by the generality of men to have fixed the two schools into two ever-widening sects.

Before proceeding to the description of the *Guruparamparās*, however, I should like to say a word about the chronology of this period of growing sectarianism. It is well-known that Rāmānuja died in 1137. Vēdāntāchārya, the great scholar and saint who is the special object of adoration among the Vaḍagalais and who is generally considered by them to be the equal of Rāmānuja himself, was apostle at Śrīraṅgam¹ after 1310 ; while his great contemporary Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya, the father of Teṅgalaism, if we can use that expression, was an elderly man during Vēṅkaṭanātha's early career, and died in 1327, immediately after the Mahomedan capture and sack of Śrīraṅgam.² The differences between the two schools therefore became stereotyped into dogmas and creeds in the first half of the 14th century. Two centuries in other words, elapsed from the death of Rāmānuja to the time of the definite formation of Vaḍagalaism and Teṅgalaism ; and my object in the present dissertation is to cover this period of two centuries, to describe the activities of the men who led the two growing parties, to shew how they influenced the course of Indian History and the destiny of a conspicuous portion of mankind. One thing ought not to be forgotten in connection with this period ; and that is, it is an *age of growing party spirit, and not of actual party split*. That happened, as I have said, in the 14th century. These two centuries then were a period of preparation for modern sectarian Vaishṇavism. The age is essentially transitional in nature. Before it, Vaishṇavism had been characterised by unity ; after it, by its division into two irreconcilable sects ; and during it, affairs were naturally unsettled. Conflicting

¹ We shall subsequently see that he was born in 1269 and, after a good deal of lecture-work and pilgrimage throughout India, became the Pontiff at Śrīraṅgam about 1310.

² See the *Tatitūdrapravaṇṇaprakāśa* and the *Kōyilōṅgu*.

tendencies are seen, but a view of the period as the whole shows the gradual development of minute differences in philosophy and actual conduct of life into sectarian dogmas, till the strong personalities of Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya and Vēṅkaṭanātha or rather the enthusiasm of their respective admirers gave a finishing stroke to the whole movement and converted the parties into divisions of creed and cult.

SECTION I.

THE VADAGALAI VERSION OF APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION.

On his deathbed, Rāmānuja appointed, in the presence of his disciples and followers, Tirukkuruhaipirān Piḷḷān¹ as his successor to the spiritual throne, both *Bhāshyic* and *Prabandhic*. At the same time he appointed Kḍāmbi Āchchān, Naḍādūr Ālvān and Mudali Āḍḍān as Bhāshya Simhāsanātipatis. Of these Kḍāmbi Āchchān's position was peculiar. He was not indeed an Ubhaya Simhāsanātipati like Piḷḷān, but he was much more than a mere Bhāshya Simhāsanātipati, as Rāmānuja had imparted to him, as to Piḷḷān, certain Rahasyas or secret doctrines, at the point of his death. The period of Piḷḷān's spiritual headship of the Vaishṇava community was characterised by a good deal of pious activity.

His gratitude to his great departed master, he evinced by setting up his idol in the Śrīraṅgam temple. He also authorised other men, once disciples of Rāmānuja and now his, to go to different sacred places and establish his images. Mudali Āḍḍān, for example, did so at Śrīperumbūdūr. Kḍāmbi Āchchān and Nallān established his idol at Tirunārāyaṇapuram. Naḍādūr Ālvān accomplished the same task at Conjeeveram, and Piḷḷai Tirumalai Nambi at lower and upper Tirupatis. In this way the leaders of the different centres of Vaishṇavism joined Rāmānuja with the God, and made him as much an object of worship, of festivals, etc., as God himself.

The *Guruparamparā* does not say how long Piḷḷān wielded the spiritual headship and when he died. But it is not impossible to arrive at an approximate date for the events. We know that Piḷḷān² was born in K. 4163, *Plava*, i. e. 1061 A. D., and that therefore he must

¹ Piḷḷān (Sathakōpa or Kurukōvāṇa) was a scholar both in the *Bhāshyas* and in the *Bhagavat Vīshaya*. He was the author of the celebrated commentary on the *Tiruvēdymolī* called the 6000, and of a treatise on Mantra and Rahasya called after his own name, and purporting to be the summary of his teachings to Piḷḷai Rājamahēndra Perumāḷ Arayṇi. See the *Triennial Catalogue of Tamil MSS.*, 1913, p. 229.

² See *V. G.* 1913 edn., p. 31. The exact date of his birth is K. 4163, *Plava*, *Aippasī*, *Śukla-pinchami*, Mouday, Constellation *Pārāḍa*.

have been 76 years old when the Bhāshyakāra died and when he became the Pontiff. None of the orthodox writers tell us as to the actual age of Piḷḷān at his death; but if we suppose—and it is a mere supposition—that he lived 100 years, it is plain that he must have been Āchārya for 24 years and that he must have died in 1161 A. D. It was about this year, then, that he must have been succeeded by his chief disciple Viṣṇuchitta¹ or Eṅgaḷ Ālvān as he was more commonly called. Eṅgaḷ Ālvān was comparatively young when he assumed the spiritual headship. Having been born² in K. 4208 or 1106-7 A. D., he must have been about 55 years old when his preceptor and predecessor passed away from this world; and as we do not hear of an early death in his case, we shall not be unreasonable to suppose that the period of his Āchāryic dignity must have covered the long space of between thirty and forty years, if not more. It will be seen from this that the termination of Viṣṇu Chitta's³ career can be placed roughly at about 1200 A. D. This conclusion is in keeping with the date

assigned by the *Guruparamparā* to Naḍādūr Ammaḷ Varadāchārya.. or Varadāchārya, the chief disciple and successor of Eṅgaḷ Ālvān on the apostolic throne. Naḍādūr

Ammaḷ⁴ was the grandson of that Naḍādūr Ālvān who was the nephew of Rāmānuja's and one of the Bhāshya Simhāsanātipatis. Born in the year 1165 A. D., i.e., a few years after the accession of Eṅgaḷ Ālvān to the apostolic dignity, he became the disciple of the latter when he was aged enough to study the Bhāshya, that is, when he was, we may suppose, about twenty years of age. Varadāchārya's father Dēva Rāja Perumāḷ, though a Bhāshya scholar, taught his son only the Great Mantra and its significance; and while about to begin the Śrī Bhāshya, decided to send him to Eṅgaḷ Ālvān at Śrīraṅgam on the ground that he was too old to teach; that his parental affection, moreover, was inconsistent with tutorial strictness; that, above all, Eṅgaḷ Ālvān had inherited the double throne and had been initiated into those secret doctrines which had been originally imparted by Rāmānuja to Piḷḷān. Thus it was that Varadāchārya, himself a son of a Bhāshya Simhāsanātipati line, became the disciple of Eṅgaḷ Ālvān,

¹ He is considered to be the incarnation of Vijaya.

² Year *Vyaḍa*, Monday, *Āni*, *Subla-taddāni*, constellation. *Śruti*, 400 F. G. 1913, p. 31.

³ Some of Eṅgaḷ Ālvān's teachings are contained in his work *Sārārtha Chatuṣṭayam*. It deals with the four topics of the nature of man, the object to be accomplished by him, the means to be employed for it, and the obstacles to be overcome by him. *Trīni, Cāṭaḷ, Tamil*, 1913, p. 236. He was also the author of the celebrated commentary on the Viṣṇupurāṇa, known as *Viṣṇuchittiyam*.

⁴ The exact date of his birth is: K. 4267, *Parthiva*, *Chitani*, *Pūṇima*, Monday. Constellation *Chitra*. His birthplace was Conjeevaram. He is considered to be the incarnation of Subhadra. *I. G.* 1913, p. 37.

the Ubhayasimhāsanātipati. The story goes that the latter, when he saw his new disciple at Śrīraṅgam and learnt from him the reason for his resort to him, he undertook to be his master only after exacting from him an oath on the Śrī Bhāṣyā that he would be both disciple and son to him. And he did so with his father's consent; and the result was, Naḍādūr Ammaḷ became, after the death of Eṅgaḷ Ālvān, about 1200 A. D., the leader of Vaiṣṇaviṣm.

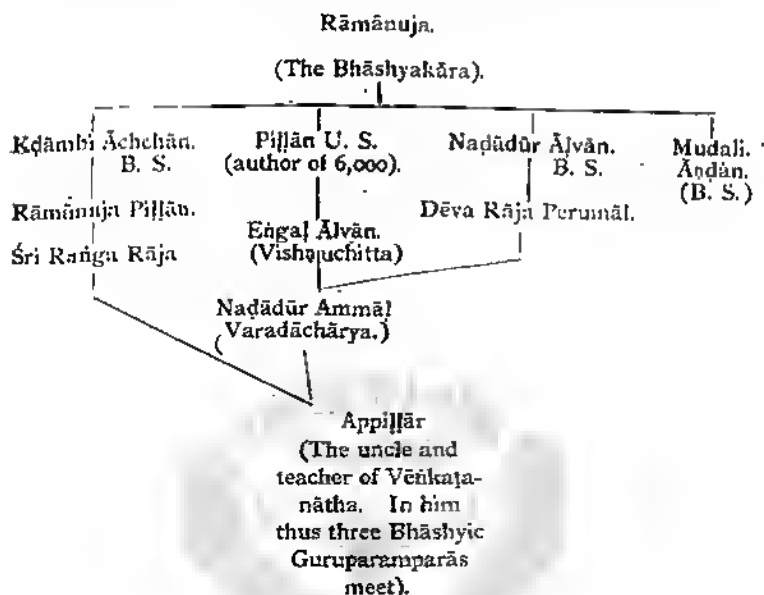
Under the great Varadāchārya or Naḍādūr Ammaḷ two Bhāṣhyic lines were thus combined. Soon the time came for the absorption of another line, *vis.*, that of Kḍāmbi Āchchān. The representative of this family at this time was Kḍāmbi Appiḷḷār. This Appiḷḷār was the 4th in descent from the original Bhāṣhya Simhāsanātipati. We have already seen how, in the eyes of Rāmānuja, Kḍāmbi Āchchān was only second to Tirukuruhai pirān Piḷḷān; how, while he made him one of the Bhāṣhya Simhāsanātipatis, he distinguished him in a special manner by joining him with Piḷḷān in the matter of the secret doctrines he inculcated at the point of his death. Invested with such a supreme privilege, Kḍāmbi Āchchān was lecturing on the Bhāṣhyas independently of Tirukuruhai Piḷḷān after Rāmānuja's death. Kḍāmbi Āchchān's son, Rāmānuja Piḷḷān,¹ was a worthy son of his father; his son and pupil Śrī-Raṅga-Rāja² had a son, whom he named after his father, Rāmānuja, and a daughter Tōṭṭānma, destined later on to become celebrated as the mother of Vēdānta Dēśika. Rāmānuja became so erudite that his contemporaries doubted whether he was that great Piḷḷān himself—*i.e.*, his grand-father—come alive. He therefore came to be known as "Appiḷḷār."³ The master of Vyākarna, of Tarka and of Mīmāṃsa, Appiḷḷār was desirous of completing his studies by entering into the ocean of Vēdāntic philosophy. His father died at this stage, and so he approached the great Naḍādūr Ammaḷ, and became a disciple of his.

¹ Born in K. 4230 (A. D. 1108-9), *Sarvadhāri, Aḷpāḷi, Śuklapañchami*, Monday, *Pūrvāṣṭāda*, *V. G.*, 1912, p. 31. He was thus a year younger than Eṅgaḷ Ālvān, the Āchārya at Śrīraṅgam.

² Born in K. 4265 (A. D. 1163-4) *Śvabhānu, Panguni, Śuklaśaṣṭhi*, Monday, under constellation *Rāhīni*, at Conjeeveram.

³ He was born in K. 4322 (A. D. 1221), *Vikrama, Chitrai, Śuklapañchami*, Friday, under constellation *Tiruvēddirai*, at Conjeeveram. According to some he was called Appiḷḷār, because he was the incarnation of Garuḍa. A plausible colour is lent to this theory by the fact that he was an expert in Garuḍamantra and that he later on taught it to Vēdānta Dēśika. At the time of his birth, his father was 38 years old, and as we are told that the latter died when his son was about to begin the study of the Bhāṣhya, we can infer that he died about his 75th year, *i.e.*, about the year 1240. It was just about 1240, then, that Appiḷḷār must have resorted to Naḍādūr Ammaḷ,—the latter must have been already Āchārya for 20 years.

Thus in the time of Varadāchārya or Naḍādūr Amma], the Bhāshya Simhāsana became one instead of four.¹ The whole relation between the *Bhāshya* and the *Uthaya Simhāsana* and their ultimate union under Ātrēya Rāmānuja (i.e. Appillār) can be thus expressed :—



The period of Varadāchārya's spiritual headship was important not only for the concentration of Āchāryic powers in the hands of one person, but for the geographical origin of the two sects which now divide the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas into two irreconcilable factions. Varadāchārya, it should be understood, was a native of Conjeeveram. Either the devotion to the local God Varadarāja or his own inclination and convenience, made him prefer Conjeeveram to Śrīraṅgam as the place of his residence and the scene of his lectures. Centuries back, Rāmānuja had proceeded from Conjeeveram to Śrīraṅgam and, by his activities there, gave rise to an important landmark in the history of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism.

¹ It is curious that the *Vadagalai Guruparampara* gives no information about the descendants of Mudali Āṇḍān, the 4th Bhāshya Simhāsanaṭīpāṭi. An explanation for this is perhaps to be seen in the fact that the Kandāḍai family became afterwards identified to a large extent with the other party. The *Teng. Guruparampara*, for example, mentions how Kandāḍai Tōḷappa, the great-grandson of Mudali Āṇḍān, gave up his title to Āchāryaship, and became a devoted follower of Nampillai. The Kandāḍais were the first Āchāryic family, moreover, to recognize Maṇavāḷa Mahāmuni as leader.

From that time onward the holy shrine-city on the banks of the Kāvēri had practically monopolised the resort of men of talents and spirituality. And now, about 1,200, the contrary process happened. The apostolic descendant of Rāmānuja and the greatest scholar of his day, Varadāchārya naturally attracted, when he stayed at Conjeeveram, the vast majority of the talents and intellects of the day. The holy banks of the Vēgavati were now more distinguished than those of the Kāvēri, and the celebrated *Kachchivāytān manāpa* echoed with the wranglings of disputants and the arguments of scholars to a larger extent than the temple halls of Śrīraṅgam. This change in the scene of the Āchāryic activity had an unlooked-for effect. It gave a free scope for the expansion of a new party which had come into existence after Rāmānuja. This party, to become afterwards famous as Teṅgalaism, protested against the undue importance attached by Rāmānuja's more orthodox followers to the Bhāshya at the expense of the Prabandha. They held the Tamil *Nālāyiraṭṭaṇḍi* to be superior to the Sanskrit Vēda and Vēdānta as the passport to salvation. They protested, moreover, against the undue ceremonialism of the orthodox and advocated a more popular, less ritualistic, and more devotional creed. They condemned, for the same reason, the rigidity of the caste system and, in theory at least, asserted the equality of mankind. They differed, as I shall show later on, in many other respects; but here these facts are adequate enough to shew that the new party were passionately opposed to the orthodox and traditional one. From the first, the popular party had, as will be shewn in the next section, able and astute leaders. In the pious Embār, the scholarly Bhaṭṭa,¹ the devoted Naṅṅiyar and the enthusiast Nampīlāi they had, it is said, the profoundest scholars possible in the Prabandha. We shall afterwards see that the position of Embār and Bhaṭṭa as given in the Teṅgalai *Guruparampara* is open to doubt; even as regards the others, it can hardly be doubted that they were wanting in that versatility, that brilliance which characterised the apostles of the other party.

This comparative narrowness could not enable them to outshine their rivals, so long as they remained at Śrīraṅgam. But when the latter withdrew to Conjeeveram in the time of Varadāchārya, they obtained a fit opportunity for strengthening themselves. From this time onward Conjeeveram

¹ As a matter of fact every authenticated work of Bhaṭṭa is in Sanskrit and not Tamil; and the important work of Naṅṅiyar known as *Śrīraṅgabhāshyam*, a commentary on a section of the Sanskrit Vēda, is in Sanskrit. The latter however is even more well-known as the author of "the 9000."

began to be identified, chiefly though not of course exclusively, with the Sanskrit, the Bhāṣyic and the traditional school; and Śrīraṅgam became the seat of the Prabandhic, the Tamiḷ, and the popular school. From this time onward, we may speak of the two parties as *Vaḍagalais* and *Tēṅgalais*. Not that the two words came into use then; or that the Vaiṣṇavas became divided into two distinct classes then; in fact, such a distinct cleavage was to take place only in the 14th and 15th centuries. But the elements of potential partisanship came into existence then; and the withdrawal of Varadāchārya to Conjeeveram was evidently a landmark in its development. From these facts it will be understood that the terms *Vaḍagalai* and *Tēṅgalai* are both linguistic and geographical in origin. Linguistically they respectively mean the followers of the Sanskrit and Tamiḷ lores, and geographically¹ the followers of the Conjeeveram and Śrīraṅgam Schools.

Varadāchārya's Achāryaship was thus a most momentous epoch in the history of Vaiṣṇavism. His withdrawal to Two centres of Vaishnavism.		Conjeeveram gave a unique opportunity for the prominence of the Prabandhic School at Śrīraṅgam. From this time onward there were two
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¹ I should like to point out, in this connection, the great blunder made by Monier Williams in his *Hinduism*, p. 125. He attributes the formation of the Vaiṣṇava sects to Vēdāntāchārya who "put himself forward as a reformer, giving out that he was commissioned by the God Viṣṇu himself to purify the faith, i. e., to sweep away incrustations and restore the doctrines of the original founder." This view ignores the fact that the sectarian spirit had been gradually growing for centuries and is based on an inaccurate historical perspective of the whole movement. The statement that Vēdāntāchārya affirmed that the true doctrines "had been more carefully preserved by the northern Brahmans than by the southern" and that, in consequence of this, the terms *Vaḍagalai* and *Tēṅgalai* came into existence, is a mistake. As a matter of fact, Vēdāntāchārya never asserted any such thing,—he never pitted the north against the south. The terms *Vaḍagalai* and *Tēṅgalai* refer to the relative importance attached to Sanskrit (northern lore) and Tamiḷ (southern lore) and not to any doctrines of North India as distinct from South India. There is indeed a geographical significance in these terms; but the North refers to Conjeeveram and South to Śrīraṅgam at first, later on Ālvār Tirunagari further south,—and not to North and South India. (See J. R. A. S., 1918, p. 714.) Monier Williams seems also to think that the *Nāḍiyāraprabandha* was the result of this sectarian movement, that it was compiled by the *Tēṅgalai* party and "claimed to be older than the Sanskrit Veda." The great scholar is of course entirely in the wrong. The nature of his error is too patent to be commented on. For similar mistakes see *Christ Coll. Mag.*, XV, p. 730; *Ind. Ant.*, 1874 (III, 175); *Hopkin's Religions*, 500. Hopkins makes a most ridiculous and incorrect classification of the Vaiṣṇavas. He divides them into Rāmāites and Krishnāites; making the former "the philosophers of the church of Viṣṇu." That is they "were less religious than philosophical," while the contrary was the case with regard to Krishnāites. He divides the Rāmāites then into cat doctrine class and monkey-doctrine class, meaning evidently the *Tēṅgalais* and *Vaḍagalais*. "The monkey Rāmāites of the south (then) are called *Tēṅgalais*." Dr. Grierson also seems to have misunderstood the meaning of the term *Vaḍagalai*. For he says that Rāmānanda and others who brought the Bhāgavata doctrines came to be called "*Vaḍakalais*" (J. R. A. S. 1910, p. 567.)

centres of Vaishnavism—the more versatile party being at Conjeeveram, and the Prabandhic at Śrīraṅgam. The *Guruparampara* speaks with enthusiasm of Varadāchārya's lectures. So much erudition and originality did he display in them that even the leaders of the Prabandhic party—Peria Āchchān Pillai, Vadakkutiruvīdi Pillai and others—came to study under him. The *Tengalai Guruparampara* does not indeed speak of the resort of the Prabandhic leaders to the great *Ubhayasimhāsānātīpati*. Indeed it ignores altogether the existence of the other school and speaks of the Prabandhic leaders as *Ubhayasimhāsānātīpatīs*. But that they were Prabandhic scholars alone and that they resorted to the Āchāryic descendants of Pillān for studying the Bhāshya is clear from various facts. In the first place, while the *Tengalai Guruparampara* speaks of the erudition of its Āchāryās, it describes the works done by them in the Prabandhic field alone. Can it be believed that a work purporting to be a biography of the various saints and to give a detailed description of their intellectual and spiritual achievements, ignores their work in the Bhāshyic field? The cause of the silence lies not in intentional reticence but in the absence of *Bhāshyic* leadership. So long as the Bhāshyic sceptre was wielded by Pillān's successors, Nāñjiyar or Nampillai could not be recognised as the Bhāshyic Āchārya. Here is the explanation for the fact that, even to-day, when the professors of *Tēngalaism* commence to study the Bhāshyās, they first utter not the panegyrics of the Āchāryas given in their own *Guruparampara*, but that of the Āchāryas described in the *Vaḍagalai Guruparampara*.¹

Surrounded and adored by all the Vaishāva scholars, Varadāchārya acquitted himself with remarkable distinction. His lectures on the Bhāshya were written in cadjan leaves by one of his disciples Sudarśanāchārya and became known to the world of scholars under the name *Śrutapradāsika*; while some of his philosophic teachings can be seen in his *Tatvasāra*. It is not certain how long Varadāchārya wielded the *Ubhayasimhāsānātīpati* title; but an incident narrated at this stage in the *Guruparampara* makes an inference of the date of his death possible. The incident will be narrated in detail later on, but here it is sufficient to note that it refers to an interview which Varadāchārya is said to have had with young Vēnkaṇātha, later on the celebrated Vēdānta Dēśika, and in which he is said to have prophesied, from the remarkable manner in which that youth distinguished himself, a great and glorious future for him as the leader of the Vaishṇava world.

¹. Even the most fanatical man of the *Tengalai* school has to first say the *Taniyan* of Vēdāntāchārya and his predecessors, when he studies the Bhāshya. Can this be the case if the leaders whose lives have been sketched in the *Tengalai Guruparampara*, had claimed the power to lecture on the Bhāshyas?

We know that Vēṅkaṭanātha was born in 1269 A.D. We also know that he was five years old when he was introduced to the notice of Varadāchārya. The interview must have therefore taken place in the year 1274 or 1275 and as Varadāchārya is said to have died soon after this, we cannot be far from the truth if we suppose that he must have died about 1277. There is one difficulty, however, it must be pointed out, in accepting this date. According to the Guruparampara, Varadāchārya was born in K. 4267 or 1166 A.D.; and if we suppose that he died in 1277 he must have been 111 years of age at the time of his death. His interview with the five-year old Vēṅkaṭanātha cannot be doubted,—both Vaḍaḡalni and Teṅḡalai versions mention it, though the details of the two accounts differ—nor the year of Vēṅkaṭanātha's birth. It must therefore be held that either Varadāchārya's birth has been ante-dated by a decade or that the Āchārya lived 111 years,—an event not improbable, according to some, in an age when saints were, as a rule, exceedingly long-lived.

On the death of Varadāchārya the Āchāryaship devolved on the greatest of his disciples, Ātrēya Rāmānuja. But as the latter preferred to remain at Conjeeveram, the discharge of Āchāryic duties at Śrīraṅgam fell on his brother-disciple Sudarśanāchārya. The two scholars were carrying on their duties in their respective spheres of work with great profit to their flock and great credit to their names. Ātrēya Rāmānuja seems to have predeceased the other; but as we have reasons to believe that he died soon after the completion of the studies and the marriage of his great nephew Vēṅkaṭanātha (whom he trained with a view to invest him with the pontificate after himself), and as Vēṅkaṭanātha is reputed to have acquired his encyclopedic scholarship by the twentieth year of his age, we shall be quite justified in fixing the time of Ātrēya Rāmānuja's death in about 1295 A.D. At the point of death he, of course, appointed his nephew as his successor. From this time onward there was a new activity in Conjeeveram.

Appiḷḷār and Vēṅkaṭanātha. The genius, the learning, and the character of Vēṅkaṭanātha gained universal reputation; and a new time of prosperity to Viśiṣṭādvaitism came into existence. Vēṅkaṭanātha was engaged in his lectures and his tours till about 1310, when an event which happened at Śrīraṅgam led to his departure from Conjeeveram for the formal assumption of the dignity of pontiff at the holy Vaishṇava stronghold on the Kāvēri. A great Advaitin challenged Sudarśanāchārya and his disciples there to either beat him in controversy or to believe in Advaitism; and none, including Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya and his admirers, was equal to the task, and a special invitation in the name of

god Raṅganātha was sent to Vēṅkaṭanātha; and he, as will be shewn later on in detail, defeated the challenger, established the alleged superiority of Viśiṣṭadvaitism, and laid the foundations of a new epoch in the history of Vaiṣṇavism.

SECTION II.

THE TEṅGALAI VERSION OF APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION.

We have already seen how, after Rāmānuja, the Bhāshya Simhāsana were adorned by four persons and the Bhagavatviśayn Simhāsana by Tirukkurupirān Piḷḷai alone, and how, in course of time, both the dignities came into the hands of Vēṅkaṭanātha. But the Teṅgalais or the Southern school of Vaiṣṇavism, while acknowledging this Simhāsanic arrangement, nevertheless in practice ignore it, and have their own version of apostolic succession. According to them the immediate successor of Rāmānuja was his cousin and admirer Embār.¹ There is a difficulty, however, in believing this. Embār was, according to the very authorities which say that he was Rāmānuja's successor, dead long since. Only eight years younger than Rāmānuja, he would have been about 113 years old when that great scholar and philosopher died; but he died, if we are to believe the *Tirumuṇḍiāḍavai*² of Appillai, a Teṅgalai writer of authority,

Embār and
his date.

when he was 105 years of age. That is, he ought to have died eight years before Rāmānuja. To be more exact, as the Bhāshyakāra left this world in A. D. 1137, Embār must have died about 1130; and to say that he succeeded him as Āchārya is therefore inconsistent and absurd. There is also another objection. A recent critic of the Vaṅgalai school has observed that Embār could not, in the natural course of events, have been a disciple of Rāmānuja. He was, in reality, his co-student and companion, not disciple. Embār's preceptor was his uncle Tirumalai Nambi, who was also the uncle and preceptor of Rāmānuja. Could Rāmānuja, the critic asks, have been the teacher of one who was the disciple of his own teacher? True, the Teṅgalai writers assert that Tirumalai Nambi gave Embār away to Rāmānuja. As if Embār was a chattel! Even if so, how could the relation of preceptor and pupil have risen? The attribution of such a relation is absurd and the invention of Teṅgalai writers. It should be acknowledged that this second objection savours too much of pedantry.

¹ See T. G. 1892, pp. 166-7; T. G. 1909, p. 496 ff.

² See the edn. of 1897, p. 59-60. It is clearly stated here that he was born in K. 4226 (1122 A. D.) and lived for 105 years.

It is difficult to see why Embār, even supposing that he was the disciple of Tirumalai Nambī, could not have been, as Teṅgalai writers say, the pupil of Rāmānuja. There is nothing absurd or incongruous in such a relation: but the chronological difficulty remains.

The Teṅgalai Guruparampara² does not say for how many years Embār was Āchārya. It simply tells us that at the point of his death, he nominated Śrī Parāśara Bhaṭṭar, the son of Kurēśa, as his successor. Here again there are difficulties, chronological and traditional. Chronologically, Bhaṭṭar is said to have been born³ in K. 4163 or A. D. 1062, and to have lived only for 28 years. His death must have taken place, therefore, in A. D. 1090, that is, 47 years before the death of Rāmānuja and 39 years before that of Embār. How could he, under such circumstances, have followed the latter on the apostolic throne? Again there are intrinsic evidences to shew that Bhaṭṭar could not have been the disciple of Embār. The same critic whose views in regard to Embār's place I have already given, disputes the alleged discipleship of Bhaṭṭar to Embār. His argument is that Bhaṭṭar and his twin-brother Vēdavvāsa Bhaṭṭar (or Śrīrāma Pillai) had for their preceptor their father Kūrat Āpvan alone. This, he says, is borne out by the 36,000 itself⁴ which says that, immediately after his explanation of the 10th verse in the 32nd Tiruvāymoli, the father and teacher taught the *Tirumantra* to his boys on the ground that none knew when they would die and therefore ought to be prepared for it at all times. Soon after this, Bhaṭṭar died in the 28th year⁵ of his age, his father being evidently alive. It is very unlikely that when Rāmānuja and his own

² For a summary of Embār's teachings see T. G. 1909, pp. 496-501. The T. G. 1892 does not give these details.

³ See Appillai's *Tirumudiṇṇai*, p. 60. T. G. 1892 does not say that Bhaṭṭar was 28 years old when he died, nor does it give the date of his birth except the month and constellation *Vaikāṭi Anurāṭha*. T. G. 1909 gives the month and constellation alone as regards birth, but says that he lived 28 years. (See pp. 383 and 534). The *Tamil Encyclopædia* places Bhaṭṭar's birth 60 years later, i.e., in K. 4224 or 1122 A. D. The other details are the same as in Appillai's *Tirumudiṇṇai*,—namely *Sūbhakrūṭi*, *Vaikāṭi*, *Paurvami*, *Anurāṭha*, *Wednesday*. But it does not give the age or date of his death. This date of Bhaṭṭar's birth does not agree with the dates of Rāmānuja, Kūratālvān, as given in the Guruparamparas. But if it is accepted, then Bhaṭṭar must have become Āchārya about 1140 A. D. and died about 1168.

⁴ The 32nd *Tiruvāymoli*, verse 10, speaks of man's shortness of life and the insecurity of this body.

⁵ Bhaṭṭar has left eight works of his, all in Sanskrit. These are the *Sahasvandana-bhāṣya*, a commentary on the 1,000 names of Viṣṇu; the *Aṣṭasloki*, a commentary on the *Mantra*; the *Tetvavāṇakara*, the *Praxavavivaraṇa*, the *Gunaratnakōśa*, the *Śrīrangurajastava*, the *Kṛiyāṇṇam* and the *Tatmyastōtṛam*. The *Triṇ. catul.* Tamil, 1913, says that some of Bhaṭṭar's teachings to his disciple are in a treatise known as *Bhaṭṭar pārtiṭān* (pp. 203-4).

learned father were alive, Bhaṭṭar would have had Embār for his teacher. It is true, the critic continues, there is a tradition to the effect that when Bhaṭṭar was a child, Embār once brought him to Rāmānuja, and while bringing him, uttered the *Dvaya Mantra* with a view to remove the evil eye, and therefore became, at the instance of his master, the spiritual teacher of the child ! But this is, the author points out, an idle tale, the result of the ignorance of a Sanyāsin's duties, and cannot be reconciled with the Sanyāsic restraint of both Rāmānuja and Embār. It seems to me that the critic is, in this case as in the former, more pedantic than reasonable, but the chronological difficulty, as in the former case, still remains.

However that might have been, the Teṅḡalai *Guruparampara* gives a glowing account of the alleged period of Bhaṭṭar's Ācāryaship. He is said to have distinguished himself so much by his expounding of the Vaishṇava cult, that he became a terror to all rivals. One of his opponents was an Advaitic Vēdāntin of Mysore, Mādhava by name. This man had in his pride seated himself on a throne with six feet, signifying the six *daraṇas* which he claimed to have conquered. Learning of his existence and extravagant claims through a Brahmin pilgrim, Bhaṭṭar resolved to vanquish him and bring him over to Vaishṇavism. He therefore proceeded to Gangōrai¹, the residence of the Vēdāntin in Mysore.

The Teng. Guruparamparas give an eloquent description here of Bhaṭṭar's arrival. With the large retinue which followed his golden palanquin, the sounds of heralds' praises, the music of *chinnam* and other instruments, and with the gorgeous paraphernalia which surrounded him, his march seemed to be the march of a king ! On his arrival at Gangōrai, we are told, Bhaṭṭar was told by a Brahmin that he could not see the Vēdāntin if he went to him in such splendour ; that the disciples of that philosopher used to zealously exclude controversialists from an audience with their master by engaging them in controversy themselves ; and that the best way in which Bhaṭṭar could meet him face to face, was by giving up his grandeur, by mingling in the crowd of Brahmins whom the Vēdāntin, rich and charitable as he was, used to feed every day, and then to challenge him for controversy at the time when he was looking after the guests and when he hardly expected an invitation to it. Bhaṭṭar did so. Casting aside his golden robes and ordering his followers to stay outside the town, he went, in the guise of a poor, yellow-robed Brah-

¹ This is said to be a place somewhere near Srīngēri.

min, to the choultry, and joining in the crowd of guests, suddenly asked the learned host to give him alms in the shape of a philosophic disputation, instead of the satisfaction of physical hunger. The Vēdāntin was taken aback by this singular and daring request. He had heard, the *Guruparampara* tells us, of only one scholar whom he might have occasion to fear, and he was far away at Śrīraṅgam; but he instinctively felt that he now stood before him. He therefore asked the bold intruder whether he was the renowned Bhaṭṭar of Śrīraṅgam and on being replied in the affirmative, straightway began a debate on philosophical topics! Ten days of controversy followed, and none was able to beat the other till, on the eleventh day, we are told, Bhaṭṭar vanquished his adversary with the aid of the *Tirunedāṇḍakam*¹ of Tirumāṅgai Ālvār and *Mōyavadāśhanam* of Yāmunāchūrya, on the suggestion of the Lord through the usual channel of a vision. The defeated philosopher then became a convert to Vaishnavism and Viśiṣṭādvaitic philosophy, and very soon took advantage of the uncharitable spirit of his two wives to renounce the world and proceed to Śrīraṅgam, and embrace the life of a Sanyāsin. The keen devotion and princely generosity of the new Sanyāsin who spent all his wealth in the feeding of poor Vaishnavas, gained the special admiration of his teacher, who therefore hailed him with the title of *Nam-Jiyar* (i.e. *Our Jiyar*). As time went on, Nanjīyar obtained, by his scholarship and erudition, the encomium of all the people of his school, and was therefore raised, on the death of Bhaṭṭar, to the position and dignity of leader.

A few interesting references to certain alleged contemporary kings in the career of Bhaṭṭa may be mentioned here. The *Guruparampara* says that a king named Vira-Sundara-Brahma-Rāya² huilt at this time certain walls of the Śrīraṅgam temple and that, in the course of the construction, he demolished the house of a Vaishnava scholar, in spite of Bhaṭṭa's advice to the contrary. The latter therefore withdrew from Śrīraṅgam and stayed at Tirukkōṭṭiyūr, till the death of the king enabled him to return. The *Guruparampara* also refers to a certain Vira-Sīkhāmaṇi-Pallava-Rāya³ who, in consequence of the pressure of his royal duties, was unable to study the *Prabandhas*

¹ The 1891 edn. does not refer to any vision or the *Tirunedāṇḍakam*; but the 1909 edn. refers to it.

² I have not been able to identify this king. He is said to have repaired the sixth wall of the shrine as it had become dilapidated. *Tamil Ency.* 629.

³ There is another version which says that one "Ammaṇi Ālvān of Bhōṣaṇa country" resorted to Bhaṭṭar and got this advice. I have been able to identify neither Vira-Sīkhāmaṇi Pallava-Rāya nor Ammaṇi Ālvān.

and who learnt from Bhaṭṭa that the highest religion was the placing of entire faith on Rāma. A third king, Tribhuvana¹ Vira-dēva-Rāya by name, asked the teacher to come to him once; but the resignation of Bhaṭṭa refused to wait on a man, however great he might be.

It has been already said that Bhaṭṭa was succeeded by Nañjiyar. The usual chronological inconsistency baffles us in this matter also. The birth of Nañjiyar² is attributed to K. 4214 or A.D. 1112, that is 22 years after the expiration of Bhaṭṭa. To make him therefore the disciple and successor of the latter is the height of absurdity. Nañjiyar did a great service to the party of which he

Nañjiyar
and his work.

became the leader. He wrote an extensive commentary on the *Tiruvāymoli* called, from the number of the grānthis contained therein, "the 9000." The story is that, when Nañjiyar completed his work, he wanted a good copyist to make a fair copy of it; and a scholar, Nambūr Varadarāja by name, was on the recommendation of some people entrusted with the task. With the original, Varadarāja was proceeding to his village across the Kāvērī, when the current swept him and his burden off. The 9000 was thus lost; but Varadarāja, great scholar as he was, wrote the whole commentary from his own memory,³ —a task which was not very difficult for him as he had scrupulously attended Nañjiyar's lectures and followed them closely. And when he brought the work to his teacher, the latter found it occasionally not only different from his own interpretation, but infinitely better. He inquired how it happened and then learnt the story of the loss of the treatise in the floods and the reproduction of it from memory. Surprised and satisfied, Nañjiyar commended the profound scholarship of Varadarāja, called him his own son (*Nampillai*), and ever after, kept him near himself as his most favourite disciple. And when the time came when he felt weak and unable to lecture, he appointed him as Āchārya in his place.

¹ The history of this man is equally obscure. He may have been a Pāṇḍya, or Chōja or Hoysala king.

² The details see K. 4214, *T'ajayo, Pauguni, Uttiram*. He was born, it is said, at Tirunārayānapuram. He is said to have lived 105 years, but this can be doubted on the fact that the No. 105 is more or less the ideal and attributed by Teṅkalā writers to almost every teacher whose age is not distinctly known. Appillai's *Tirumudīqāṭru*, p. 60. The T. G. 1892 gives no date except month and constellation (p. 226).

³ T. G. 1892. T. G. 1909 gives a more elaborate version. It says how Varadarāja was lost in grief, how God appeared to him in a vision, comforted him, and told him that he would inspire him if he took the pen on hand. According to this version, thus, the 9000 was the work, occasionally, of God himself. Hence it was that Nañjiyar found it superior to his previous work in certain portions.

It is difficult to say when Nampillai formally became the leader of his party. The *Guruparampara* says clearly that he came to wield that dignity years before the death of his Āchārya. And yet orthodox chronology does not support this statement. According to it Nāñjiyar died ¹ in his 100th year, *i.e.*, A.D. 1213 as he was born in 1113, and according to it, Nampillai was born in K. 4308 or A.D. 1207. The latter must have been, in other words, six or seven years of age when Nāñjiyar died. How could he, under these circumstances, have been

Nampillai
and his importance
in the growth of
Teñgalaism.

his disciple and his successor? Chronology thus once again fails to support tradition and must necessarily be rejected. However it might be, there can be no question that Nampillai's period of Āchāryaship was epoch-making. It was he evidently that paved the way for the future sectarianism of Vaishnavism. His genius or industry seems to have been the cause of that partisanship which was later on to stereotype itself into a caste. The *Guruparampara* does not say this openly, but it gives certain information which enable us to make such an inference. It says that Nampillai was once rebuked in very harsh language in the temple by Tōlappa, a descendant of Kandādai Mudali Āndān ² and therefore a member of the extreme orthodox party. Tōlappa's wife, however, was an admirer of the Prabandhic teacher, and she refused to do anything with her husband unless he begged pardon of Nampillai. He therefore went to the Āchārya's house one day, and fell at his feet, and seeing how humble and modest he was, gave vent to these remarkable words: "Sire, I have all along been thinking that you are the Āchārya of a few people alone; but now I find that you must be the Āchārya of the world." The story is significant enough. It tells us in a clear and unmistakable manner how the Prabandhic movement was looked upon as heterodox, how it began in a small scale and how it gained strength in the time of Nampillai by bringing round even such orthodox men as the Āchāryic Kandādais. The withdrawal of the Ubhayasimhāsānātipati Varadāchārya to Conjeeveram ³ happened at

¹ See T. G. 1909, p. 250, where Nāñjiyar is said to have lived 100 years. Appillai's *Tirumudālaica*, on the other hand, says that he lived 105 years. If this were the case, Nampillai would have been eleven years old at the time of Nāñjiyar's death, and even if we accept this version, the objection pointed out holds.

² Tōlappa was the grandson of Mudali Āndān and son of Kandādai Āndān or Rāmānuja Guru who established the image of Rāmānuja at Śrīperumbudūr. Tōlappar was the ancestor of the family of Kōyil Appana.

³ Nampillai seems to have become the Prabandhic leader while Eṅgaḷ Ālvān was Āchārya. For the T. G. says that once when some people asked the elderly Nāñja Jiyār whether he was right in becoming the disciple of Nampillai he asked them to consult Eṅgaḷ Ālvān "as all the Śāstras he was an authority in." This is one of the few occasions when the T. Guruparamparas betray themselves and give a clue as to the true Āchāryic succession. Eṅgaḷ Ālvān was followed by Nāḍidūr Ammāḷ or Varadāchārya and so Nampillai was his contemporary also.

this very time ; and Nampillai seems to have had a very fortunate chance, indeed, in this absence of the most uncompromising and traditional school. The presence of Varadāchārya and others would have been a thorn by his side. He would have been obscured by them. Their withdrawal left him without opposition, and clever as he was he did not let the opportunity slip.

He acted with energy, and gained a number of very great scholars and adherents. One of these, the well-known Peria Nampillai's
disciples :
(1) Peria Āchchān Pillai
(2) Pinbālagia Perumāḷ Jiyar.
Āchchān¹ Pillai, collected together all the prabandhic lectures of his master into a single treatise called "the 24,000." This learned writer wrote also some other works in the Maṇipravāḷa style to popularise the teachings of his school,—a commentary on the three *Gādya*s of Rāmānuja, on the greatness of *Āṭavandār* on the *Aṣṭākshara Mahimai*, etc. Another enthusiastic disciple, Pinbālagia Perumāḷ² Jiyar carried the doctrine of Āchārya-worship to its logical extreme and, besides composing the 12,000 on the Tiruvāymolī, he gave a sort of authority and tradition to the new school by ascribing to it a continuity of teachers from the time of Rāmānuja onward. It is well-known that one of the keystones of Vaishnavism is the enormous importance it attaches to the Āchārya. A man may be a profound scholar, perfect saint ; but his teachings will hardly command a following unless he proves himself to be not an innovator, unless he shews that his views are based on recognized authorities and that a succession of Āchāryas had subscribed to, and taught, them in the past. Without this Āchāryic medium no teachings could command authority. We can easily believe that Nampillai was in that position. His lectures were exceedingly popular, based as they were on the ideas of the superiority of creed over caste, of the Prabandhas over the Vēdas, of Tamil over Sanskrit, of Prapaṭṭi over Bhakti, and so on. But these views were held heresies by the traditional school. Nampillai's object was to shew

¹ He was born, according to Appillai's *Tirumughaḍairu* in K. 4348 (A.D. 1226). *Sarvarthi*, *Avanti*, *Krishṇaśaṅkai*, constellation *Rohiṇi*, at a village called *Seṅganallūr*. His real name was *Krishṇa*. See T. G. 1909, p. 581.

² The author of the 6,000 *Guruparampara* edited by Chhīrakāṣam Tiruvēṅkaṭāchāriar in 1892—the standard authority on Āchāryic history from the Teṅkalai standpoint. His work necessarily stops with Nampillai. The period covered by the Āchāryaships of Peria Āchchān Pillai, Vadakkū-tiru-vidikpillai, Pillai-Lōkūchārya, Tiruvāymolī Pillai or Śrī Śailēsa, and Maṇavāḷa Mahāmuni, is dwelt upon by a later writer named Pillai-Lōkārya—Jiyar, in his *Paṇḍra pravaṇaḥrabhāṭa*. This work also was edited by the same gentleman in 1891. A reprint of it has been issued in 1907. Both these works thus give a connected history of the Ātvār and Āchārya movements from the earliest times to the death of Maṇavāḷa Mahāmuni.

that they were not, that they were based on an unbroken continuity of Āchāryic teachings; and this important function was discharged by his disciple Pinbaḷḷaḷḷa Perumāl Jiyar. His great service, in other words, was to write a *Guruparampara*, or an Āchāryic line of succession from Rāmānuja onward, purporting to hand over, in unbroken continuity, the real teachings of that great philosopher. In the construction of such a *Guruparampara*, Pinbaḷḷaḷḷa Perumāl Jiyar, it is certain, had naturally to suppress certain things and invent certain others.

He had to suppress or at least ignore the *Guruparampara* of the orthodox and traditional school who looked with such undis-
 The latter's work the *Guruparampara*. guised demur on the prabandhic movement. Hence his remarkable silence about the history of Pillān the Ubhayasimhāsanātipati² and the three other Bhāshyasimhāsanātipatis in spite of his formal recognition of their position in the beginning. He makes, in the first place, Embār, the successor of Rāmānuja, and Parāśara Bhaṭṭar, the successor of Embār. As a matter of fact these two scholars were never *special* distinguished for prabandhic lore. They were indeed very learned men; but if they had established a special distinction, they had established it not in the prabandhic field, but in Sanskrit. They have left works which are accepted by both the schools and which have no partisan spirit in them. Regardless of these facts and regardless of chronology,³ of tradition and of the received version of formal Āchāryic descent, the author of the 6000, made them the first media of Rāmānujic teachings to posterity. A learned Vaḍaḅalai writer observes that in Pinbaḷḷaḷḷa Perumāl's elevation of Bhaṭṭa to formal Āchāryic dignity we see perhaps a confusion of names. He believes that Parāśara Bhaṭṭa's brother Vēḍavvāsa Bhaṭṭa or Śrī Rāma Pillai was the person intended, but that from a natural mistake caused by the common family designation of Bhaṭṭar, the author of the 6000 G. P., made the elder brother the successor of the great Bhāshyākāra. That Śrī Rāma Pillai was the person intended is maintained by this scholar on various grounds. First, he lived longer than Parāśara Bhaṭṭa and so there is no chronological inconsistency in his case. Secondly, he had a disciple named Nanjiyār (who, however, was, as will be shown presently, a different person from the author of the 9000 commentary, but who has been confounded by the Teṅḅalai author with his namesake). He was, in the third place, a

His
 Guruparampara
 criticised: Regarding Bhaṭṭar.

¹ The T. G. 1892 and 1909 does not recognize this, but there are other editions which do so. Appillai's *Tirumulladaḅai* and other works also clearly recognise the fact.

² The chronological inconsistency has been already shown.

probable disciple of Embār. From these three facts the critic concludes that the real Bhaṭṭa of the Teṅgatai Guruparampara must be the younger Bhaṭṭa or Śrī Rāma Piḷḷai and not Parāśara Bhaṭṭa, the elder brother. But when once the mistake was made it was repeated and perpetuated and so Parāśara Bhaṭṭar became the usually recognized founder of the Prabandhic party—an honour of which he was quite innocent.

Passing on to Nañjiyar, the same learned critic points out the same chronological difficulty and confusion of names. His contention is that Nañjiyar, the author of the 9000, was in reality *not* the disciple of Bhaṭṭar but of Kḍāmbi Āchchān the Bhāshyic¹ Āchārya. While yet an Advaitic scholar, continues the critic, he vanquished many a philosophic disputant, and coming to Śrīraṅgam, challenged Rāmānuja who was then the Pontiff. The latter ordered Kḍāmbi Āchchān² to meet him, and that scholar gave a rude shock to the proud stranger, compelled him to acknowledge his defeat, and at the instance of his master, imparted holy instructions to him. Soon after his conversion Mādhava went home, to Mysore; and later on, when Rāmānuja was dead and his own teacher was lecturing on the Bhāshya at Conjeeveram, Mādhava came thither, studied the Bhāshya and then with his preceptor's permission, composed commentaries on the *Śrīśūktā*, the *Tiruvāymolī* (in 9000 granthas) and certain other parts of

Regarding
Nañjiyar.

the Prabandha. Kḍāmbi Āchchān was pleased with them and honoured them by including them in the holy studies of the age. It

was after this that Mādhava renounced the world, and became a sanyāsin³ under the name of Namperumāḷ Jiyar, which afterwards became shortened into Nañjiyar. The author of the 9000 thus was never a party leader. He was a loyal disciple of the Bhāshya Simhasanātipati. If he was not the Āchārya of a separate prabandhic movement, it will be asked, how did his name come to be included by Pinbaḷagā Perumāḷ in his *Guruparampara*? The critic answers this question by saying that it is a case of confusion of names. There was, he says, a contemporary of Nañjiyar, the author of the 9000, another Sanyāsin named Nañjiyar. He was the

¹ The authority for this is the *Rahastayasāra* of Vēdānta Dēśika where, after speaking about God and Lakṣmī, the author speaks about Nañjiyar's study under Āchchān. The *Śrīśūktā-Bhāshya* also refers to it.

² In other words, according to this writer, Kḍāmbi Āchchān and not Bhaṭṭa was the hero in this affair.

³ This explains the fact that even Vēdānta Dēśika refers to Nañjiyar as an authority. He would have hardly done so if he had been a party leader.

grandson of Embār's younger brother, Govinda the younger, and on account of his age was known as Nanjiyar the younger. He was further the disciple of Vēda Vyāsa Bhujja. Pinbaḷagia Perumāl Jiyar confounded this person with his namesake and made the latter the Prāhandhic Āchārya.

Having thus established that the Nanjiyar of the 9000 fame was the disciple of Kṛdāmbi Āchchān, the critic then takes the case of Nampiḷḷai

Regarding
Nampiḷḷai.

and proves that he too had not really an independent Āchāryic position and that Pinbaḷagia Perumāl has distorted facts in connection with him also.

Nampiḷḷai was, he says, the manager (Maṇiyam) of Uttamar Kōil north¹ of Śrīrangam. A great Tamil scholar, he was desirous of completing his religious studies. He therefore came to Conjeeveram, and became the student of Kṛdāmbi Śrī Ranga-rāja, the grandson of Kṛdāmbi Āchchān and the father of Rāmānuja Appiḷḷān, who was then lecturing. At his feet Nampiḷḷai learnt the Bhāshyas as well as other works, including the 9000 of Nanjiyar which Āchchān had received from its author. "Probably Nampiḷḷai got from his teacher the 9000 with a view to have a copy of it for himself. Taking it to Uttamarkōil he completely made a transcript of the whole. He was then returning to Śrīraṅgam both with the original and the copy, when the river suddenly rose and swept away both the man and the palm leaves. Nampiḷḷai managed to save himself and a few leaves both of the original and the copy; and by putting them together and writing the missing portion from his memory, he brought the whole to Śrī Raṅgarāja and told him what had happened. Śrī Raṅgarāja found from a cursory perusal that the new work differed in meaning in certain places from the old and so wanted to go through it at leisure."² The 9000 thus became, thanks to Nampiḷḷai, an unorthodox treatise, and so ceased to be studied by the orthodox. Soon after this, continues the learned writer, Nampiḷḷai resorted to Nanjiyar the younger, and learnt from him certain other interpretations of the Prabandhas which he taught to Vaḷakkuti-ravidhi Piḷḷai, Iyappi Mādhava, Peria Achchān Piḷḷai and others. From these facts, concludes the writer, it will be plain that Nampiḷḷai was never the disciple of that Nanjiyar who was the author of the 9000; that he was in reality the disciple of the Kṛdāmbi line; that in his later days, however, he was a disciple of the younger Nanjiyar; and that Pinbaḷagia Perumāl Jiyar and, following him, the later Teṅgalai writers have confounded Nanjiyar the younger with Nanjiyar the elder.

¹ The orthodox Teṅgalai treatises do not give this fact.

² Compare this interpretation with that of the other party.

Such is the criticism passed on Pinbālagia Perumāḷ Jiyar's *Guruparampara*. It is hardly necessary to point out that this view will not be endorsed by the other party as it entirely demolishes its long-cherished version of Āchāryic succession and gives all the importance to the leaders of the Vaḍagalai party. The historian need not trouble himself as to which of the versions is true. Such a trouble may, while it can have no practical value, embitter party strife and revive an acute controversy which can never be ended by argument. All that is needed is to shew that there are two sides to the whole question; that the Teṅgalai version has been very strongly, and to some extent successfully, criticised by the other party; that the chronological chaos of the Teṅgalai *Guruparampara*, the occasional betrayals of the superior authority and existence of the Āchāryas of the other school, and the glaring inconsistencies often shown between profession and practice,—all seem to shew the attempt of Pinbālagia Perumāḷ Jiyar to construct a *Guru-*

The 6000
Guruparampara
nevertheless
authoritative.

parampara was not as skilfully made as it might have been. After all in matters like this, popular belief is the most important thing; and popular opinion does not go into the philosophy or history of things. It does not care to inquire whether Nāñji-

yar was a real Āchārya or not; whether Nampillai was an orthodox leader or heretic. It takes things for granted; and from this standpoint, the Teṅgalai version of apostolic succession is as staunchly and promptly believed in as the Vaḍagalai version; and however hoarse the others may cry about the chronological, traditional and other inconsistencies in the Teṅgalai version, it can hardly be doubted that Pinbālagia Perumāḷ Jiyar accomplished his object and did an incalculable service to his party in giving it a historic past, a continuity of tradition.

It will now be seen how important an era was started by the labours of Nampillai and his disciples. It is not known when Nampillai died.

Nampillai's
successor Peria
Āchchān Pillai.

But as it is mentioned that he was born in 1207 and that he lived for 95 years, we can infer that he must have died in 1302. He was followed by his disciple Peria Āchchān Pillai as the leader. A very

able and industrious writer, Peria Āchchān Pillai who had already made his name by his commentary of the 24000, further strengthened his party by producing a number of authoritative works. Peria

¹ See Note 34. Besides the 24000 and other commentaries on the *Nālayira-prabandha* he composed various treatises, viz., *Paranda Rāṣṣayavivaraṇa*, *Māṇickamalai*, *Navaratna-malai*, *Sakalapramāṇatātparyam*, *Upakāra-Ratnam*, *Andyatrayavivākhyānam*, *Charmarāhasyam*, *Anusandhānarāhasyam* and *Niyamanappadi*. (Appillai's *Tirumudidaivam*, p. 61). All these works are in Maṇḍipravāla.

Āchchān Piḷḷai was succeeded in his exalted station by Krishnapāda or *Vaḍakkutiruvīdi Piḷḷai* his co-disciple. The new leader was even more erudite than his predecessors. He had composed a grand commentary, called 36,000, on the Tamil Vēda. This work is generally known to orthodoxy by the name ¹ *Idu*, literally "the equal;" for it was held by its talented author to be equal to the grandeur of Nammālvār's work, and, according to another view, to the highly learned commentary on the Śrī-Bhāṣya which his great contemporary, Sudarśana Bhāṣja of Vēda Vyāsa Bhāṭṭar's family, had composed on the basis of Varadāchārya's lectures. The *Idu*, however, never became a work of authority; for it was in the eyes of the writer's own preceptor, an unauthorised production as it was written without the Āchāryic sanction. It remained in private ² hands till it was to be corrected, revised and popularised by the great Maṇavāḷa Mahā Muni in the early part of the 15th century. Vaḍakkutiruvīdi Piḷḷai's son and successor was the celebrated Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya, the contemporary of Vēṅkaṭanātha, and the alleged founder of Teṅgalism as a *distinct* sect. A curious story is given of the circumstance of Lōkāchārya's ³ birth. It is to the effect that his father, Vaḍakkutiruvīdi Piḷḷai saw in his newly wedded bride a serpent furious and inapproachable; that his mother, unable to endure this strange hallucination on the part of her son, prayed to her preceptor to remove the disease and to bless him with the boon of a progeny; that the teacher, in consequence, secured, by his spiritual powers, the removal of the illusion, and that the

¹ He was born in K. 4328 (1226 A.D.), *Sarempit, Ani, Svaki*. His wife was called Ranganayaki. He was evidently the admiral and disciple of Nāḍiḍḍar Ammal under whom he studied the Bhāṣya at Conjeeveram.—if we are to believe the V. G. But T. G. disregards or rather ignores this view and describes him as the disciple of Nampīḷḷai alone. The latter was very angry when he saw the 36,000 of his disciples as he considered to be written without authority and as a rival of Peria Āchchān's 24,000. But Vaḍakkutiruvīdi Piḷḷai maintained that he simply wrote his lectures for refreshing his memory. Nampīḷḷai thereupon changed his attitude, and proclaimed that it would be published later on by the Bhāṣyakāra himself who would be once again born as Maṇavāḷa Mahāmuni. Till then the *Idu* was to be in private hands and not to be studied with the other treatises of the party. It will be seen from this story that the *Idu* had never secured the authority of the orthodox even among the Teṅgalai party and that the credit of Maṇavāḷa Mahāmuni was to bring it out.

² It was in the possession of Nampīḷḷai's disciple Īyṅṅi Mādhava, then his son Padmanābha Perumāḷ, then his disciple Nālūr Piḷḷai who gave it to his disciple Śrī Śailēsa. The latter then gave it to Maṇavāḷa Mahāmuni and he published it. For 200 years the *Idu* was thus in private hands and the *Idu Guruparampara* is in consequence different from the ordinary *Teṅgalai Guruparampara*. See T.G. 1909, pp. 367 and 386; also *Yatindraprasanna-prabodha*, p. 20.

³ The date of his birth is alleged to be K. 4366 (A.D. 1264), *Kṛddhana, Aippari*, constellation on Śivagaṇ. He must have been born when his father was 38 years old. (See Appiḷḷai's *Tirumōḍiāḍavu*, p. 61.)

disciple, freed from his trouble, found in his wife no longer a serpent, but a dutiful partner of his life, who presented him, in process of time, with a son, called, in consequence of the circumstance of his birth, "Lōkāchārya's son" or Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya.¹ At the expiration of a year, we are informed, when the gratified parents took the child, in company with Nampiḷḷai and other great men, to the temple, the deity did not only shower his grace on the infant, but bestowed, through the priest's word, another son, like himself, to Vaḍakkutiruvīdi Piḷḷai. The result of the divine grace was that Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya had soon a brother, to achieve in after days as much glory as himself. In recognition of the divine grace as the cause of his birth, he was christened Aḷagia Maṇavāḷa Perumāḷ Nāinār. The two brothers, it is said, evinced a strong attachment to each other. The mastery of the *Bhāshya* and the *Prabandhas*, of the works of Rāmānuja and the Ālvārs, they soon acquired; but brought as they were under the influence of the southern school, they revelled in the study of the Tamil Vēdās and their commentaries. Educated in the profession of what was later on to become Teṅgalaism, they were devoutly attached to the faith, or as their opponents termed it, the heresy of *Prabandhic* supremacy. For the benefit of the common people, they explained the purity of their creed in a number of treatises, the most important of which were known as *Vachana* ² *Bhūshana* and *Āchārya-Hridaya*. These summarised, in a masterly but difficult and sūtraic style, the essentials of the doctrine of Prapatti in all its bearings. For the benefit of women and

the common people, Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya composed 16 other treatises. These were: the *Tani Tirumantram*, an exposition of the sacred Aṣṭākshara; the *Nigamanappādi* ³, in three chapters, on the three Rahasyas; *Mumukshupādi* ⁴, a commentary in three chapters on the three Rahasyas (Mūlamantra, Dvaya and charama śloka) which are intended to teach the doctrine of Prapatti; the *Tatvatraya*, a treatise on the characteristics of the three fundamental entities of soul, matter and God ⁵; the *Arthapañchaka* ⁶ which treats about the nature of the

² Another interpretation of the name is "Lōkāchārya the younger" to distinguish him from Nampiḷḷai who was also called Lōkāchārya.

³ Parthasarathi Yogi of Triplicane translated this work for the Chicago Parliament of Religions, 1893.

⁴ This is also attributed to Peria Āchārya Piḷḷai.

⁵ See *Triennial Catalogue of MSS.* (1910-13), Tamil, 1913, p. 115. For commentary, pp. 134-5.

⁶ Ibid. p. 116. There exists Maṇavāḷa Mahāmuni's commentary on it. Ibid. 54.

⁷ Ibid. 119-20; absurdly styled "the most important summary of modern Bhāgavata doctrine of South India that we possess." J.R.A.S., 1910, p. 565.

self, of God, of the goal to be reached, of the means to be employed therefor, and the obstacles to be surmounted therein; the *Archirādhī*¹ which speaks of the various stages of development which a person, desirous of salvation through God's grace, must necessarily pass through; the *Navaratnamālai*, a work which "explains what a Prapanna should think of himself, his body, his relatives, his fellow beings, the deities other than Viṣṇu, the devotees of Viṣṇu, the religious teacher, Lakṣmi, and Lord Nārāyaṇa"²; the *Taniprapaṇa*³ "which treats of the meaning of Prapava which is conceived to contain in itself the meaning of the eight syllabled mantra addressed to Nārāyaṇa"; the *Tanidvaya* which explains the meaning of the *Dvaya* mantra; the *Tanicharamam*, a commentary on the *charamasloka*; the *Tatvasaṅkharan*, a treatise on the true knowledge of God, of the soul⁴ and of the means of attaining salvation; the *samsāra sāmraṇyam*⁵ which "represents metaphorically the life in this mundane world to be a kind of kingship which diverts a person from pursuing in life the proper aim of salvation"; and a few others. Most of these works were very small in size, consisting sometimes of a few lines. But they came to be considered by the Teṅgalai or Prabandhic party as the only true expoundments of the cults of Rāmānuja and the Ālvārs, and are even to-day known as the *Aṣṭādataraṅgas* or 18 Rahasyas of Piṇṇai Lōkāchārya. They form the first real philosophic basis of Teṅgalai-ism, and Piṇṇai Lōkāchārya has been rightly held in grateful veneration by the Teṅgalai sect.

It was just at this time that the traditional school had Vēṅkaṭanātha for its Āchārya, and the relations between the two great men will be narrated in detail on a future occasion. It is enough to point out here that they became the usually recognized heads of the two sects.

Such is the remarkable history of Vaiṣṇavism in the two centuries which elapsed from Rāmānuja to Vēdāntāchārya. It will now be clear how the Viṣṇava religion became gradually divided into two distinct sects and how people came to pay allegiance to two distinct sects of teachers. I shall now proceed to describe in detail the chief points of dispute that led to the formation of parties and with this, an important chapter in the history of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism would be concluded.

¹ Ibid, p. 120-1.² Ibid, p. 205.³ Ibid, p. 212.⁴ Ibid, p. 215.⁵ Ibid, p. 221.

Note.—A comparative table of the two sets of Āchāryas.

Rāmānuja. (1017-1137.)

(Common to both.)

Piḷḷān (1157-1161 ?)	Embār (1024-1129)
Eṅgaḷ Ālvān (1161 ?-1200 ?)	Bhaṭṭar (1062-90)
Varadācharya (? 1200-1275 ?)	Naṅḷiyar (1112-1213)
Rāmānuja	Nampiḷḷai (1207-1302)
Appiḷḷān (1275 ?-1290 ?)	Peria Āchchān Piḷḷai
|	(1226-1321)
|	Vaḍakkutiruvīdi Piḷḷai,
|	1226-?
Vēdānta Dēśika (? 1290-1310 when he became universal Āchārya at Śrīraṅgam). -	Piḷḷai Lōkachārya
	(1264-1327)

In this table I have given only the probable *Āchāryic* periods in the case of the Bhāṣhyic leaders and the *alleged whole* date in the case of the others. The weakness of the latter *Guruparampara* can be seen at first sight.

SECTION III.

THE POINTS AT ISSUE.

From the death of Rāmānuja onward there were two schools of Vaishṇavism in south India. Under Rāmānuja there had been no schism, no hostile factions¹. All had united to uphold the creed of

¹ There is a good deal of controversial literature in regard to the two sects of Vaishṇavism. For a general description of the differences between them, see *Mysore Census Report*, 1891; *Ind. Antq.* III, pp. 124-5 and 136-7; *Madras Manual*, I, pp. 85, 89-90, and III, 466 and 931-2; Monier Williams' *Hinduism*, pp. 125-33; Bhandarkar's *History of Vaishnavism*, etc., pp. 54-5; *J.R.A.S.* 1910, pp. 1103-35; *The Brahmanandin*, Oct.-Nov. 1912, etc. The chief books in Tamil which are devoted to the controversy between the two sects are *Tennāchārya prabhāva* by a very vulgar and fanatical non-Brahmin writer Appāvoḍu Mudaliār; a reply to it from the Vaḍagalai standpoint—called *Tennāchārya prabhāva Khaṇḍanam*; a reiteration of the first work called *Paḷanaḍai viḷakkam* and a reply to it called *Tolvaḍaitulakham*, etc. All these works have for their chief object the proof of the traditional and ancient nature of their respective sects. The Teṅgalai writers endeavour to shew that *their* creed is the true one and quote passages from the Vēdas, the Purāṇas, the Smṛitis, the Tiruvāymolī, etc., to prove that both in doctrine and actual conduct of life, they are truer and more genuine Vaishṇavas. The Vaḍagalai writers criticise this and give authorities to prove their own contentions and their claims. The Vaḍagalai writers, on the whole, are cleverer, more scholarly and intelligent; and an impartial study of all shades of opinion cannot but lead to the conclusion that the Teṅgalai or popular movement is a later and reactionary movement against the orthodox creed of Vaishṇavism of which the Vaḍagalais are the best representatives. The analogy of other religious history throughout the world provides another corroborative evidence in favour of this conclusion. The whole will, I believe, be clear from the following pages.

Vishṇu as against other creeds and all had the same customs and observances, the same beliefs and doctrines, the same sacred books and writings, the same Ārṇāyas and teachers. There was no doctrinal or social difference then, to separate the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas into rival castes or societies. But immediately after the death of Rāmānuja, a schism, essentially doctrinal in nature, seems to have arisen. The question arose whether salvation could be best obtained through a study of the Sanskrit *Śrūtis* or the Tamil *Prabandhas*. Was the language of orthodoxy, in other words, or the language of the people, to be the chief medium of religious worship and studies? Were the Vēdas and Upanishads to be the chief means of human emancipation, or the *Nāḷāyiraprabandha* of the Tamil Ājvārs? Were the Bhāṣhyas, the great commentaries on the Sūtras of Vyāsa, for the completion of

First point of
dispute. Sanskrit
vs. Tamil.

which Rāmānuja had laboured so much and so long, to be the chief object of a man's studies, or were the commentaries on the works of Śaṭhakōpa and Tirumaṅgai Mannan, of Tirumaḷiśai and Tondaraḍippōḍi?

So long as Rāmānuja lived, both the languages had occupied an equal position. The author of the most monumental works in Sanskrit, he never relegated the Tamil works to a minor or secondary place. His work was one of co-ordination and compromise, of harmony and union. To him his own Bhāṣhyas and the 6000 of his disciple, Tirukkurukāpirān Piḷḷān, on the *Prabandha* were equal in sanctity. To him, the *Prabandhas* were only Tamil Vēdās, the Vēdās only Sanskrit *Prabandhas*. To him the highest philosophy of the Vēdānta was the same as the highest philosophy of the *Tiruvāymoli*. But this balance of judgment passed away with his death. Extremists arose, and while some began to maintain that Sanskrit was holier and therefore the fitter language of religion, others came into existence who maintained an ardent advocacy of Tamil. In one sense all were Sanskritists and all were Tamilians; for no partisan had ever such a partisan spirit as to completely deny the efficacy of the other language. The Tamil school did indeed concede the glory of the Vēdas, the Upanishads, the Vēdānta and the Bhāṣhya; and the Sanskrit school did indeed concede the glory of the *Prabandha*; but as a matter of fact, in their admiration of their own language, they not unoften broke their own profession and did injustice to the other. The Tamil school were particularly to blame in this respect. So one-sided in practice did their attachment become that, in course of time, Sanskrit studies became a comparatively rare accomplishment among them. The result of this development was at once beneficial and harmful. It was beneficial in that it tended to bridge the gulf between the higher and lower classes of Vaiṣṇavism, in the democratisation of the creed, in its

known that, in the time of the Ālvārs, the doctrine of Bhakti was developed into the more extreme doctrine of Śaraṇāgati or self-surrender.¹ Both these doctrines were based on man's love of God and God's love of man. But in the *Bhakti* method there was as much element of ceremonialism and intellectuality as that of devotion. The Bhakta aimed at the realisation of God by love; but this love was to be preceded by the strict performance of the duties prescribed by law (*Karma*) and by the acquisition of the knowledge of God (*Gnāna*). The Vēdāntic ideal of *Bhakti*, in other words, was that it was combined with *Karma* in the first place and *Gnāna* in the second, in the search after God. The Prapanna, on the other hand, depends entirely on God's grace. The process of uninterrupted yōgic contemplation which is the essence of Bhaktiyōga is one of great difficulty. A slight mistake in it would mean the defeat of the devotee's hopes, the non-achievement of his desires. It is also a slow process, and the suppliant of heaven may feel unable, in consequence of his great and all-absorbing faith, to endure so long. He therefore entirely surrenders to God, acknowledging his incapacity to realise him, acknowledging the futility, in his case, of any other method of emancipation than by throwing himself wholly on God's love. The Prapanna, in other words, is more helpless in his feelings than the Bhakta. He is an entire slave, a full dependent on God's grace. Now, the point to be noticed is, the Bhakti method is generally supposed to be advocated by the Upanishads or the Vēdānta, and Śaraṇāgati method by the emotional Ālvārs. This view is not quite correct. For the life-long labours of Rāmānuja were to interpret the Upanishads and the Vēdānta Sūtras not only in the light of *Bhakti* but of absolute Śaraṇāgati. His aim was, in other words, to prove that even in the Vēdānta, the method of Śaraṇāgati was one of the two methods of obtaining emancipation. Now a great difference arose in regard to the doctrine of Prapatti after the death of Rāmānuja. Disputes arose as to the actual method of preparation of a Prapanna and as to the circumstances under which he could practise the self-surrender. Both parties agreed in the necessity of self-surrender; but they came to differ in the details of the process to be adopted, the exact qualifications of the would-be Prapanna, the life which he would have to lead after Prapatti, and so on. The Vaṭṭagali school attached, on the whole, greater importance to the actual performance of it, imposed greater restrictions on the performer, and enumerated a larger number

Dispute re
doctrine of
Prapatti.

¹ See Bhandarkar's *Vaiṣṇavism*, etc., p. 51. As the *Karma* includes various rites it follows that *Bhaktiyōga* can be practised by the first three orders alone. The *Prapattimarga*, on the other hand, can be adopted even by the Śūdras.

of obstacles to be surmounted by him in its performance. They¹ said that *before* the resort to self-surrender there must be *self-effort*. It is only when this self-effort is unable to gain the realisation of God, and when in consequence, a feeling of complete helplessness and unalloyed faith in God's grace is firmly entertained, that one can resort to Prapatti. A good deal of preparatory efforts are, therefore, necessary. According to the other school, no such self-effort is necessary, as God's love is spontaneous and will, of itself, give salvation for mankind. The logical result of this doctrine is that one who wishes to become a Prapanna need not undergo those preparatory difficulties to which the other party attach so much importance. The Vadagalais in other words insist on the concomitancy of the human will, while their opponents are for the voluntary irresistibility of the divine grace. In the one case, as Barth says, there is the co-operation of man with God in salvation, while in the other there is the irresistible and free action of God. A curious but common method of expressing this difference of views is by a comparison of the respective behaviour of the monkey and the cat towards their young ones. One party² asserted that divine grace acted like the monkey, i.e., the souls must exert themselves to get saved, as the young of the monkey actively seizes its mother during the latter's evolutions from tree to tree.

Others more indolent or more hopeful according as one may view it, asserted that God's grace was *like the cat*, which Markaṣa and Mārjāra Nyāyas,³ safe-guarded its young, unaided by any efforts of the latter. God's grace, according to this latter school, was irresistible, and required nothing but an aptitude of receptivity to freely flow to the deepest sinner" (Ind. Rev. Dec. 1908.)

¹ The Vadagalai doctrine is generally compared to the Armenian doctrine of free will and the Teṅkalai doctrine to the Calvinistic counterpart which is based on the helpless passivity of the spirit till it is acted on by the supreme spirit. Bhandarkar's *Faishnavism*, etc., pp. 54-6; *Ind. Antq.* III, 125; Barth, p. 227. The last writer, after comparing these two doctrines with the Armenian and the Gounist, points that we "come back into India when we see that this grace is immediately personified in Lakṣmī or Rādhā and that the very theologians who discuss these positions are often in close affinity with the Saktas." (p. 227).

² These two theories are generally known in orthodox phraseology as *Markaṣayāya* and *Mārjāratrayāya*. A remarkable instance of the popularity of the two *Nyāyas* is seen in the fact that they became proverbs, among the people. See Carr's *Telugu and Sanskrit Proverbs*, quoted in *Ind. Antq.* III, 125. See also Hopkins' *Religions*, p. 301; Barth's *Religions*, p. 227. Bhandarkar's *Faishnavism*, etc., p. 57; J.R.A.S., 1910, pp. 567 and 584-7 and 1103. For an orthodox treatise on the voluntary nature of God's grace, see Mudaliyandān's *निर्हेतुकारहस्य*, (*Trien. Catal. Tamil*, 1913, p. 225.) No truer statement on the whole question is possible than that of Bhandarkar: "The tendency of Rāmānuja's System seems to be to give an exclusive Brahmanic form to the traditional method of Bhakti or devotion to God, and this is definitely seen in the doctrines of the Vadakalais while the Teṅkalai or south learning is more liberal and so shapes the doctrines of the system as to make them applicable to Śūdras also."

An immediate and logical result of this difference between the two parties in the idea of God's grace was the rise of a difference in the doctrine of sin and forgiveness. Regarding Dōsha or Sin. The belief that God's grace is spontaneous and that no self-effort on the part of man is necessary, naturally gave rise to the fatal dogma of the Tamil school that God is *Dōsha-bhōgya*, an enjoyer of sin, inasmuch as the practice of sin gives a larger scope for the display of his grace. The Vaḍagalai belief is that God's love is so generous as to ignore the soul's taints, while the other party hold that it welcomes such taints.

Another important doctrinal disagreement that arose between the two schools was in connection with the position of Lakshmi. Regarding the position of Lakshmi. According to the traditional or conservative school, Lakshmi is part and parcel of the Lord. She is, in fact, one important and necessary aspect of Godhood. She is indistinguishable from God in all his actions and thoughts. She is equally infinite and uncreated, equally great and illimitable. Without her the conception of the Lord is impossible. As she cannot be held to be separate from him, she is equally omnipresent and omnipotent and therefore has the equal power of giving Mōksham or final emancipation, not because she has any independent powers as such, but because she is always one with the Lord and co-operates with Him in the preservation and maintenance of the universe and in the determination and regulation of everything and every life.¹ The southern school, on the other hand, believes Lakshmi to be only a finite Being, though divine. She is only a superior soul and servant of God. She belongs to the same category as Vishvaksēna and others who enjoy the everlasting bliss of Vaikuṇṭh and whose pleasure is to serve God and enjoy His company; only she is superior to them all. She is also conceived to be a mere mediator (Purushakāra) between the sinning soul and the Lord. She can only plead with God the cause of a suppliant of heaven; but she has no independent power to bestow salvation itself.

The Teṅgalai doctrines of the caste system, again, are more generous and equitable though in practice they are not less rigid in their observances or less exclusive in their society. A man of the lower caste becomes, in their view, in case he becomes a Prapanna, equal to the most orthodox Brahmin. The other school, on the other hand, contend with stern obstinacy, that creed cannot supersede caste, that the stain of caste can be extinguished only with death, that however holy and

¹ See the *Srīvijñāna Samarthanam* (Tien, Catal. Tamil 1913, p. 232).

pious a man may be, he cannot free himself, during life, from the duties of his varṇa. The Śūdras and women, they say, do not deserve to use the Mūlamantra (i.e., the Aṣṭākṣara) with praṇava (i.e., *om*), while their opponents believe the contrary. The Caste System. For the same reason, the Teṅgalais hold that spiritual knowledge can be obtained from a teacher of the lower castes, a doctrine which the others denounce. The Teṅgalais, again, believe that pilgrimages are not quite necessary for salvation. The Vaḍagalais, on the contrary, believe that they are conducive at least to purification. The argument which the Teṅgalais give against even the Ganges is that the waters of that river flow after a sojourn in the midst of Śiva's knots of hair and so cannot be considered to be quite pure. The other party argue that a plunge in the river is a purifying factor. So far as practice is concerned, the Teṅgalais are as enthusiastic pilgrims as their rivals.

A second point of difference is in regard to the duties of a Prapaṇa Pilgrimages, etc. and a Sanyāsin. One party hold that he is above ordinary humanity, and that he need not observe the rules of caste, though for convention's sake he may observe them. With the other, the observance of caste rules is an absolute necessity. Non-observance means social degradation and spiritual bankruptcy and, in consequence, ineligibility to religious teaching and preaching. A Sanyāsin can, in the opinion of the Teṅgalais, pay to and receive obeisance from householders; in the opinion of the Vaḍagalais he cannot pay obeisance to a householder except in the case of a Guru. A Sanyāsin, again, need not, according to one school, beg; he may, moreover, have copper and other utensils; but according to the other party, he must live solely by begging and he ought not to touch metal.

Passing on from the speculative to the practical side of religion, we have to consider the equally numerous and important differences in regard to rituals and ceremonials. In the first place, a Śrāddha or ceremony falling on an Ēkādaśī day should be, in the opinion of the Teṅgalais, performed the next day, while according to the other sect, it can under no circumstance be postponed. Secondly, it is the belief of the Teṅgalais that the water touched even accidentally by the feet of the *Bhāgavatas*, is holy and productive of purification; Ceremonial differences. the other party believe that water accidentally touched cannot be pure, that a necessary condition of purity is its being granted willingly and with proper ceremonials by the giver. For the performance of the Pañcha-Shaṃskāra, agni, for the wearing of the sacred thread, the Puṇḍra, etc., the Teṅgalais do

not, like the Vāḍagalais, attach importance to the Hōma and the connected mantras. Their operations in these matters are consequently less orthodox and less solemn. Devoted as they are as much to the Bhāgavatas as to God, the Teṅgalais believe that prior to the performance of a Śrāddha, food should be offered to God in the first place and the Nityās and the Achāryās in the second; their opponents maintain that it must be dedicated to God alone. Sacrifices, again, are in the eyes of the southern school, cruel practices involving the death of animals and so must be avoided, while in the opinion of the other, they are conducive to the salvation of the *sacrificed* and so there is no real cruelty. As a matter of fact both the parties attach equal importance to it in practice.

It is evidently after these doctrinal and ritualistic differences became rigid and stereotyped that social differences came into existence and that different outward symbols or caste-marks, in theory the less important parts of religion, but in reality the most potent cause of unending struggles in future, assumed a *new* significance thereby dividing the two classes for ever. From this time onward disputes came to centre on trivial externals, and shibboleths, to use the language of Monier Williams, to be intolerant of shibboleths.

In these outward symbols, the first great point to be noticed is the nature of different caste-marks. The Vāḍagalais use for their caste-mark a *pundra*¹, a *namam* to use the common parlance, which begins between the brows and ends in three lines at the head, and which is at the bottom in the form of a crescent. The Teṅgalais, on the other hand, wear a *pundra* which begins not between the brows, but further down, in the upper part of the nose, and which is, in consequence, not in the form of a crescent, but of a horizontal line crossed at one side by a line at right angles. The phi-

¹ The *Pundra* is designed to represent the footmark of Viṣṇu. The middle line formed red ointment, unlike the two white lines, represents Lakṣmī. A good deal of literature, controversial in nature, exists in connection with this. See *Thēnācharyān Prabhava*, *Thēnācharyā Khōdānu*, etc. Much ingenuity and learning has been displayed by the two sects to show that their respective *nāmams* were the more ancient and so the more correct. The summarising of the arguments on each side will occupy much space. They are generally based on (1) ancient written authorities, (2) the fixing of the marks in temples, etc., and (3) traditions. Both quote from the Vedas, Smritis, the Purāṇas, etc.; both attribute their respective *nāmams* to the different temples of the land alleging any differences from their statements to be due to the past vandalism of their opponents; and both give traditions to support their claims. It is difficult to say which of them is true. For general remarks about *Pundras* and their significance, see *Christ, Coll. Magas.* iii (1886), p. 18; *Wilson's Relig. Sects.* i, 38.

osophy of the *pundra* is that it is the symbol of the footmark of Viṣṇu and of Lakṣmi, that it is essentially the mark of the Vaishṇava; and that it should therefore be put on in the forehead. This was recognised by all, as well as the fact that it should begin *at the root of the forehead*. But differences arose as to the exact significance of this expression. The Vaḍagalais maintained that the space between the brows was meant, while the Teṅgalais held that it was further down on the upper part of the nose. Hence arose the difference in the shape of the Pundrams; and when once the difference arose, persecutions and animosities began. People did not realise the smallness of the source of dispute. Enthusiasm grew into bigotry and bigotry into intolerance; and for the sake of a crescent or a line, blood came to be spilt and limbs broken. Few there were from this time onward who remembered that they belonged to the single creed of Vaiṣṇavism. They became so much the Teṅgalais or Vaḍagalais that they no longer remembered they were Vaiṣṇavas, so much the votaries of sectarianism that they no longer considered themselves the members of the same creed and the worshippers of the same God.

A second fundamental difference was in connection with the treatment accorded to widows¹. The Teṅgalais were genuine reformers in this respect. They held that the tonsure of widows was an atrocious cruelty not sanctioned by ancient law. The Vaḍagalais, more true evidently to tradition than to reason and Tonsure of widows. religion, closely clung to it. Another point of difference was in regard to the dress of women. The Teṅgalais held that the upper fold of their dress should go over their right shoulders, while the Vaḍagalais were for the left ones? A number of differences relate to food. The Teṅgalais say that, when the meal is served, salt should be served in the presence of the eater; that iron spoons and the hand can be used for serving; that the left hand ought not to hold the plate Dress and food. during *Parishēchana*; that condiments and curries should be served before rice. The other sect hold that salt should not be served, that the hand and iron ought not to be used, that till the performance of the *Prāsāhuti* the left hand should touch the leaf; that, as curries and condiments contain salt, and as salt is not an article to be offered to the *Prīpās*, pure rice should be served first, the condiments coming only after the offering to the *Prāṇās*. During the performance of the *Pūjā*, again, at home, the

¹ Both the parties quote passages from ancient books to prove this. For the Teṅgalai standpoint, see *Ind. Antiq.*, Vol. III. Where Mr. Narasimha Aiyangar summarises the whole. For the Vaḍagalai standpoint, see *Tennūcharya para bhava khandanam*, pp. 91-9.

bell¹ ought not, in the opinion of the Teṅgalais, to be rung,—a foolish and childish innovation, a breach from longstanding tradition inspired by undue hatred to Vēdānta Dēśika, the alleged avatar of Vēṅkaṭanūṭṭa's *ghaṇṭa*. A number of conventionalities exist in

regard to the performance and acceptance of the ringing of Namaskārams or salutations, and afford similar grounds of contentions and controversies between the two sects. The Teṅgalai idea is that the Namaskāra should be done once only, that it is irrespective of age and occasion; that elder people can make return Namaskārams to younger men; that even the Guru is bound to return the disciple's salutation, that women can be fit objects of obeisance, and that it can be done mutually even in the presence of a deity or a preceptor. The other party contend that prostrations should be at least twice and always *even*, that old age need not return the salutes of youth as its function is blessing, that the preceptor should under no circumstance salute his disciple, that none else ought to be saluted in the presence of a deity or a preceptor, and that only the mother, the Guru's wife, and similar women of recognized position are worthy objects of obeisance. The Teṅgalai Brahmin does not scruple to prostrate himself before a Vaiṣṇava of the lower caste; the Vāḍagalai holds the act in contempt, and contends that, while he can be revered in thought and in word, he cannot be revered by the obeisance of the body. Similarly, a Teṅgalai Sanyāsin can pay to and receive obeisance from householders; his Vāḍagalai brother will not salute unless the object of his obeisance is his Guru.

All these facts clearly illustrate the broad and underlying features of the two great sects of Vaiṣṇavism. They prove that the Teṅgalai sect is due to a reaction from the extreme orthodoxy of the old Vaiṣṇavism, and that, in its enthusiasm for reform, it enlisted the support of the masses by emphasising the study of the Tamil Vēdas, by conversion, and even, it has been alleged with greater prejudice perhaps than truth, by a loose intermarriage system between the old votaries and the new converts. Less orthodox and less exclusive, it was naturally an attraction to the masses. The rigidity of observances, the preference to Sanskrit, the restrictions on the lower castes, the scrupulous regard for tradition, the

¹ The Teṅgalais base this custom on an alleged passage in the *Parāśara Smṛiti* which is considered to be an interpolation by the other party. One thing is certain, namely, even Bhattar, Tīlappar and Doddāchārya of Sholinghur point out the necessity of striking the Ghaṇṭa. Doddāchārya's descendants used to do the same till very recent times. The fact that the bells are rung in Teṅgalai temples shows them to be inconsistent. The bell in reality ceased to be rung because Vēdānta Dēśika is considered to be an avatar of Vishnu's *ghaṇṭa*.

suspicion of innovations, and other features of Vaidigalaism made its votaries champions of the past as against the inroads of the present and the future. The struggle between the two schools, in fact, was the struggle between tradition and reform, between Sanskrit and Tamil, between orthodoxy and adaptability. It was also a struggle between the culture of classicism and the tongue of the common people, between the Śrutis, Smritis and Itihāsas, on the one hand, and the *Prabandhas* on the other. A struggle based on such differences could not but ensure success to the popular party, and the Teṅgalai faith spread rapidly¹ among mankind.

¹. The Teṅgalais, says Hopkins, are "more numerous and more materialistic". *Religions*, p. 801.

...राजा ...

[illegible]

ART VII.—*A Persian Inscription of the Mogal times on
a stone found in the District Judge's Court at Thana.*

BY

SHAMS-UL-ULMA DR. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., Ph.D.

(Read on 18th March 1915.)

I

INTRODUCTION.

My attention was drawn to the inscription, which forms the subject of this paper, by Mr. Keshuorao Appa Padhey, Pleader, High Court, more than two years ago, at the close of a meeting of the Anthropological Society which we attended. He showed me the stone in the archaeological collection of our Society. I then requested our then librarian, Mr. Mogre, to send the stone to me for decipherment. After a short cursory attempt to decipher the inscription at my place, I wrote to the librarian to give me some particulars, as to where the stone was found, and how it came to the collection of our society. He wrote to me on 7th December 1912, as follows: "Mr. Edwardes visited Thana in June 1906. There he was shown some inscriptions deposited in the Collector's office and in the office of the Thana Municipality. Some of them were lately excavated from the Pokharni tank of that place and others were secured at different times. 22 of these were selected by Mr. Edwardes for the Prince of Wales Museum and were ordered by him to be sent here. One more was added to these by the Mamlatdar of that place and all these 23 were received here on or about 16th June 1906. I regret, our files supply no more particulars about them. My nephew, Mr. Keshuorao Appa Padhey of Thana, might be able to throw some further light on this subject."

I then wrote to Mr. Padhey to inquire about the matter. In reply to my inquiry, he gave me the following particulars about the discovery of the stones, one of which forms the subject of this paper, in his letter, dated 19th December 1912. "The two stone inscriptions in Persian were found by me in the rear compound of the District Judge's Court at Thana. Flower-pots were placed on the back side of these slabs. My curiosity was aroused by the appearance of these slabs. I asked a Court peon to remove the flower-pots. I got

them deciphered by an Arabic scholar, Mr. Munshi Fazl-i Ali of Thana. The translation of the Persian inscriptions was submitted to the late lamented Mr A. M. T. Jackson under whose advice the stones were despatched to Bombay. The result of the deciphering is : 'Shah Jahan, the Great Mogal Emperor placed one Rajput named Māndhātā मानभाता in charge of Asherigad (Asheri Fort) with 5,000 horse.' This Asheri Fort is in Berar, and is considered as an impregnable and commanding fort. Another fort of that name is near Palgar (20 miles off the Railway Station). It would be interesting to note that the great Mogal Emperor should have considered this fort in the remotest corner of the Konkan as an important one. I have failed to ascertain as to how the stones were brought to Thana. I have discovered other stones of still remoter dates (such as one bearing Savat 1140), about 22 pieces of architectural friezes and marble-idols from Thana, and an inscription of king Nagardev being of 13th century."

Then, recently, I wrote to Mr. Edwardes to inquire, if he could give me any further particulars, collected by him on his above visit to Thana. He wrote to me in reply on 11th March 1915 :

"I really forget the details of the stone from Thana. But I do remember going over there one day and looking at a collection of stone relics, of which this particular stone with the Persian inscription was one. And I remember giving orders for them to be sent into Bombay to be ultimately placed in the Museum. It is, I think, correct that Mr. Kesharao Appa Padhey noticed the stone and it was probably on his information that I went over to Thana. But I remember no other details now."

It appears from all this correspondence, that Mr. Padhey first discovered the stone under a flower-pot in the District Judge's Court at Thana in about 1906. He communicated the discovery to the late Mr. Jackson, who was at one time the Collector of Thana. Mr. Jackson communicated that discovery to Mr. Edwardes, who was then the Honorary Secretary of our Society. Mr. Edwardes went to Thana in June 1906 and saw the stone there. He then got the stone in question, together with some other stones and archaeological relics, removed to the rooms of our Society with a view that they all may be subsequently placed in the Prince of Wales Museum.

This is the story of the journey of the stone from the Thana Judge's Court to our rooms, but we know nothing as to how it came to the Thana Court from the hill of Mahavli or Māhuli, to which, as we will see later on, it originally belonged.

We do not know, what has become of the translation, referred to by Mr. Padhey as given to the late Mr. Jackson. However, if the translation, led the gentleman who translated it or Mr. Padhey to the conclusion, as said in Mr. Padhey's letter, that the inscription only takes a note of king Shah Jahan appointing Māndhātā in charge of Asherigad, (Asirgad), that is not sufficient. The main object of the inscription is to record the fact of a son of Māndhātā being appointed in command of the Maliratta forts—Mahāvli, Pālasghad and one other fort, perhaps Bhundarghad. Of the three groups of the Thana forts—the coast group, the inland group and the Sahyādri group—these forts belong to the second inland group of 24 forts. They form parts of the Māhuli fortifications in the Shāhāpur taluka or sub-division.¹ They are situated on the Māhuli hill.²

After I announced my paper, I learnt from our librarian, Mr. Gothasker, that a photo of the stone was taken by Mr. D.R. Bhandarkar of the Archaeological Department of Bombay, at the request of Prof. Shaikh Abdul Kadir Surfraz of the Deccan College at Poona. I wrote a few days ago to both these gentlemen. I heard only yesterday from Mr. Bhandarkar that he was in Sind on tour and so could not help me now. Professor Surfraz wrote to me in his letter, dated 8th March 1915, that he had no photographs, but a paper-impression, taken for him sometime ago by Mr. Bhandarkar. I produce here that paper-impression and beg to thank Professor Surfraz for it. I learn from his letter that he had got the impression taken some years ago by Mr. Bhandarkar with a view to decipher the inscription and to read a paper, but that, owing to press of work and being away from a good library, he could not do so.

The object of this paper is two-fold :

1. To give a decipherment of the inscription, which is bilingual or an inscription in two languages,—one, a small one, in Hindi in Nagari characters, beginning on the top of the slab and then running down on its right hand margin, and the other in Persian.
2. To trace the historical events referred to in it and to give some historical and geographical particulars about the persons and places referred to in it.

¹ The Bombay Gazetteer, Thana. Places of Interest, Vol. XIV, p. 98.

² Mr. S. M. Bharucha, the present Collector of Thana, in his letter, dated 10th March 1915, in reply to my inquiries, says that the Mahuli hill is "5 miles from Asangaon Railway Station on the G. I. P. Ry., and the ascent after leaving the road is about 3 miles. There is no made road but only a cart-track."

As to the first object, I do not presume that my decipherment is altogether correct. There are a few difficulties in deciphering it quite correctly. One can see, both from the stone and the impression which I produce that the slab is a little broken. It has lost a slip in a somewhat vertical line. So, words and letters here and there are lost. This is the principal cause of the difficulty of an altogether correct decipherment. Another cause is the difficulty of deciphering the *nukteh*s (نکته) or points occurring on Persian letters. It is difficult to determine whether a particular part of the slab bears a *nukteh*, or only a scar as the result of the wear and tear or a careless handling of the stone. However, in spite of these petty obstacles, there is no great difficulty in deciphering the inscription, as far as the sense of the whole inscription is concerned. One may decipher a word or letter, here and there, in a way, different from the one which I beg to submit, but I think, that that will not make much difference in the matter of the general signification or the meaning of the inscription. I beg to thank Professor Khodayār Sheheryār, Mr. G. K. Nariman and Mr. M. P. Kharegat for kindly helping me to decipher a word here and there.

As to the second object of the paper, *viz.*, the narrative of the historical events and the description of the geographical places referred to in the inscription, I am indebted to historical works of the time of Jehangir—works like Elliot's History of India, especially Vol. VI, and the Gazetteer volumes. As to the Persian text itself which refers to Shah Jahan's rebellion, I am indebted to an old manuscript copy of the *Tārīkh-i-Jahāngiri* (تاریخ جهانگیری) in the Moola Feroze Library.

I will first give my reading of the inscription and then the translation.

II.

THE TEXT AND THE TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTION

THE HINDI INSCRIPTION.

महाराजा मानधाता गोर का बेटा राजा मनोहरदासजीका अमलमै भंडारदरंग व महावली व पालसगढ़ की इमारति का सन काम तैयार हुवा.

Translation.

During the administration of Raja Manohardas, the son of Mahārājā Māndhātā Gor, all the works of the buildings of Bhandār-darang¹ and Mahāvli and Pālāsghad were finished.

¹ Doubtful reading.

THE PERSIAN INSCRIPTION.

- 1 (1) چون در سنه یک هزار سی و دو هجری شاه جهان ()¹ و
 متاع مع خادمان محل بر قلعہ آسیر حوالہ راجہ گوپال داس کور
 (2) نموده خود بدولت عازم بہ سمت پورب شدند در ہنگام
 () راجہ مٹار الیہ از سلطان پرویز قریب دو سال در آسیر
 (3) جنگ نمود بعد چند روز شاہجہان از آنجا عبور نموده باز بہ
 دکن تشریف از زانی فرمودند آن زمان راجہ گوپال داس
 بملازمت
 (4) فایض گشتہ بہ خطاب راجہ ماند ہاتا و بمنصب پنجہزاری از
 روی عنایت پادشاہانہ مرحمت شدند چنانچہ راجہ ماند ہاتا
 (5) با پسر کلان با سہ کنوز بلرام در جنگ تہیہ بکار آمدند بعد از ان
 در سنہ یک ہزار سی و شش حضرت شاہجہان بر تخت دہلی زیر
 بخش
 (6) گردیدند و در سنہ یک ہزار شصت دو راجہ منوہر داس پسر
 راجہ ماند (ہاتا) بہ قلعہ داری قلعہ آسیر معین گشتہ تا شش
 سال
 (7) خدمت قلعہ داری قلعہ مسطور بصدق عقیدہ بجا آوردند و
 در سنہ یک ہزار (شص) ت و ہشت شاہ اوزنگ بادشاہ بر تخت
 سلطنت
 (8) زیب افزا شدند و در سنہ یک ہزار ہفتاد پنج نفش درست
 اعتقاد (ی و) ثابت تدمی قلعہ داری آسیر از راجہ منوہر داس

¹ These figures on the right hand side indicate the number of the lines of the inscription.

² These brackets denote gaps due to the breakage on the slab. At the close of the meeting, where the paper was read, Prof. Isfahani suggested that the missing part may be تمام مال, which, with the remaining letter ل, may read تمام مال, i.e., all property.

One cannot say with certainty if the first word is تمام, but it seems pretty certain that

the next word is مال. The words مال و متاع are generally spoken together.

(9) در خاطر مبارک مقدس معلى پسند آورده بخدمت قلع
داري مهارلي وغيره مرحمت فرمودند چنانچه در عمل قلع
داري راجه مذکور کار

(10) ¹ شکست ر بخت دیوار با و انبار خانه با قلع مهارلي و پلاس
گذر رزیم ² پایه وغيره قلع بند اردرنگ آراست شدند پنجم
رمضان سنه ۱۱

Translation.

When, in the year 1032 Hijri, Shāh Jahān, entrusting.....³ his property and⁴ his servants of the palace in the charge of Raja Gopaldas Gor in the fort of Asir, himself set⁵ out with good fortune on a journey in the direction of Purab, "then (lit. at the time)".....the abovenamed⁶ Raja fought with Sultan Parviz for nearly two years in Asir. After some days, Shāh Jahān crossing over from that place went back to Dakhan. At that time, Raja Gopaldass having served well⁷ with attendance⁸, was presented by way of Royal favour with the title of Raja Māndhātā and with the *mansab* (i.e. post) of 5,000. So, Raja Māndhātā with his elder son named Kunvar⁹ Balrām, prepared¹⁰ for war. After that, in the year 1036, Huzrat (i.e. His Majesty) Shāh Jahān sat on the throne¹¹ of Dehli. And in the year 1062, Raja Manohardas, the son of Raja Māndhātā, being appointed on the fort-commandership of the fort of Asir, performed faithfully¹² for six years, the service of the fort-commandership of the above fort. And in the year

³ Prof. Isfahani suggests شکست ر بخت in the sense of "repairs."

⁴ As suggested by Prof. Isfahani at the meeting when the paper was read.

⁵ Vide the note in the text above. The reading of the missing words seems correct. If so, the words here would be "all good (and)."

⁶ Lit. with

⁷ عازم شدن in set out.

⁸ Prof. Isfahani suggests that it may be a Hindi word for the East. (युद्ध) and we know from history that Shāh Jahān did go to Orissa and Bengal which are situated on the East of Khandesh.

⁹ A word or two missing.

¹⁰ Mushār ilāhī (Steingass, p. 96, col. 2, p. 2242, col. 1.)

¹¹ Lit. having become abundant or affluent.

¹² Or service.

¹³ Or prince.

¹⁴ تهیه preparation.

¹⁵ Lit. became the glory-giver on the throne.

¹⁶ Lit. with the truth of faithfulness.

1068, Shah Aurang Bâdshah came to the throne¹. And in the year 1075, (His Majesty), liking (lit. bringing into his liking in his auspicious, holy and high-mind) the faithful trustworthiness, (and) firmness of the commandership of the fort of Asir by Raja Manohardas, appointed him on (lit. favoured him with) the service of the commandership of Mahāvli, etc. So, in the rule of the commandership of the above-named Raja, the work of rebuilding the walls and storehouses of the fort of Mahāvli and Palāsgahadha and of the steps of the stairs, etc., of the fort of Bhandār-darung² was done. The fifth of Ruzman year eleven.

The pith of what the inscription says is this : Shâh Jahân, when he rebelled against his father Jahangir, had placed the object of the inscription, one Raja Gopaldass Gor in the command of the fort of Asir, which was a very strong fort in Khandesh. He placed his superfluous things and his domestics there, and went to fight against his brother Sultan Parvez whom his father had sent to suppress his rebellion. Gopaldass held the fort well against Sultan Parvez for nearly two years. So, Shâh Jahân rewarded him with the title of Mândhâta and a *mansab* of 5,000. This Raja was latterly helped by his son Prince Balram or Bâlârâm. Then Shâh Jahân came to the throne in 1036 Hijri. The inscription takes no note of the intervening events, the principal of which was, that Shâh Jahân had apologized and was forgiven. In 1062 Hijri³ (i.e., 26 years after Shâh Jahân's accession to the throne), Raja Manohardas, the son of the above Raja Gopaldass, was appointed in command of the fort of Asir. He ruled well for six years, i.e., up to 1068, when Shâh Jahân's son, Aurangzeb, came to the throne. In 1075, Aurangzeb in recognition of the good services of Raja Manohardas as commander of the fort of Asir appointed him on the command of the fort of Mahāvli in the 11th year of his (Aurangzeb's) reign.

The principal object of the inscription was to commemorate this event in the 11th year of the reign of Aurangzeb (Hijri 1079) in the time of Raja Manohardas. But, in taking note of that event, it has referred to a few preceding events from Hijri 1032, i.e., to the events of about 47 years, to show the meritorious services of Raja Manohardas and his father Gopaldass in connection with the fort of Asir, in recognition of which the command of Mahāvli was given to him. In point of importance, Mahāvli stands much lower than the famous Asirghad, but, perhaps, Aurangzeb thought it advisable to put an important fort of Thana, that was newly acquired, under the command of an experienced officer, who had done his work well at Asir.

¹ Lit. became glory-enhancer of the throne of the kingdom.

² The last part of the word is doubtful. It seems to be a rendering of Hindi भंडारदुर्ग

The inscription says nothing, as to how the fort of Mahāvli came into the hands of Aurangzeb. But we will see, later on, that the historians of the reign of this Mogal Emperor tell us, that Aurangzeb had to fight with the Mahrathas under Shivaji. Shivaji, being hard pressed, surrendered himself to Aurangzeb. One of the terms of the surrender was, that he was to give up the forts of Thana to the Mogal Emperor. Mahāvli was one of such hostile forts. It was in the time of his Governorship as the Commander of Mahāvli and Palāsghad that the fortifications of Mahāvli, Palāsghad and one other fort on the same hill were put in good order. The inscription says that this was done in the 11th year of Aurangzeb's reign.

III

EVENTS OF THREE REIGNS.

A LIST OF THE EVENTS.

The inscription refers to some events of the reigns of three Mogul Emperors—Jahangir, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb.
 An Account of Shāh Jahān's Rebellion. It takes a note of the events of about 44 years—from 1032 to 1075 Hijri. In order to have a clear grasp of the historical events noted therein, one must know something of the reign of Jahangir, especially of his relations with his son, Shāh Jahān, who had rebelled against him.

The lives of kings Jahangir and Shāh Jahān of the Mogul dynasty of India present, in one respect, a parallel, as it were, to the lives of king Gushtāsp and his son Aspandyār of the Kiānian dynasty of Persia. The parallel illustrates the moral maxim, "You will reap as you will sow". King Gushtāsp of Iran, in his youthful days, was a disobedient son, giving some trouble to his father Lohrasp. He asked for the throne of Persia in his father's life-time. In his turn, when he came to the throne, his son Aspandyār behaved in the same way and asked for the throne in his father's lifetime. In India, Jahangir had turned out a disobedient son to his father Akbar. So, he, in his turn, had two disobedient sons, Khusrū and Khurram, latterly known as Shāh Jahān. Shāh Jahān again had a disobedient son in Aurangzeb, who kept his old father in custody.

Khusrū rose in rebellion against his father Jahangir in the very first year of his reign. Jahangir marched against him and took him prisoner. Khusrū was the cause of much grief to his father, both directly and indirectly.

At one time, a seditious person, Kutb by name, acted the part of the Pseudo-Smerdis of the Achemnian times of king Darius of Persia

and "declared himself to be Khusrû, and said that, having escaped from prison, he had come there (into the territory of Ujjainiya which lies near Patna); and that those who joined and helped him should share in his success." His rebellion was suppressed after some fight and he was put to death. Jahangir then tried to forget and forgive his son Khusrû, but his leniency had no great effect upon his son.

Jahangir's other son Khurram was, at one time, his great favourite.

Prince Khurram or Shah Jahan, at one time, a favourite son of Jahangir.

Jahangir thus speaks of the favours he bestowed upon him on Thursday, the 20th Mehr, in the 12th year of his reign (11th Shawwal 1026 Hijri): "After he had paid me his respects, I called him in the window where I was sitting, and with the impulse of excessive paternal affection and love, I immediately rose up and took him in my arms. The more he expressed his reverence and respect for me, the more my tenderness increased towards him. I ordered him to sit by me Formerly at the conquest of the Rânâ, (*Rânâ Anur Sing*), a *mansab* of 20,000 and the command of 10,000 horse had been conferred on Prince Khurram, and when he was sent to the Dakhin, he was honoured with the title of a Shâh. Now, in consideration of his present service, his *mansab* was promoted to a *mansab* of 30,000 and the command of 20,000 horse. I also conferred on him the title of Shâh Jahân. It was also ordered, that henceforth a chair should be placed for him in the Court next to my throne, an honour which was particularly conferred on him, and had never before been known in my family."²

Latterly (in 1029 Hijri, 1620 A.D.), when there arose a rebellion in the Deccan he sent Khurram (Shah Jahan) to suppress it. On Jumad-ul-awwal, 1031 Hijri (March 1622), news reached Jahangir that Khurram (Shâh Jahân), upon whom he had bestowed many favours as said above, had himself risen in rebellion. Jahangir sent Raja Roz-afzun, one of his oldest servants to Khurram, who was then at Mandu, to inquire into the cause of the rebellion. Jahangir got displeased with this rebellious son. He thus speaks of the way in which he expressed his displeasure: "When Khurram's son was ill, I made a vow that, if God would spare his life, I would never shoot an animal again with my own hand. For all my love of shooting, I kept my vow for five years to the present time; but now that I was offended with Khurram, I resolved to go out shooting again."³

Jahangir then spoke of his son as *siyâh bakht*, i.e., dark-fortuned. He issued an order that thenceforth he should be called *bi daulat*, i.e.,

² Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI, p. 321.

³ Ibid. pp. 351-5.

⁴ Ibid. p. 384.

without fortune or wretch. These words carry a sense opposed to that of his original name Khurram (خرم) which means "auspicious, pleasant, delightful."

We read the following passage in the Memoirs¹ of Jahangir, expressive of his displeasure towards this rebellious son:—

"I directed that henceforward he should be called 'Wretch', and whenever the word 'Wretch' occurs in this *Ikbāl-nāma*, it is he who is intended. I can safely assert that the kindness and instruction which I have bestowed upon him, no King has ever yet bestowed upon a son. The favours which my respected father showed to my brothers, I have shown ever to his servants. I exalted his titles, made him lord of a standard and drum, as may be recorded in this *Ikbāl-nāma*, and the fact cannot be concealed from the readers of it. The pen cannot describe all that I have done for him, nor can I recount my own grief, or mention the anguish and weakness which oppress me in this hot climate, which is so injurious to my health, especially during these journeys and marchings which I am obliged to make in pursuit of him who is no longer my son."

The stone inscription which forms the subject of this paper refers to the events connected with this rebellion of Shah-Jahan. To enable one to have a clear grasp of the few events referred to in it, I will give here a list of a few important events with dates of the reign of Jahangir (1569—1627 A. D.) and of some subsequent events, as given by Mahomedan historians and by the Inscription.

Hijri year,	A. D.	
975	1567	Jahangir born.
1001	1592	Khurram (Shah Jahan) born.
	1600	Fortress of Asir taken by king Akbar.
1014	1605	Jahangir came to throne ("Jahangir counted the years of his reign by the solar reckoning, and the first year of his reign as commencing on the New Year's Day next year after his accession with the entrance of the Sun into Aries, which corresponded with the 11th Zi-l ka'du, 1014 A. H. (10th March 1606 A. D.)." ² He was about 38 years of age when he came to throne.
		His rebellious son Khusru was arrested and imprisoned.

¹ Elliot Vol. VI, p. 281.

² Elliot's History of India; Vol. VI, p. 299, n. 2. Owing to this reason, and the difference in the dates of the commencement of the Hijri and Christian years, the A. D. years will, at times, not correspond exactly.

Hijri year.	A. D.	
1017	1609	Jahangir sent his son Sultan Parvez with his (Jahangir's) preceptor Khān Khānān (Mirza Khan) "to secure the settlement of the Dakhin."
1018	1610	An attempt by one Kutb to raise a rebellion, pretending that he was Jahangir's son Khusru, who had escaped from prison.
1022	1613	Campaign against the Rānā—Rana Amar Singh—who was the greatest of the Rajas of Hindustan and who ruled in Mewat and Jeypore. His ancestors had, at different times, assumed the titles of Rawal, Raja, Rup, and Rana. Jahangir first sent his son Sultan Parvez on the campaign. Then he sent Khurram (Shāh Jahān) on the expedition. (Both these sons are referred to in the inscription).
1023	1614	The Rana submitted.
1024	1616	Jahangir as a matter of favour first gave permission to Prince Khurram to drink wine "on feast days, on New Year's Day, and at great entertainments, but always with moderation; for to drink to excess and weaken the intellect is avoided by the wise; in fact some good and benefit ought to be obtained from wine-drinking." ¹
1025	1616	Plague broke out in many parts of Hindustan.
1026	1618	Khurram saw Jahangir at Mandu and was honoured with the title of Shāh Jahān. Jahangir's journey to Guzarat, when he visited Ahmedabad which he called Gardābād (i.e. the city of dust) on account of its dust, the result of its sandy soil. Later on he thus speaks of it: "I have previously called this city Gardābād. Now, I do not know what to call it—whether Samūmistān (the home of the simoom), Bināristān (place of sickness), Zakūmdār (thorn-brake), or Jahannamābād (hell), for all these names are appropriate." ² From Ahmedabad, he went to Khambait (Cambay. <i>lit.</i> the place of a <i>khamb</i> or pillar, which was at first put up by a Raja there when he founded the city) which was a great port and which had a nunt. His silver coins (<i>tankas</i>) struck there during his visit to Khambait commemorate the conquest of Deccan, the rebellion of which is referred to in the inscription, by saying on one side: "After the conquest of the Dakhin, he (Jahangir) came from Māndū to Gujarāt." These silver and similar gold <i>tankas</i> were called, "Jahangiri <i>tankas</i> ."

¹ Ibid, p. 341. Cf. for wine-drinking Pahlavi Dadistan-i Dinik, Chaps. 50 and 51. S. B. E. Vol. XVIII, pp. 176-80.

² Ibid, p. 338.

Hijri year.	A.D.	
1027	1618	Appearance of a comet. This appearance of the comet was taken to be ill-omened because plague again broke out extensively. "It was also through the effects of this phenomenon that a misunderstanding arose between His Majesty and the fortunate Prince Shâh Jahân. The disturbances which thus originated lasted 7 or 8 years. What blood was shed in the country! and what families were ruined!" ¹
1027	1618	Jahangir presented to Khurram (Shâh Jahân) the first copy of his Jahangir-nâma containing an account of all the events of the first twelve years of his reign. He presented this first copy to Shâh Jahân whom he "considered in all things the first of all his sons." ²
1028		Aurangzeb born.
1029		Khurram sent for the conquest of the fort of Kangra "situated in the hills north of Lahore." The fort was besieged. It surrendered later on, on 1st Mohurrum 1031.
1029	1620	Rebellion in the Deccan. Shâh Jahân sent to suppress it.
1030	1621	Khurram (Shâh Jahân) gains some victories over the rebels.
1031	1622	Khurram rose in rebellion against his father Jahangir.
1032	1623	Jahangir appointed his son Shah Parwez to the command of the army against Shâh Jahân. This event is referred to in the inscription. Shâh Jahân coming out of the fort of Mandu, was defeated. So, crossing the Ner-budda he fled towards the fort of Asir.
1032	1623	Shâh Jahân places his things and women under the charge of Gopaldass at Asir. This is the first event referred to in the inscription.
1033	1624	Shâh Jahân fled to Orissa and thence to Bengal. This seems to be referred to in the inscription as going to Purab or the East. He then "proceeded towards the Dakhîn." This return to the Deccan is also referred to in the inscription.
1034	1625	Shâh Jahân arrived in the Deccan. Being defeated more than once by his father's army, he sued for peace. Jahangir consented on condition that Shâh Jahân sent "his sons Darah Shukoh and Aurangzeb to Court and would surrender Rohtâs and the fortress of Asir which were held by his adherents." Shâh Jahân then proceeded to Nasik.

¹ Elliot's History, VI, p. 407.² Ibid, p. 360.

Hijri year.	A. D.	
1035	1626	Khusru died.
1036	1627	Jahangir died aged 60. Shâh Jahân came to throne. The inscription also gives the date of accession as 1036 Hijri.
	1627	Shivaji born.
	1646	Shivaji withheld the tribute due to Shâh Jahân.
1062	1652-53	Raja Manohardas appointed commander of the Fort of Asir. (We do not find any reference to this in any book of history. It is the inscription that refers to it.)
1068	1658	Aurangzeb came to throne. The inscription gives the date as 1068.
	1664	Shivaji attacks Surat.
1075	1665	Treaty of Purandhar, by which Shivaji surrendered the territory he had taken from the Moguls. By that treaty, he surrendered the Thana Hill forts also.
		Raja Manohardas appointed to the command of the Mahâvli forts surrendered by Shivaji.
1076	1666	Shâh Jahân died.
	1707	Aurangzeb died.

IV

A SURVEY OF THE EVENTS.

We will now proceed to understand clearly the events referred to in the stone inscription.

The short Hindi inscription at the top and on the right hand margin simply says, that it was during the governorship of Raja Manohardas, the son of Mahârajâ Mândhâtâ Gôr that some works, relating to (the forts of) Mahâvli, Palâsghad and a third fort which seems to me to be Bhandârgad, were done. We will speak of the persons and places, mentioned in this short Hindi inscription, in our description of the larger Persian inscription.

The first event referred to in the Persian inscription is that of Hijri 1032, when Shâh Jahân is said to have entrusted all his property and servants of the palace to the charge of Gopaldas Gor in the fort of Asir and to have started on a journey of war.

This event and the circumstances which led to this event and the fight with Sultan Parwez, another son of Jahangir, are all explained by the following passage which we read in the Târikh-i-Jahangiri or the History of Jahangir.

از آب نروده عبور فرموده و کشتیها را به آنطرف کشیده بزم بیگ بخشی را با جمعی بر کفار گذاشته خود با خانخانان بصوب قلعہ آسیر و برہانپور شد^۱ قلند چون موکب کھان شکوہ بہای قلعہ آسیر پیوست میر حام الدین ولد میر حبال الدین حسین انجواز قلعہ بر آمدہ ملازمت نمود و آنحضرت خود با اہل حرم بر فراز قلعہ شتافتہ سه روز توقف فرمودہ و حراست قلعہ بکوبالداس راچپوت کہ سپاہی کاروان بود تفویض یافت و سامان آذوقہ و سائر مصالح قلعہ داری بہ وجہ دلخواہ فرمودہ ہستاری از پرستاران حرم اقبال را و سائر اسباب زیادتہ کہ ہمراہ گردانیدن آن تعدد تمام داشت در آنجا گذاشتہ متوجہ برہانپور شد^۱

Translation.

He (Shâh Jahân), having crossed the river Narbudda, and having drawn all the boats on this side (i.e., bank of the river), and having placed Bairam Beg Bakhshi together with a number (of troops for guard) on the banks, hastened with Khân-Khânân in the direction of the fort of Asir and Barhanpur. When the army of the Majesty of the world (i.e., Shâh Jahân) came to the fort of Asir, Mir Hamu-l-din, the son of Mir Habatu-din Husein Anju coming out of the fort, paid his respects. And His Highness himself, going up the fort with the people of his harem and staying there for three days, confided the custody of the fort to Gopaldas Rajput, who was an experienced

¹ Manuscript of the Târikh-i-Jahangiri تاریخ جهانگیری in the Moola Feroze

Library. (IV. R. 12). Events of the سال ہز دہم, i.e., the 18th year, 14th page of this year's account.

soldier. And having arranged, according to the desire of his heart, for the materials of provisions and for the rest of the affairs of the command of the fort, and having left in their place, many of the female servants of his royal harem and the rest of superfluous goods that were difficult to be taken on his way (of journey), went towards Barhanpur.

The *Wakiât-i-Jahangiri* or the *Memoirs of Jahangir*, as translated in
The *Wakiât-i-Jahangiri*. Elliot's *History of the Mahomedan rulers of India*
describes this event as follows :

"On the 25th Urdibihisht¹ (1032 Hijri 1623 A.D.), I appointed my son Shâh Parwez to the command of the army operating against the rebel. He was to have the supreme command."² Shâh Parwez, of whom the inscription speaks as Sultan Parwez, had an army of "40,000 horse, with suitable artillery." Shâh Jahân, who was then in the fort of Mandu came out with an army of "20,000 horse, 600 elephants and powerful artillery with the intention of giving battle. . . . Shâh Jahân, not daring to risk a general action, and thinking always of his retreat, sent his elephants over the Nerbudda. He then sent his forces against the royal army near the village of Kâliya; but he himself, with Khan-khânân and several others, remained a *kos* in the rear." When he heard that some of his trusted officers had gone over to the side of his father "he gave up resistance, and, being unable to place reliance upon any one, he determined to fly. With his forces in disorder, he crossed the Nerbudda. . . . He himself went off towards the fort of Asir. . . . When the rebel Shâh Jahân reached Asir, he placed Khân-khânân, Dârâb, and all his other children in confinement in the upper part of the fortress. He remained there three or four days, attending to the victualling and preparation of the fortress, which he placed under the command of Gopâl Das, a Rajput. . . . When he departed he left some of his women and superfluous things there in charge of Gopâl; but he took with him his three wives, his children, and such maids as were necessary."

The inscription places this event in 1032 Hijri (1623 A.D.) The *Wakiât-i-Jahangiri* also places it in the same year. The *Târikh-i-Jahangiri* also gives the same year.

There is one word in the account of the first event referred to in the inscription which requires a little explanation. The inscription speaks of *khâdamân* (خادمان), i.e., domestic servants being left by Shâh

¹ Urdibihisht is the month Ardibehesht, the second month of the Persians. Jahangir, following the precedent of his father Akbar, used Parsi months.

² Elliot VI, p. 386.

³ Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. VI., pp. 387-88.

Jahân at the fort of Asir together with goods and property (مال و متاع). The *Târikh-i Jahangiri* speaks of the female servants of the royal harem (پرستاران حرم). We must understand that both seem to mean the same thing, because the word *khâdam* (خادم) in Persian is used for both, male and female, domestic servants.

The Raja Gopaldas Gor (راجہ گوپال داس گور) of the inscription is the Gopaldass Rajput (گوپال داس راجپوت) of the *Târikh-i Jahangiri*.

The next event referred to in the inscription is that of Shâh Jahân crossing a river and going to Deccan. This event is thus referred to in Jahangir's *Wakiât*: "Shâh Jahân, when he heard of the defection of Khân-khânân, the passage of the river by the Imperial troops, and the retreat of Bairam Beg, fell back. Notwithstanding heavy rain and inundations, he crossed the river Mati in a wretched state, and went off towards the 'Dukhin.'" According to the *Wakiât-i Jahangiri* Prince Parwez and his army then "pressed on in pursuit of the rebel across the river (Tâpti)."

The third event referred to in the inscription is that of Raja Gopaldas being further honoured by Shâh Jahân with the title of *Mandhâtâ* and a *mansab* of Rs. 5,000. The Raja, thus honoured, continued with his son Prince Balrâm (Balârâm), to serve Shâh Jahân faithfully. This seems to be a minor event, and so, we find no reference to it in any historical book. But we know this much, that Gopaldas held the fortress of Asir for Shâh Jahân very long. Shâh Jahân, on being defeated at first, had gone to Orissa and from there to Bengal, and from there back to the Deccan in 1034 A.D. He had then laid siege to Barhanpur. He carried three assaults over the city but failed. Then he retired to Balaghât. Thence he went again towards the Deccan. Then he made peace with his father. It was then that Asir was surrendered to Jahangir. We read the following about its final surrender in the supplement to Jahangir's *Wakiât* (*Tatimma-i Wakiât-i Jahangiri*).

"But he was seized with illness on the way (to Deccan). The error of his conduct now became apparent to him, and he felt that he must beg forgiveness of his father for his offences. So with this proper feeling he wrote a letter to his father, expressing his sorrow and

repentance, and begging pardon for all faults past and present. His Majesty wrote an answer with his own hands, to the effect that if he would send his sons Dārā Shukoh and Aurangzeb to Court, and would surrender Rohtās and the fortress of Asir, which were held by his adherents, full forgiveness should be given him, and the country of the Balāghāt should be conferred upon him. Upon reading this, Shāh Jahān deemed it his duty to conform to his father's wishes; so, notwithstanding the love he had for his sons, he sent them to his father, with offerings of jewels, chased arms, elephants, &c., to the value of ten *lacs* of rupees. He wrote to Muzaffar Khān, directing him to surrender Rohtās to the person appointed by the Emperor, and then to come with Sultān Murād Bakhshī. He also wrote to Hayāt Khān directions for surrendering Asir to the Imperial officers. Shāh Jahān then proceeded to Nasik."¹ This was in 1035, the 21st year of the reign of Jahangir.

The Hindi inscription speaks of the commander of the fort as Māndhātā Gōr. The Persian inscription speaks of him as Rāja Gopaldas Gōr and says that the title of Māndhātā was given him later by Shāh Jahān. This word 'Māndhātā' seems to be Sanskrit

4. Conferring the title of Māndhātā on Gopaldas.

मान दात, meaning one upon whom honour (mān मान) is bestowed (dhātā दात from root dhā, to confer, grant).

The next event referred to in the inscription is the accession of Shāh Jahān to the throne, the date of which is given as 1036 Hijri. But the Ikbal-nameh-i Jahangiri gives the date of Jahangir's death as "the 28th Safar, 1037 Hijri in the 22nd year of his reign."²

5. Shāh Jahān's accession to the throne.

So Shah Jahan came to the throne after that day. His elder brother Parwez, who had fought against him during his rebellion against his father, died on 6th Safar 1035 Hijri. ³ So on Jahangir's death, "Āsof Khān, the chief personage in the State, in concert with Khan-i-azam (Irādāt Khan), brought Dawar Bakhsh, son of Khusrū, out of confinement, and held out to him the prospect of his becoming king."⁴ But in the end "on the 2nd Jumād-i-awwal, 1037 A. H., agreeing with 10th Balmūn, in the twenty-second year of the reign of Jahangir, by general consent Shāh Jahān was proclaimed at Lahore, and the *Khutba* was read in his name."⁵

The Badshah-nama of Abdu-l-Hamid Lahori, which gives an account of the first twenty years of Shāh Jahan's reign, also gives 28th

¹ Elliot, p. 396.

² Ibid, p. 435.

³ Elliot VI, p. 435.

⁴ Ibid, p. 438.

⁵ Ibid, p. 439.

Safar A. H. 1037 (28th October 1627) as the date of Jahangir's death¹ (age 58 years one month) and "18th Jumâda-s Sani 1037 A. H. (6th February 1628)" as the date of Shâh Jahân's accession. So, the date given by the inscription as that of Shâh Jahân's accession does not seem to be quite correct.

The next event in the Inscription is that of the appointment, in 1062

6. Raja Manohardas' appointment. Hijri, of Raja Manohardas, the son of Raja Mân-dahâtâ (i. e., Raja Gopaldas, who is now

spoken of by his titular name given to him by Shâh Jahân), to the command of fort Asir. We saw above, that Shâh Jahân had, on making peace with his father in 1034 Hijri (1625), surrendered the fort of Asir to his father. So, it appears, that sometime after coming to the throne, he honoured the son of his former faithful commander with the command of the fort. Raja Manohardas continued on the command for six years. We know nothing of this appointment from the books of history of Shâh Jahân.

The next event in the Inscription is that of Aurangzeb's accession to

7. Aurangzeb's accession to the throne of Delhi, which, it says, occurred in 1068. The *Muntakhab-ul-Lubâb* of Muhammad Hashim throne,

Khami Khan also gives the same date. It says : "On the 1st Zi-l-Kâda, 1068 A. H. (22nd July 1658 A. D.), after saying his prayers, and at an auspicious time, he took his seat on the throne of the Empire of Hindustan, without even troubling himself about placing his name on the coinage or having it repeated in the *khutba*. . . such matters as titles, the *khutba*, the coinage, and the sending of presents to other sovereigns were all deferred to his second taking possession of the throne."

Aurangzeb ascended the throne during the lifetime of his father Shâh Jahân. "On the 7th Zi-l-hijja 1067 A. H. (Sept. 8, 1657 A. D.) (the Emperor Shâh Jahân, called after his death) Firdaus Makani was attacked with illness."² His son "Dârâ Shukoh looked upon himself as heir to the throne, and even in the time of his father's health he had held the reins of government. But he had fallen into ill repute through having imbibed the heretical tenets of the Sufis. . . . He had also associated himself with the *Brahmans* and *Gosains*. Seizing the opportunity (of his father's illness) . . . he closed the roads of Bengal, Ahmadabad, and Dakhin against messengers and travellers. . . . When intelligence of these proceedings reached Muhammad Shujâ in Bengal and Muhammad Murad Baksh in Ahmadabad (two of the sons of Shâh Jahân), each of them, vying with the other, had coins struck and the *khutba* read in his own name."³ Aurangzeb, at first pretended to be

¹ Elfort VII, p. 5.

² Ibid, p. 229.

³ Ibid, p. 243.

⁴ Ibid, Vol. VII, p. 244.

friendly with Muhammad Murad Bakhsh and offered him his co-operation. He then defeated Darn Sukoh and confined Shâh Jahân. He then imprisoned Murad Bakhsh and declared himself king. He then defeated prince Shuja, who marched from Bengal. He abolished the Hahî calendar and the festival of Nauroz. He was "unwilling that the *Aanroz* and the year and months of the Magi should give their names to the anniversary of his accession."¹ Shâh Jahân died "at the end of Rajab 1076 A.H. (22nd Jan. 1666), in the eighth year of the reign of Aurangzeb.....Shah Jahan reigned 31 years and he was secluded and under restraint nearly eight years."²

The next event referred to in the Inscription is that of what occurred in 1075 Hijri (1665 A. D.), the eighth year of the reign of Aurangzeb. The inscription says, that the Emperor, in order to reward the above-said Manohardas for his faithful services as the Commander of Asir, on the command of which he seems to have continued during his reign, appointed him as the Commander of Mahâvi.

This event seems to have happened in connection with Aurangzeb's war with the Mahrathas under Shivaji. Aurangzeb's troubles with Shivaji had begun in 1070 A.H. (1660 A. D.). The author of the *Mutakhabu-l-Lubab* who describes the history of Aurangzeb's reign thus commences his narrative of Shivaji: "I now relate what I have heard from trusty men of the Dakhin and of the Mahratta race about the origin and race of the reprobate Shivaji." He traces the descent of Sahu Bhoslah, the master of Shivaji's father, from a good stock, in the 7th or 8th generation of a person of a mixed Rajput and Mahratha marriage. He then refers to Shivaji's gradual rise and the murder of Afzulkhan at his hand. At Aurangzeb's command, Shayasta Khan, the Amiru-l-umara marched to punish Shivaji. Sometime after, in 1023 A.H. (1663 A.D.) Shivaji surprized Shayasta Khan at Poona. The next year despatches arrived at Aurangzeb's camp that "Shivaji was growing more and more daring, and every day was attacking and plundering the Imperial territories and caravans. He had seized the ports of Jiwâl, Pâbal and others near Surat, and attacked the vessels of pilgrims bound to Mecca. He had built several forts by the sea-shore."³ In 1075 A. H. (1665 A. D.), Shivaji was hard pressed by the generals of Aurangzeb. "Accordingly he sent some intelligent men to Raja Jai Singh (a great general of Aurangzeb), begging forgiveness of his

¹ Ibid. p. 233.

² Ibid. p. 275.

³ Elliot VII, p. 271.

offences, promising the surrender of several forts which he still held, and proposing to pay a visit to the Raja." ¹ His offer of surrender was accepted. Shivaji was admitted into the presence of Raja Jai Singh to whom he said: "I have come as a guilty slave to seek forgiveness, and it is for you either to pardon or to kill me at your pleasure. I will make over my great forts, with the country of the Konkan, to the Emperor's officers."²

Leaving aside the question of some possible exaggeration of the Mahomedan historian in the matter of Shivaji's affairs, what we learn, in connection with the event in question referred to in the Inscription, is this, that in 1075 Hijri (1665 A. D.) Shivaji surrendered to Aurangzeb's officers his forts in the Konkan. According to the Inscription, one of such officers of Aurangzeb, was Raja Manohardas, the Commander of Asir; and one of the forts of Konkan thus surrendered was Mahāvli in the Thana district in Konkan. We learn from the inscription that Aurangzeb rewarded the services of Raja Manohardas by placing him in command of the newly possessed fort of Mahāvli.

The last and the most important event, in fact *the* event which is the *raison d'être* of this inscription, which is noted on the stone, is the fact that it was during this commandership of Mahāvli by Raja Manohardas, that the forts of Mahāvli and Pālāsghad and Bhandārgad were put into proper order. The stone inscription commemorates this important event. The Mahāvli fort or Mahāvli Hill already existed, but Aurangzeb's abovenamed Commander put its fortifications in a better order or rebuilt them.

V

PLACES, REFERRED TO IN THE DESCRIPTION.

Having spoken of the personages referred to in the Inscription and the events connected with them, we will now speak of the places mentioned in it. The places mentioned therein are the following:—

- 1 Asir.
- 2 Purab
- 3 Mahāvli
- 4 Pālāsghad
- 5 Bhandar Dārang.

¹ Ibid, p. 273.

² Ibid, VII, p. 274.

The Persian inscription and the Persian extract from the *Tārīkh-i Jahangīrī* both refer to the fort of Asir. Asir or Asirgadh (i.e., Asir, the fort), is a great fort in the Deccan. It was said to have been built, sometime before 1370, by Asa, the shepherd king, who was the last of the race of Ashirs or shepherds who ruled over the country of the Satpura Hills, near Nimūr.¹

Abul Fazl in his *Akbar-namēh* thus refers to the first foundation of a fort on the hill :—“The rulers of Khandesh were of the Farukī tribe, and the family had held rule in the country for more than 200 years. An ancestor who had connexions with the Dakhn and had served there as a soldier, being aggrieved, left that country and went to Khandesh, which country was then held by different *samindars* and *Rājās*. He came to a village which pleased him, and there a dog which accompanied him set off in pursuit of a hare, but the hare turned round and attacked the dog. This unusual exhibition of courage greatly impressed him, and he thought that the land where such a sight could be seen must be fertile in courage and daring, so he resolved to take up his abode there. He expressed his wish to the *samindar* of the place, but it was refused. Afterwards he seized an opportunity of seeking assistance from the King of Delhi, and having collected some of his brethren (tribesmen?) he overpowered that *samindar*, and took possession of the village. He extended his power over other villages around, and in the end he was master of several *paragnas* and commander of an armed force.

“When he died, his authority descended to his grandson, who saw the value that a fortress would be as a place of safety for his family and dependents. Asir which is situated on the top of a hill, was at that time an inhabited place. He continued by various stratagems to obtain this place from the *samindar* who held it, and fortified it strongly. He then assumed the name of ruler, and at length the whole country of Khandesh, about 150 *kas* in length, and 50 in breadth, more or less, came under his sway.”

Akhar had besieged the fortress in about 1590, when it was in the hands of the King of Khandesh. Abū-l-Fazl, his prime minister, and author of the *Akbar-nāmēh* was sent by Akbar to invest it in the 43rd year of his reign. The attempt was unsuccessful at first, but in the end the fort was taken.

¹ Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part II, p. 619.

² Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI, p. 137-38.

Abū-l-Fazl calls this fort of Asir "one of the wonders of the world." So, the following report of Akbar's generals, when they captured it after a siege of eleven months, will be found very interesting :

Report about Asir
by Akbar's generals.

"They had never seen in any country a fort like this ; for, however long an army might press the siege, nothing but the extraordinary good fortune of the Emperor could effect its capture. Old soldiers, and men who had travelled into distant lands,—men who had seen the fortresses of Irān and Turān, of Rūm, Europe, and of the whole habitable world, had never beheld the equal of this. It is situated on a high and strong hill, and three smaller hills, each having a fort, stand around it, like a halo round the moon. The ways of entrance and exit were difficult to discover. Near it there was no other hill commanding it, and no way of approach. All around was level ground, and there were no trees or jungle to serve as cover. All the time the country had been held by the dynasty, each prince, as he succeeded, did his best to keep the place in repair, to add to its strength, or to increase its stores. It was impossible to conceive a stronger fortress, or one more amply supplied with artillery, warlike stores and provisions. There were 500 *mans* of opium, *Aklarshāhi* weight in its stores. Were the fortress placed upon level ground, its reduction would be difficult, but such a hill, such a well secured fortress, and such artillery, were not to be found in any one place on the face of the earth."

This strong fort was taken "on a dark rainy night by a force under (Abu'l Fazl's) command, by means of a secret way into its outwork, of which information was obtained from one of the garrison."

The means of
defence of the
fort of Asir.

The following account of the means of defending a great Indian fort in those times will be found equally interesting :—

"After the capture of the fortress, accounts were taken of the munitions. Of pieces of artillery (*zarb-zan*), small and great, there were more than 1,300, besides some which were disused. The balls varied in weight from nearly two *mans* down to a *sir* or a half *sir*. There were great numbers of mortars (*hukkudāu*), and also many *man-janiās*, each of which threw stones of 1,000 or 2,000 *mans*. On every bastion there were large iron cauldrons, in each of which twenty or thirty *mans* of oil could be boiled and poured down upon the assailants in case of assault. No account was taken of the muskets. Of provisions of all sorts, wines, medicines, aromatic roots, and of everything required for the use of man, there was vast abundance. When,

¹ Elliot VI, pp. 138-39.

² *Ibid.*, p. 142 p. 1.

after a protracted siege of eleven months, the place fell into the hands of the Imperial army, the quantities of grain, oil, etc., which remained, after some thousands of men had been fed (during the siege), seemed as the stores had never been touched. The stores of ammunition were such, that thousands of *mans* were left, although the quantity consumed had been enormous. For throughout the siege a constant firing was kept up night and day, with object and without object, so that in the dark nights of the rainy season no man dared to raise his head, and a demon even would not move about. There were large chambers full of powder. There were no springs of water in the fortress; but there were two or three immense reservoirs, in which the (rain) water was collected and stored from year to year, and amply sufficed for the requirements of the garrison. In the dwelling of each officer of importance there was a separate reservoir, containing a sufficient supply of pure water for his household. Nor had all this preparation been made for the occasion; it had been kept up from the foundation of the fortress. The rulers of the country had incessantly cared for the strengthening and provisioning of the fort, more especially in respect of artillery. The revenues of several *parānas* were specially and separately assigned to keep up the supply of artillery, so that the officers of the department had independent sources for maintaining its efficiency. The population in the fortress was like that of a city, for it was full of men of every kind. After the surrender, the inhabitants came out, and there was a continuous throng night and day for a week.

"The houses of the chiefs were fine lofty buildings, and there were open spaces, gardens and fountains. In the walls of the fort, which were of great thickness, chambers and rooms were constructed for the officers of the artillery, where, during all seasons, they could live in comfort, and keep up a fire of cannon and musketry. The fortress has one gate, and outside this gate there is another fort called Kamargarh, the walls of which are joined on both sides to the great fort. This was looked upon as an outwork, and was held by inferior ranks of men, such as musketeers and archers. Below this fort, but still on an elevated spot, is another fort called Mālgarh, which also is very strong. In comparison with the fortress, it seems at the bottom of the earth; but compared with the surface of the ground, it looks half-way up to the sky. This being the most advanced of the works, great care had been taken to strengthen it with guns and other implements. Below this was an inhabited place called Tinkluti, as large as a city. In short, the fortress is one of the wonders of the world, and it is impossible to convey an idea of it to any one who has not seen it." ¹

¹ Ibid, pp. 139-40.

I cannot identify the place mentioned as Purab. In the Mahomedan history of the period no place of that name is

2. Purab. mentioned.. The inscription says that after arranging the affairs in the fort of Asir, Shah Jahan went to the direction of Purab (بر سمت پورب شدند). The Tārīkh-i Jahangiri says, that he went to the direction of Burhanpur (متوجه برهانپور شدند). So, perhaps, Purab was a place in the direction of Burhanpur. Perhaps the scribe who inscribed the inscription misunderstood or mistook Purab (پورب) for Burhanpur. (برهانپور)¹

The Thana Gazetteer gives the following account of the history of the Mahāvli hill fort. "In the year 1485, Mahuli along with other Konkani forts, was taken by Malik Ahmad, afterwards the founder of the Ahmadnagar dynasty. In 1635 Mahuli surrendered to Shahu, and here Jijibai, the mother of Shivaji, occasionally took refuge with her young son. In 1636, it was invested by Khan Zāman and Shahu forced to surrender. In 1661 it was taken by Shivaji, though defended by a Rajput garrison. It was soon after given to the Moghals but in 1670, after a serious repulse and a siege of two months, it was taken by Moro Trimai, Shivaji's Peshwa or Prime Minister. It seems to have been held by the Mārāṭhas till it was ceded by them to the English under the terms of the treaty of Poona, June 1817."

We read the following in the Bombay Gazetteer about the Mahāvli Palasghad and Bhandārdarang forts: "Mahuli Mahāvli, Palasgad, Fort on the hill of the same name 2,815 feet high, and Bhandārdarang. is in the Shahapur sub-division about four miles north-west of Shahapur The fortifications are said to have been built by the Moghals and on the top are the ruins of a place of prayer and of a mosque." According to Captain Dickinson's survey in 1818, as described in the Gazetteer, "The hill has three fortified summits, Pālāsgad on the north, Mahuli in the centre, and Bhandargad in the south. Mahuli, the middle peak, is the largest of the three, being upwards of half a mile long by nearly as much broad, with a plentiful supply of water and in many places fine soil The other two forts Pālāsgad to the north and Bhandargad to the south, can be reached, only up the heads of the narrow ravines which separate them from Mahuli. From the country below, Palasgad alone is accessible. In Mahuli

¹ Perhaps it is a Hindi word meaning 'East', as suggested by Prof. Isfahanl.

² Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XIV, Thana, Places of Interest, p. 220.

³ Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. 14, Thana, Places of Interest, p. 219.

and Bhandargad there were a few buildings which required a little repair, while Pālāsgad and other works were rapidly going to decay. In Captain Dickinson's opinion the fort was untenable. In 1862, it was very dilapidated. Time, it was said, would shortly wipe away all traces of fortifications except small parts of the old wall and the foundations."

The writer of the article in the Thana Gazetteer, when he says, that "the fortifications are said to have been built by the Moguls," says that perhaps on old traditions. He has given no authority to say that, but this newly-discovered stone inscription confirms the oral tradition that the fortifications were re-built by the Moguls. The fortifications are of the three forts Mahāvli, Pālāsgad and Bhandargad, the names of which are found in the inscription.

The place spoken of as भंडारदरंग (Bhandārdarang in the Hindi inscription and as بندگاندرنگ Bhandār-darang in the Persian inscription is the same as the Bhandargad of the Gazetteer. The word *ambār-bhānah* (i.e., storehouse) in the inscription, has the same signification as the word *bhandār* which also means a store.

The question is : Who had put up the stone? I think, it was Raja Manohardas or one of his immediate successors who put up the stone. The fact of the stone inscription being bi-lingual points to that conclusion. A part of the inscription is in Hindi and in Nagari characters. So, it must have been put up by a Hindu governor. Had it been by a Mahomedan governor, possibly it would have been wholly in Persian. The ruins of a Mahomedan Musjid, referred to by the Gazetteer, point to the Mahomedan occupation and population, but the Hindi inscription points to the Hindu commandership of Manohardas.

Value of the
Inscription.

The discovery of the inscription confirms several known facts and gives some new facts, not known before.

Firstly, it confirms the old tradition that the fortifications on the Mahāvli hill, consisting of the forts of Mahāvli, Pālāsgad and Bhandargad were built by the Moguls. It settles the fact that it were the officers of Aurangzeb who put up the fortifications in good order. It gives some new facts about the commanders of the fort of Asir and Mahāvli, not known from the books of History.



ART. VIII.—*The Ancient History of the Suez Canal from the times of the Ancient Egyptian Kings.*

(Read 15th April 1915.)

I.

The present war, especially the development that has taken place in it since Turkey joined the war, has drawn fresh attention of the civilized world to the Suez Canal which forms the highway between Europe and India. At such a time, the ancient history of the canal should interest many. The modern Suez Canal was constructed during the latter half of the last century. So, the title of the paper, *viz.*, "the Ancient History of the Suez Canal" may, perhaps, seem a little strange. But it is known, that there existed long before the Christian era, a great ancient canal which connected the Mediterranean Sea with the Red Sea, just as the modern Suez Canal does. The position of that ancient Canal was, in nearly half its course, well nigh near, and parallel to, the modern Suez Canal. It was specially so at the Suez end of it. So the old canal also may properly be called the Suez Canal. The object of this paper is to give a short history and account of that canal.

As a Parsee student, I take an interest in the ancient history of the Persians. So, during my visit of Europe in 1889, to attend the 8th Oriental Congress which met at Stockholm in that year, I managed to see some of the most prominent places connected with the history of the Achæmenians. Some of them are places of interest during the present war.

My visit of some of the centres of Achæmenian activity in Europe and Africa.

One of such places was Constantinople with the Dardanelles or the Hellespont and the beautiful Bosphorus, to cross which for his invasion of Scythia the Sakæ of the Behistun Inscriptions (I, 6),¹ the modern Russian of the highway between the Danube and the Don—Darius had put up a bridge. As said by Herodotus,² Darius commemorated this event by erecting two columns there with inscriptions in Persian and Greek.

The next important places I visited were Athens and the classical battlefield of Marathon, where one of the 15 decisive battles of the world, referred to by Creasy³, was fought, a battle which occupied the same

¹ Dr. H. C. Tolman's Guide to the Old Persian Inscriptions, p. 118; Spiegel's Inscriptions, p. 5; Oppert, p. 24.

² Bk. IV, 87.

³ Fifteen Decisive Battles by Sir Edwin Creasy.

place in ancient history as the battle of Tours (A.D. 732) in later history. Had Darius won at Marathon, the whole of Europe would have, perhaps, as said by Professor Max Müller, become Zoroastrian, just as, had Abdul Rehman won at Tours, the whole of Europe would have become Mahomedan¹.

The third set of places, which I took an interest in, were in Egypt, the ruins of the old town of Memphis and the Isthmus of Suez. It was from Cairo that I had gone to the town of Suez, and from there, 'I had about 10 miles' ride towards the site of the old and the modern canals.

Egypt has been held, since very ancient times, to be the principal highway of commerce between Europe and India. So, Egypt, the great highway of commerce between Europe and Asia, it was, that all great conquerors, who aimed at one kind or another of World-empire, thought of conquering it. The ancient Greeks and Romans, the ancient Persians and the Macedonians, all tried to possess it.

Great invaders of India, like Darius the Great and Alexander the Great, first thought of conquering Egypt and then India. Napoleon Bonaparte, that semi-Alexander, who thought of conquering India, thought of conquering it.

II.

We learnt from various ancient authors and old travellers, that canals existed in many countries long before the Christian era. Ancient Canals : China. Ancient China had its inland artificial navigation by means of canals. The Imperial Canal in China, which was completed in 1229, was 1,000 miles long and took about 40 days to navigate from one end to another. It was 30 ells (about 37½ ft.) in width. Instead of locks, as in the present canals, it had a system of sluices at which boats were hoisted up. Marco Polo thus describes this great canal of China : " You must understand that the Emperor hath caused a water-communication to be made from this city to Cambaluc in the shape of a wide and deep channel dug between stream and stream, between lake and lake, forming, as it were, a great river on which large vessels can ply. And thus there is a communication all the way from this city of Caiju to Cambaluc ; so that great vessels with their loads can go the whole way. A level road also exists, for the earth dug from those channels has been thrown up so as to form an embanked road on either side."

Col. Yule, quotes Rashiuddin to say, that " Kûblâi caused the sides of the embankments to be rivetted with stones, in order to prevent the

¹ Mahommedanism by Revd. Robinson, p. 7.

² The Book of Ser Marco Polo, translated by Sir Henry Yule (1903), Vol. II, pp. 174-75.

earth giving way. Along the side of the canal runs the high road to Machin, extending for a space of 30 days' journey, and thus has been paved throughout, so that travellers and their animals may get along during the rainy season without sinking in the mud Shops, taverns and villages line the road on both sides, so that dwelling succeeds dwelling without intermission throughout the whole space of 40 days' journey."¹

According to the Avesta and Pahlavi books of the Parsees, canals existed in ancient Irân from the early times of the Peshdâdian dynasty. Minocheher (Mânushchihar) was the king of the dynasty, who is credited with the work of canals and such other irrigation works in Mesopotamia, the country of the Euphrates and the Tigris, which is now ruled over by Turkey, and where the modern famous Irrigation Engineer, Sir James Wilcox, made a long survey, a few years ago, to restore the country to its former prosperous state.

The Bundelesh, in its chapter on rivers says: "The sources of the Frât (the Euphrates) river are from the frontier of Arûm, they feed upon it in Suristân, and it flows to the Dijlat (the Tigris); and of this Frât it is that they produce irrigation over the land. It is declared that Mânushchihar excavated the sources, and cast back the water all to one place, as it says thus: 'I reverence the Frât, full of fish, which Mânushchihar excavated for the benefit of his own soul and he seized the water and gave to drink.'"²

The Pahlavi Minokkerad³, Zâdsparam⁴ and the Dinkard⁵ also refer to the irrigation works of the ancient Iranians.

Mirkond⁶, in his Rozat-us-Safa, speaks of king Minocheher as one who had dug a canal in connection with the Euphrates. His statement corroborates the Pahlavi Bundelesh.

Not only has Egypt been the ancient highway of commerce with Mesopotamia, but it has also been a country of ancient canals. According to Herodotus, Sesostris (Ramses II), was the first Egyptian King, who supplied a large number of canals to Egypt. "The entire face of the country was changed; for whereas Egypt had formerly been a region, suited both for horses and carriages, henceforth it became entirely unfit.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 175, n. 2.

² Chapter XX, 10-11, West, S. B. E., Vol. V, p. 78.

³ Chapter XXVII, 44; S. B. E., Vol. XXIV, p. 62.

⁴ Chapter XII, 3-4, S. B. E., XLVII, p. 134.

⁵ Book VII, Chapter I, 29-32, S. B. E., Vol. XLVII, p. 11.

⁶ Mirkond's *Rauzat-us-Safa*, translated by Shea, pp. 186-87.

for either. Though a flat country throughout its whole extent, it is now unfit either for horse or carriage, being cut up by the canals, which are extremely numerous and run in all directions. The king's object was to supply Nile water to the inhabitants of the towns situated in the mid-country, and not lying upon the river."¹

According to Herodotus, it was after this introduction of numerous canals that Sesostris "made a division of the soil of Egypt among the inhabitants, assigning square plots of ground of equal size to all." He was, as it were, the first founder or introducer of a Town-Planning Act. Herodotus thought, that it was "from this practice, that Geometry first came to be known in Egypt, whence it passed into Greece."² We know that the proverb-like words, "There is no royal road to learning," were derived from the words of Euclid used in Egypt, while going over a special royal route to the palace, in conversation with one of its kings, who asked him to devise some method of learning Geometry shortly or easily. He said in reply: "There is no royal road to learn Geometry."

The Suez Canal, which forms the subject proper of this paper, was one of such canals in Egypt. Of all the Egyptian canals, this canal has, under different names in the different parts of its length, a long history of nearly 4,000 years. The history of this canal must begin with the history or with an account of the Isthmus of Suez, on a part of which the ancient canal was dug and on which the modern canal runs.

III.

The Physical Geography of the Isthmus of Suez shows, that the Isthmus was, at one time, covered with sea-water. The seas on both the sides—the Mediterranean and the Red—gradually receded and an Isthmus was formed. The attempts of Man have, therefore, tried to restore the country to, as it were, its original primitive natural state. In old historic times, the Red Sea ended, not at Suez as at present, but higher up at Serapium, where a gulf, called the Gulf of Heropolite, was formed. I give, at the end of this paper, a map of the canal, as reproduced from the one given by M. Menant in his "Stèle de Chalouf." The plan shows, not only the position of a large part of the present canal, but also the position of the old canals of the Egyptian Neco and Persian Darius. The gulf is shown on this map. When the waters of the Red Sea

¹ Herodotus, Bk. II., 108. Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II. p. 178.

² *Ibid.*, Bk. II., 109. Vol. II. p. 179.

³ *Ibid.*

receded, the gulf gradually turned into a lake. This lake is, what is now known as, the Bitter Lake and is situated well nigh in the middle of the canal. Between this lake, which was once a gulf, and the Red Sea, there remained for some time a narrow water-way, but that also was filled up subsequently. By the process of evaporation, and by gradual reclamation by the sand of the surrounding slippery banks and by the sand brought in there by the waves, the lake became shallow and shallower. An occasional big sea-wave from the Red Sea, raised at high tide by the force of winds, forced itself towards the lake and added to its depth; but the more frequent process of evaporation and natural reclamation did its work, and made the lake shallow. The alternate strata of sandy soil and some marine animals show the alternate continuation of this state of affairs in ancient times.

Coming to historical times, we find that the site of the canal, more than once formed an isthmus. It was an isthmus in the time of the very early kings of Egypt. Then, in the time of Neco, its physico-geographical state was changed and it was no longer a perfect isthmus. Then again, in the time of Darius I of the Achæmenian kings of Persia, it assumed the form of a strait or a canal. Then again it reverted to its ancient natural position of an isthmus. Thus Trajan, the Roman king, is said to have again tried to turn its geographical condition. Thus attempts were more than once made to turn the isthmus into a strait or canal, though not always successfully.

Strabo, while defending Homer against the criticisms made in his time, doubting the truth of the poet's statements, excuses some of the statements, on the ground of their being "fictions,—not the offspring of ignorance,—but for the sake of giving pleasure and enjoyment"¹, and justifies others as true. Among the latter class is included the statement, that Homer's Menelaus "went by sea to Ethiopia."² He says: "They who assert that Menelaus went by sea to Ethiopia, tell us he directed his course, past Cadiz into the Indian ocean;³ with which, say they, the long duration of his wanderings agrees, since he did not arrive there till the eighth year. Others, that he passed through the isthmus⁴ which enters the Arabian Gulf; and others

¹ *Ibid.*, l. Chap. II, 30. Hamilton and Falconer's Translation (1854), Vol. I, p. 80.

² *Ibid.*, l. Chap. II, 30, p. 60.

³ "Thus is to say, that he made the entire circuit of Africa, starting from Cadiz, and doubling the Cape of Good Hope. Such was the opinion of Crates. . . . Menelaus left the Mediterranean and entered the Atlantic, whence he could easily travel by sea into Ethiopia." (*Ibid.* n. 31.)

⁴ "The Isthmus of Suez. This isthmus they supposed to be covered by the sea, as Strabo explains further on." (*Ibid.* n. 6.)

again, through one of the canals. . . . As to the navigation of the isthmus, or one of the canals, if it had been related by Homer himself, we should have counted it a myth, but as he does not relate it, we regard it as entirely extravagant and unworthy of belief. We say unworthy of belief, because at the time of the Trojan war no canal² was in existence. It is recorded that Sesostris, who had planned the formation of one, apprehending that the level of the sea was too high to admit of it, desisted from the undertaking."³

In another place,⁴ Strabo, while saying that Homer was in ignorance of Egypt, Libya (Africa), the risings of the Nile and the Isthmus (Isthmus of Suez), speaks of it (the isthmus) as "separating the Red Sea from the Egyptian Sea." Here we find that he speaks of the Mediterranean as the Egyptian Sea.

According to Strabo⁵, the shortest route across Egypt was "towards Heroopolis (near Suez), to which from Pelusium (branch of the Nile) is the shortest road (between the two seas)." Heroopolis is spoken of as "situated in that recess of the Arabian Gulf which is on the side of the Nile."⁶ "Arabian Gulf" is here another name of the Erythraean Sea, now known as the Red Sea. The modern Bay of Suez was the ancient bay of Heroopolis.⁶

IV.

We will now see, what the ancient classical authors have said about this ancient water way. Before we proceed to do so, in order to follow the old nomenclature about the seas, let us note that the two seas were variously named by the ancients.

The canal connected the Mediterranean with the Red Sea. The Mediterranean Sea was known among the ancients as the Northern Sea, while the Red Sea was spoken of as the Southern Sea or the Erythraean Sea.⁷ The Red Sea is spoken of by Arab writers as Daryâ-i-Kalzum (درياي قلزم). It is so called from the name

² That is to say, the canal on the Isthmus of Suez connecting the Mediterranean with the Red Sea.

³ Strabo, Bk. I, Chap. II, 31. Hamilton and Falconer's Translation, Vol. I, pp. 60-61.

⁴ Bk. VII, Chap. III, 6. Hamilton and Falconer's Translation, Vol. I, p. 458.

⁵ Bk. XVI, Chap. II, 30. Hamilton and Falconer's Translation, Vol. III, p. 176.

⁶ *Ibid.* XVI, Chap. IV, 1, p. 189. *Vide also Ibid.* XVII, Chap. III, 22, p. 291. "The recess of the Arabian Gulf" is the Gulf of Suez (*Ibid.* p. 291, n. 1).

⁷ *Ibid.* Vol. III., p. 203, n. 3.

⁸ Herodotus, Bk. II, 158. Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II, p. 244.

⁹ The Oriental Geography of Ibn Haukal by Ouseley (1800), p. 4.

of the city of Kalzoum situated on the west coast of the Red Sea on the south of Suez.¹ The Mediterranean Sea is spoken of by Arab Geographers as *Daryā-Ṣ-Ṣaum* (دریای روم).

Though Herodotus speaks of Sesostris, as the first Egyptian king who gave a number of canals to the Egyptians, Herodotus. does not, like Pliny, as we will see later on, credit him with a first attempt for the canal connecting the Red and the Mediterranean seas. He attributes the first attempt to Neco or Necos, the son of Psammetichus. He says: "This Prince was the first to attempt the construction of the canal to the Red Sea,—a work completed afterward by Darius the Persian,—the length of which is four days' journey, and the width such as to admit of two triremes being rowed along it abreast. The water is derived from the Nile, which the canal leaves a little above the city of Bubastis, near Patumôis, the Arabian town, being continued thence until it joins the Red Sea. At first it is carried along the Arabian side of the Egyptian plain, as far as the chain of hills opposite Memphis, whereby the plain is bounded, and in which lie the great stone quarries; here it skirts the base of the hills running in a direction from west to east; after which it turns, and enters a narrow pass, trending southwards from this point until it enters the Arabian Gulf. From the northern sea to that which is called the southern or Erythraean,² the shortest and quickest passage, which is from Mount Casius, the boundary between Egypt and Syria, to the Gulf of Arabia, is a distance of exactly one thousand furlongs. But the way by the canal is very much longer, on account of the crookedness of its course. A hundred and twenty thousand of the Egyptians, employed upon the work in the reign of Necos, lost their lives in making the excavation. He at length desisted from his undertaking, in consequence of an oracle which warned him 'that he was labouring for the barbarian.' The Egyptians call by the name of barbarians all such as speak a language different from their own. Necos, when he gave up the construction of the canal, turned all his thoughts to war."³

Herodotus refers to the abovesaid attempt of Neco later on also.⁴ He also refers again to the successful attempt of Darius. Referring to the Arabian Gulf, he says, that therein, "Darius conducted the canal which he made from the Nile."⁵

¹ *Vide Ibid.* Map in the front, and also p. 13.

² *Ibid.* p. 6.

³ The Red Sea.

⁴ Herodotus, Bk. II, 158. Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II, pp. 24+25.

⁵ Bk. IV, 42. Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. III, p. 5.

⁶ *Ibid.* IV, 39, p. 32.

The statement of Herodotus about the successful attempt of Darius must be taken as authoritative, because he speaks of what he himself saw. He was in Egypt about 30 years after the death of Darius, and he saw the canal working. He speaks of the canal in the present tense.

Aristotle was the first to say that Sesostris had planned a canal over the land of the Isthmus of Suez. According to him, his
Aristotle. (Sesostris') plan was to connect the Mediterranean and the Red Seas *via* the Pelusiatic branch of the Nile. He wanted to take advantage of the river Nile for nearly half the distance and then to connect the Red Sea with the Pelusiatic branch of the Nile.

Strabo¹, in his account of Egypt (Book XVII), while speaking of canals, thus refers to the Suez Canal: "There is
Strabo. another canal also, which empties itself into the Red Sea, or Arabian Gulf, near the city Arsinoë, which some call Cleopatris." It flows through the Bitter Lakes, as they are called, which were bitter formerly, but when the above-mentioned canal was cut, the bitter quality was altered by their junction with the river, and at present they contain excellent fish, and abound with aquatic birds.

"The canal was first cut by Sesostris before the Trojan times, but according to other writers, by the son² of Psammiticus, who only began the work, and afterwards died; lastly, Darius the first, succeeded to the completion of the undertaking, but he desisted from continuing the work, when it was nearly finished, influenced by an erroneous opinion that the level of the Red Sea was higher than Egypt, and that if the whole of the intervening isthmus were cut through, the country would be overflowed by the sea. The Ptolemaic kings, however, did cut through it, and placed locks upon the canal, so that they sailed, when they pleased, without obstruction into the outer sea, and back again (into the canal).

... "Near Arsinoë are situated in the recess of the Arabian Gulf towards Egypt, Hermapolis and Cleopatris; harbours, suburbs, many canals and lakes are also near. There also is the Phagroriopole Nome, and the city of Phagroriopolis. The canal which empties itself into the Red Sea, begins at the village Phareusa, to which the village of Philon is contiguous. The canal is 100 cubits broad, and its depth sufficient to float a vessel of large burden. These places are near the apex of the Delta."

¹ Bk. XVII, Chapter I, 23. Hamilton and Falconer's Translation, Vol. III, pp. 247-44.

² It is the modern Suez. (*Ibid.* p. 243, n. 2).

³ Pharaoh Necho. (*Ibid.* p. 244, n. 1).

Diodorus Seculus, who lived in the first century before Christ, thus refers to the canal : " They have made a canal of communication which goes from the Pelusiac Gulf to the Red Sea. Necos, son of Psammetichus commenced it (and) Darius, king of Persia, continued the work ; but he stopped it, following the advice of some Engineers, who told him, that on digging the ground, he will inundate Egypt which was found to be lower than the Red Sea. Ptolemy II, did not let the enterprise to be finished, but he got placed over the most favourable place in the canal, some very ingeniously contrived barriers or sluices which they open when they want to pass through and shut afterwards immediately. It is for this reason that the river takes the name of Ptolemy in the canal which empties itself in the sea at the place where the city of Arsinoe is built."¹

Pliny, while describing the Geography of the gulfs of the Red Sea, thus speaks on the subject of the canal :—

" We then come to the nation of the Tyri, and the port of the Danci, from which place an attempt has been made to form a navigable canal to the river Nile, at the spot where it enters the Delta (previously mentioned) the distance between the river and the Red Sea being sixty-two miles. This was contemplated first of all by Sesostris, king of Egypt, afterwards by Darius, king of the Persians, and still later by Ptolemy II,² who also made a canal, one hundred feet in width and forty deep, extending a distance of thirty-seven miles and a half, as far as the Bitter Springs. He was deterred from proceeding any further with this work by apprehensions of an inundation, upon finding that the Red Sea was three cubits³ higher than the land in the interior of Egypt. Some writers, however, do not allege this as the cause, but say that his reason was, a fear lest, in consequence of introducing the sea, the water of the Nile might be spoilt, that being the only source from which the Egyptians obtain water for drinking."

All the Classical authors, named above, have begun with the names of either Sesostris (Rameses II) or Neco. But, as said by Sir G. Wilkinson, the ruins on the bank of the old canal show, that the canal already existed in some form in the time of Rameses II. That being the case, the name of Seti I, who ruled before Rameses II, is

The omission of
the name of Seti I
by Classical
Writers.

¹ I give my Translation from the French Translation of M. L'Abbé Terrasson (1733) *Tome Premier*, pp. 3455. Diodorus Seculus, *Livre I*, Section I, XIX. This portion of Diodorus is referred to by other writers as *Bk. I*, 32.

² Ptolemy Philadelphus, son of Ptolemy Soter, or Lagides.

³ 44 feet.

⁴ Pliny, *Natural History*, *Bk. VI*, Chap. 33. Bechock and Riley's Translation, Vol. II, p. 95.

suggested on the authority of recent discoveries as that of the first Egyptian king, who may have possibly built at least a part of the canal. M. Maspero refers to a monument of this kind.¹

The summary of the different statements of the different Classical Authors,

We see from the above statements of the different Classical authors, that they vary, as to who it was who first successfully completed the canal. Their different statements can be summed up as follows :—

Herodotus.—(a) Neco (about B. C. 615) attempted the construction of the canal. About 12,000 Egyptians died on the work. At last he desisted from further work in consequence of an oracle which said that he was labouring for the barbarian.

(b) Darius completed the canal, of which the length was 4 days' journey, and width sufficient to admit two triremes abreast. The water of the Nile was admitted at Bubastis.

Aristotle.—Sesostris planned the canal.

Strabo.—(a) Sesostris (Rameses II) planned it.

(b) Some said Neco began it, but died before completing it.

(c) Darius succeeded to complete it, but desisted to open it on account of the erroneous opinion that the level of the Red Sea was higher than the land of Egypt.

(d) Ptolemaic kings cut it, using locks to prevent inundation from the Red Sea.

Diodorus Siculus.—(a) Neco commenced it.

(b) Darius continued it, but desisted through fear, lest the Red Sea, being higher in level, may run over the country.

(c) Ptolemy II finished it with sluices. From his name the canal is called Ptolemy's canal.

Pliny.—(a) Sesostris contemplated it.

(b) Then Darius contemplated it.

(c) Ptolemy made the canal 100 feet in width, 40 feet in depth, 37½ miles in length. But he was deterred from opening it through the fear of (a) inundating the country and (b) spoiling the water of the Nile.

¹ "Un monument du temps de Seti Ier nous montre le canal en activité dès avant Rameès II. Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient par Maspero, Septième édition de 1905, p. 270, n. 7.

V.

All the vestiges of the canal of Darius, referred to by Herodotus, Strabo and Diodorus, having been lost, some began to doubt the statements. For example, though Herodotus has distinctly stated that Darius had built the canal, subsequent classical authors, though admitting that he built it, added, that he desisted from completing it through some fear of inundating the country with the water of the Nile. Again, as late as 1854, the translators of Strabo—Hamilton and Falconer—said: "About a century after Necho, Darius, the son of Hystaspes, made the undertaking, but desisted under the false impression that the level of the Red Sea was higher than that of the Mediterranean."¹

As to the question, who was the very first king of Egypt who first dug the Suez Canal completely, or to speak more correctly, who first completed the connection of the Red and the Mediterranean seas, the statements of different classical scholars vary, as seen above.

Sir J. G. Wilkinson² thus explains the divergence of statements:—"Herodotus says Neco (or Necōs) began the canal, and Strabo attributes it to 'Psammiticus, his son'; but the ruins on its banks show that it already existed in the time of Remeses II, and that the statement of Aristotle, Strabo and Pliny, who ascribe its commencement at least to Sesostris³ is founded on fact. That from its sandy site it would require frequent re-excavating is very evident, and these successive operations may have given to the different kings by whom they were performed the credit of *commencing* the canal. It is certainly inconsistent to suppose that the Egyptians (who of all the people had the greatest experience in making canals, and who even to the late time of Nero, were the people consulted about cutting through the isthmus of Corinth-Lucian) should have been obliged to wait for its completion till the accession of the Ptolemies. The authority of Herodotus suffices to prove that it was completed in his time to the Red Sea; and the monuments of Remeses at a town on its banks prove that it existed in his reign. Neco may have discontinued the re-opening of it; Darius may have completed it, as Herodotus states, both here (Book II, 158) and in Book IV, Chap. 39; and it may have been re-opened and improved by the Ptolemies and again by the Arabs."

¹ "The Geography of Strabo, translated by Hamilton and Falconer (1854), p. 61, n. 3.

² Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II, p. 242, n. 2.

³ Or Ramesses II.

The so-called difficulty of sluices, M. Ménant also meets the doubts raised on the ground of the want of sufficient engineering skill in the time of Darius. He says :

"When we can prove to-day the existence of great works of canalization which have been accomplished since the 20th century before Jesus Christ in Egypt and Chaldea, one cannot say that the engineers of the time of Darius did not know the process of the sluices."¹

Some Classical writers subsequent to Herodotus said, that Darius left the canal unfinished on account of the difficulty of the level of the Red Sea being higher than that of the land where the canal ran. The same difficulty is said to have, later on, deterred Ptolemy from completing it. The difficulty was not real, and even if it existed, it was one which could be easily surmounted in those times which were not without their irrigation experts. Wilkinson thus disposes of this supposed difficulty.

"The difference of 13 feet between the levels of the Red Sea and Mediterranean is now proved to be an error. Pliny says, that Ptolemy desisted from the work, finding the Red Sea was 3 cubits ($4\frac{1}{2}$ feet) higher than the land of Egypt ; but, independent of our knowing that it was already finished in Herodotus' time; it is obvious that a people accustomed to sluices, and every contrivance necessary for water of various levels, would not be deterred by this, or a far greater, difference in the height of the sea and the Nile, and Diodorus expressly states that sluices were constructed at its mouth. If so, these were on account of the different levels, which varied materially at high and low Nile, and at each tide, of 5 to 6 feet, in the Red Sea, and to prevent the sea-water from tainting that of the canal. The city of Eels, Phagroriopolis, was evidently founded on its banks to insure the maintenance of the canal. The place of the sluices appears to be traceable near Suez, where a channel in the rock has been cut, to form the mouth of the canal."²

We saw above, that according to different Classical authors, the Red Sea was connected by different kings with the Mediterranean through the Nile. But it was not at the same place on the Nile that the different kings connected the canal with the river. Sir J. G. Wilkinson says on this point :

¹ Lorsque nous pouvons constater aujourd'hui les grands travaux de canalisation qui ont été accomplis dès le XX siècle av. J. C. en Égypte et en Chaldée, on ne saurait dire que les ingénieurs de l'époque de Darius ne connaissent pas les procédés des écluses ? (La Sûreté de Chalouf, p. 10).

² Sir J. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II, p. 243, n. 4.

"The commencement of the Red Sea Canal was in different places at various periods. In the time of Herodotus, it left the Pelusiæ branch, a little above Bubastis; it was afterwards supplied with water by the Amnis Trajanus, which left the Nile at Babylon (near old Cairo), and the portion of it that remains now begins a short distance from Belbays, which is about 11 miles south of Bubastis. Strabo must be wrong in saying it was at Phacusa, which is too low down the stream."¹

VI.

Let us here take a brief look into the history of the ancient ruling dynasties of Egypt, so that we may thereby better understand the times of the different builders and repairers of the Canal. Leaving aside the very remote periods, Egypt was governed, about 2,000 years before the Christian era, by a line of kings, known as

"the Shepherd Kings," who belonged to the shepherd tribes that had gone to Egypt from Chaldaea and Phœnicia. They founded the 17th dynasty of the rulers of Egypt. Rameses II, supposed to be known as Sesostris by the Greeks, ruled in the 14th century before Christ. He belonged to the 19th dynasty. He is said to have made an attempt to convert the Mediterranean and the Red seas *via* a branch of the Nile, but failed. Neco, who was more successful in building the canal, ruled in Egypt in the 7th century B. C. His canal began at Bubastis and finished at Heroopolis upto which the Red Sea then ran. His canal is said to have still left some traces of its existence.

The Persians formed the 27th ruling dynasty of Egypt.² Cyrus the Great, who fought against, and subdued, Croesus of Lydia, was enraged against Amasis II, of Egypt, because he had sympathised with Croesus. So, his son Cambyses, who was known by the Egyptians as Mesutris Kambathet, invaded Egypt, to avenge the wrong done to his father. He conquered Egypt and became the first king of the 27th dynasty. The ancient town of Cambyse, situated on the Gulf of Suez, derived its name for Cambyses, because he founded the city to keep there the invalids of his army.³ His policy in Egypt was, like that of his father Cyrus, that of toleration. He got his name written in the cartouche, a fact symbolising his sovereignty. After him, there ruled in Egypt his successors, Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes, Darius II (Darius Nothus), Artaxerxes II. The Egyptians then overthrew the Persian rule and

¹ Sir J. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II. p. 243, n. 4.

² A History of the Egyptian people by Budge, p. 144. *Vide* pp. 144-49, for the Persian kings of Egypt.

³ Pliny's Bk. VI, Chap. 33. Bostock and Riley's Translation, Vol. II, p. 92.

became independent. After a few years, Artaxerxes III (Ochus), reconquered Egypt in 340 B. C. Then, Alexander the Great defeated his successor Darius and conquered Egypt. Afterwards during the rule of the Romans, during the reign of Anastasius I (A. D. 491 to 518), the Persians again invaded Egypt (A. D. 502-5), but they did not remain there long. On being paid a ransom, they restored Egypt to Anastasius.

Mr. Dalton, while speaking of the influence of Persian Art upon the Western Byzantine Empire, says that "the Persians were the middlemen who traded with the Farther East; they introduced figured silk textiles into the Byzantine Empire." But, it seems, that Persia supplied its people as middlemen in trade even before the flourishing times of the Byzantine Empire.

Darius the Great, had a great hand in making Persians the middlemen in trade with the Farther East. He was the first Persian monarch who aimed at the advancement of the knowledge of Geography during his various military expeditions. He had ordered his admiral, Scylax, to sail down the Indus from Cashmere and Punjab to the Arabian Sea and then to sail across the coast to Persia. This exploring naval expedition seems to have had for its object the development of trade between India and the West.

Thus, it is natural that Darius, wanting to develop trade between the East and the West, should undertake the work of a great canal in his newly conquered country of Egypt.

Some writers say, that Ptolemy II (about B. C. 270) was the first Egyptian king, who completed the canal. We see from our above examination of the statements of old Classical authors, that this is not correct. As said by M. Mérent, he only repaired the canal which had fallen out of use by being filled up with silt. There was a further change before his time in the geographical condition of that part of the Red Sea, and that change had led to its disuse. When Queen Cleopatra (about B. C. 30) wanted to take her ships down the Red Sea through the canal, she could not do so, as the canal was silted up.

The canal, as completed by Darius and repaired by Ptolemy II (Ptolemy Philadelphus) and by some subsequent rulers of Egypt, existed in the times of the Roman Emperors Trajan (A. D. 98-117) and Hadrian (A. D. 117-138).

The Persians, the Middlemen between the West and the East.

Ptolemies.
Ptolemy II.

The Romans.
The Canal in the times of Trajan and Hadrian.

¹ "Byzantine Art and Archaeology," by O. M. Dalton, p. 54.

The canal, which was open till the time of the Roman occupation of Egypt, was latterly silted. The silt was removed and the canal was repaired and re-opened by Caliph Omar, who saw the necessity of doing so, in order to send Egyptian corn to Arabia. His services in this direction were recognized by the Mahomedan community by conferring upon him the title of *Amir al-mu'minin*, i.e., Commander of the Faithful. This title, enjoyed by all the subsequent Khalifs, had an origin in this event. Omar got this work done in Hijri 20, i.e., 640 A. D. through Amron-Ben Al-As.¹

One Caliph re-opened the canal for feeding his co-religionists, and another Caliph closed it for starving his co-religionists who happened to oppose him. It is said, that the second Abasside Caliph al-Mansour Abou Gâfer or Abou-Giafer-al-Mansour, who ruled in Persia, got this canal closed in 770 A.D. about 134 years after Caliph Omar. He had a quarrel with one of the descendants of Ali, who possessed Medina. This descendant drew his supply of corn from Egypt *via* this canal. The Caliph therefore asked his Governor in Egypt to close the canal, so that no grain could go from Egypt through the canal to Medina. The canal thus filled up has never been re-opened and the subsequent ravages of time and weather have left only traces here and there of its former existence.² One faint attempt was latterly made to make it navigable. That was done by Al-Hakim in A. D. 1000. This was done for a passage of small boats, but that even, not along the whole line to the Red Sea. Mahomed Ali³ shut it up altogether.⁴

The old Arabian name of Suez was Socæ.⁵ Later Mahomedan authors speak of the Gulf of Suez as Bahr-el-Soueys, i.e., The Arabian and Mahomedan names of the Sea of Suez.⁶ The old Greek name of the city whose site is now occupied by modern Suez was Arsinoë.⁷

¹ Sir J. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Vol. II, p. 243, n. 4. La Stèle de Chalouf, par M. Méhant, p. 10.

² La Stèle de Chalouf, par M. Méhant, p. 10. Sir J. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Vol. II, p. 243, n. 4.

³ Sir J. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Vol. II, p. 243, n. 4.

⁴ The above Caliph Al-Mansour Abou Gâfer seems to be the Abū Jafar al-Ṭabṭaṣṣī Shāhrosh-Aḥrān (s. 60). Vide my *Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarīn*, Shāhrosh-Aḥrān, &c., p. 121.

⁵ Pliny, Bk. VI, Chap. 33. Bostock and Riley's Translation, Vol. II, p. 92.

⁶ Pliny, Bostock and Riley's Edition, Vol. I, p. 423, n. 1.

⁷ Pliny, Bk. v, Chap. 13. *Ibid*, p. 423, n. 6.

VII.

We have referred above to some recent scholars who have tried to explain the divergence between Herodotus and other classical writers, and who have replied to the objections raised against the successful attempts of Darius. We will now refer to some recent discoveries of the stelæ or pillars of king Darius near the site of the modern canal, which settle, once for all, the doubts about the statement of Herodotus, *viz.*, that Darius had completed the canal.

It was the practice of the Achaemenian Kings of Persia to inscribe on stones some events of their reign. The oldest inscription of that kind hitherto discovered is that of Cyrus the Great, the founder of the dynasty, and the latest is that of Artaxerxes Ochus.

The practice of Darius to erect commemorative columns. Darius the Great was most known for such inscriptions. He inscribed both on the sides of mountains and on columns. Among his mountain inscriptions, the best known is that on the rock of the mountain Behistun [*lit.* the place (*stanâ*) of God (*bagâ*)], a rock rising perpendicularly from the plain to a height of about 1,700 ft. In this inscription, he gives, as it were, his short autobiography, describing the principal events of his reign. He was fond of erecting stelæ or pillars in the countries which he conquered. On these pillars he inscribed the principal deeds which he accomplished. For example, we learn from Herodotus, that during his expedition against Scythia, in his march to the Istria, he built his pillars on the Bosphorus. Herodotus¹ says: "He likewise surveyed the Bosphorus, and erected upon its shores two pillars of white marble, whereupon he inscribed the names of all the nations which formed his army,—on the one pillar in Greek, on the other in Assyrian characters."²

¹ Bk. IV, 87, Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. III, p. 80.

² Herodotus mistakes the Persian for Assyrian. George Rawlinson corrects him in his following observations: "It was natural that the Persians who set up trilingual inscriptions in the neutral provinces for the benefit of their Arian, Semitic, and Tatar populations, should leave bilingual records in other places. Thus in Egypt they would have their inscriptions in the hieroglyphic as well as the Persian character, of which the case in St. Mark's, at Venice, is a specimen. In Greece they would use, besides their own, the Greek language and character. Herodotus, however, is no doubt inaccurate when he speaks here of *Assyrian* letters. The language and character used in the inscription would be the Persian, and not the Assyrian. But as moderns, till recently, have been accustomed to speak of the *cuneiform language*, not distinguishing between one sort of cuneiform writing and another, so, Herodotus appears to have been ignorant that in the arrow-headed inscriptions which he saw, both the letters and the languages varied. There are, in point of fact, at least six different types of cuneiform writing, *viz.*, the old Scythic, Babylonian, the Susianian, the Armenian, the Scythic of the trilingual tablets, the Assyrian, and the Achaemenian Persian. Of these the first four are to a certain extent connected; but the Assyrian and Achaemenian Persian differ totally from them and from each other (Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. III, p. 80, n. 5).

Some time afterwards, the Byzantines removed these pillars to their own city, and used them for an altar which they erected to Orthesian Diana.¹ One block remained behind; it lay near the temple of Bacchus at Byzantium and was covered with Assyrian writing. The spot where Darius bridged the Bosphorus was, I think, but I speak only from conjecture, half way between the city of Byzantium and the temple at the mouth of the strait.

"Darius was so pleased with the bridge thrown across the strait by the Samian Mandrocles, that he not only bestowed upon him all the customary presents, but gave him ten of every kind. Mandrocles, by way of offering first fruits from these presents, caused a picture to be painted which showed the whole of the bridge, with King Darius sitting in a seat of honour and his army engaged in the passage. This painting he dedicated in the temple of Juno at Samos, attaching to it the inscription following:—

The fish-fraught Bosphorus bridged, to Juno's fame
Did Mandrocles this proud memorial bring;
When for himself a crown he'd, skill to gain,
For Samos praise, contesting the Great King."

Such was the memorial of his work which was left by the architect of the bridge."

Following his above practice, Darius had erected several pillars in Egypt to commemorate his achievement of digging successfully the canal connecting the Red and the Mediterranean seas. Relics of several such monuments were found near the modern Suez Canal. M. Ménant, in his learned and interesting paper, entitled, *La Stèle de Chalouf*, refers to their discoveries.

It was in 1799, that a pillar was for the first time discovered by M. Rozière on the north of Suez, at about 64 hours' march from it. M. Rozière had, when he saw the pillar, copied as a specimen a few words of the inscription. These words read: Daryuvus Khshâyathiya vazarka, *i.e.*, Darius the great king.

M. Devilliers, who accompanied M. Rozière in the expedition of Egypt from France, had come across the relic of another Parseipolitan pillar near Serapium.

¹ "That is, Diana, who had established or preserved their City." (*Ibid* n. 6.)

For nearly more than half a century, the subject of the discovery of the Parseipolitan monuments of Darius near the present canal was forgotten. But in 1866, it was again revived. The operations of M. Lesseps for digging the modern canal, the rough idea of which was first conceived by Napoleon I, revived the subject.

The discovery of the third monument of Darius in the canal. The pillar of Chalouf.

In March 1866, the attention of M. Charles de Lesseps, the son of M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, was, while looking after the work of digging the present Suez Canal, drawn to a Parseipolitan monument near the village of Chalouf. He sent a sketch of one of the stones of the monument, drawn by the Suez Canal Company's doctor, M. Terrier, to Paris, to M. Mariette, who thereupon asked for further information and particulars. So, M. Fred. de Lesseps sent his son Charles de Lesseps with the Canal Company's two other officers to the spot to make further researches. M. Charles de Lesseps carried on the work of excavation. He found that some of the blocks of stone were blackened by fire, which some one had, at one time, ignited under the shadow of the pillar. He found some blocks with cuneiform inscriptions and some with Egyptian hieroglyphics. He took to the village of Chalouf those blocks that could be easily carried and covered again with earth those, about 15, that could not be carried away easily, so that they may be preserved from destruction.

M. Mariette then sent M. Luigi Vassalli to take prints or stamps of the fragments that were collected and to make further report after further observations.

In June 1866, M. Fred. de Lesseps communicated to M. Mariette the discovery of the relics of two other Parseipolitan monuments, one of which was near Serapium.

Discovery of three more monuments.

In July 1887, M. E. Naville communicated to M. Ménant the news of the discovery of another monument at Tell-el-Maskhutih, about 18 kilometers from Ismailia.

Thus we have in all references to six monuments. But M. Ménant thinks that the one referred to by M. Fred de Lesseps, as found at Serapium, is, perhaps, the same as that referred to above, as found by M. Devilliers in about 1799. From the different positions of the monuments, M. Ménant thinks, that Darius's monuments were on both the banks of his canal. Writing in 1887, about 20 years after the discovery of the monuments seen by M. Fred. de Lesseps while digging the Suez Canal, M. Ménant expressed a fear, that the monuments may not

be in the same condition, as they were in, when seen in 1866. Now in 1915 their condition must be much more worse.

Of all these, the one found at Chalouf, was the only one which had, when discovered, presented itself in a comparatively pretty good state to be examined and deciphered. Its condition at present must be perhaps bad. Some of the fragments of this column are, as said above, preserved at the village of Chalouf, but of others that were again covered over with sand by M. F. de Lessep's, one cannot say what their present condition is.

The discovery of the monument of Chalouf has a historical value, because its inscription determines the question, whether Darius had successfully completed the canal or not. Herodotus said, that he did. As said above, as he had travelled in Egypt a few years after the death of Darius, he must have seen the canal working. So, his statement must be authoritative. But the statements of other classical writers after him threw some doubts upon the veracity of his assertion. This inscription, which commemorates Darius's work of the canal, confirms the statement of Herodotus and decides the question that Darius did complete the canal successfully.

VIII.

M. Ménant has given in his paper, *La Stèle de Chalouf*, the Text of the Inscription, as deciphered by him. The Text and the Translation of the Chalouf Inscription. from the sketch received in Paris. I give here the translation from his French translation :

"Ormuzd is a great God ; He has created the Heaven ; He has created this Earth ; He has created Man ; He has given to man good principle (*SiaMsh*) ; He has made Darius king ; He has given to king Darius a great Empire.

"I am Darius, great king, king of kings, king of these countries (well populated), king of this vast land, who commands afar and near, son of Hystaspes of the Achimeneses.

"Darius, the king, says : I am a Parsi (Persian) ; (As a) Persian, I govern Egypt. I have ordered to dig this canal starting from the Nile ; it is the name of the river which runs in Egypt up to the sea which comes from Persia.

"Thus the canal has been dug here.

"I have ordered this canal and I have said: Commence from . . . this canal up to the shores of the sea . . . Such is my wish."

The latter part of the inscription is much mutilated. But the first part is well preserved. It appears, that this first part of the inscription of this great worshipper of Ahura Mazda is in line with a passage of the Avesta. The first part of the inscription on the monument, as given by M. Ménant, runs thus:

Bagā vazarka Aura mazdā hiya aqmānam adā hya imām bumim adā hya martiyam adā

Translation.—Ormuzd is a great God. He has created the Heaven. He has created this Earth. He has created Man.

Now compare this with the following words of yaçna (Chap. XXXVII, 1,) which form the daily Parsee prayer to say grace at meals.

Ithā āt yazamaidē Ahurem Mazdām yē gānchā ashemchā dāt apaschā dāt uravrāoschā vanguhish raoshaschā dāt bumimchā vispāchā vōhū.

Translation.—We thus invoke here Ahura Mazda, who created animals and corn, who created water, good trees and light, who created earth and all good things.

IX.

I have referred above to the help given by the Lesseps, father and son, to the cause of the discovery of the monuments of Darius. It was while working at the excavation of the present Canal, that they and the other officers of the Suez Canal Company came across the relics of the monuments. So, I will finish my paper by a very brief account of the present successful attempt of the Suez Canal, hoping that it would interest many at the present juncture of war, when the Canal is one of the seats of fight between the belligerents.

Napoleon Bonaparte, who is spoken of as semi-Alexander for his attempts and aims at what is now spoken of as World-empire, was drawn towards Egypt by well-nigh the same view with which Alexander the Great and Darius the Great were drawn, viz., to be master of the East as well as of the West.

It is said, that it was he (Napoleon), who first conceived the idea of connecting the Mediterranean and the Red seas by a canal of the

modern type. At the end of the 18th century, he had asked M. Lepire, a great Engineer, to submit a scheme, but that movement had no result. It is now said, that, even had Napoleon succeeded in digging the Suez Canal, his enterprize would have been a great financial failure, because his were the times of sailing ships, which would not have dared to withstand the difficulties of the shoals, calms and contrary winds met with in the canal. They were not the times of steamers which have the steam power to control these difficulties. The old route between Europe and India, *vis.*, that *via* the Cape of Good Hope was 11,739 miles, but the present route *via* the Suez Canal is 7,628 miles. Still, the sailing ships of Napoleon's time would have preferred the long circuitous way of the Cape of Good Hope to the comparative more risky passage of the Suez Canal.

For various reasons Napoleon's conception of the canal did not take any practical shape. In 1830, General Chesney of England is said to have made a favourable report of the practicability of the canal, and said, that it can be built by any one nation. But it was left to M. Lesseps to undertake the work. He matured the scheme during the period of 1849 to 1854. On 30th November 1854, Mahomed Said, the then Pasha or Khedive of Egypt, asked M. Lesseps to form a Commission to float a Universal Suez Canal Company.

M. Lesseps appointed a Commission of Engineers to design the Canal, and of Directors to float the Company. The Commission met in 1855 and finished its work in 1856. They considered over the different systems of canals.

Modern Canals are of three kinds :—

- “(a) Canals with locks to raise boats from one level to another.
- (b) Canals in low-lying districts with an uniform level from one end to another. When connected with the sea, they have works at both ends defending them against encroachments by the sea.
- (c) Canals without locks and having unchecked communication with the sea.”

The Suez Canal, as it is constructed now, is of the third class. It draws its water both from the Mediterranean and the Red seas, whose levels are nearly equal.

The English Engineers of the above Commission preferred the first class, *vis.*, one with locks, suggesting that the canal itself may be about 25 feet above the sea level. The foreign engineers preferred the

third class, suggesting the level of 27 feet below sea level. In June 1856, the recommendation of the foreign Engineers was approved. When the Company was floated, half the number of shares were taken by the Pasha (Khedive) of Egypt. The other half were taken by others, among whom the principal portion was held by the French. The work commenced in 1860. Among the conditions arranged with the Pasha, were the following :—

- "(a) That side by side with the canal there must be built a fresh water canal for the workmen.
- (b) That the Pasha was to supply forced labour for the canal.
- (c) That the land on the banks of the canal may belong to the Company."

After the work commenced, the Pasha of Egypt asked Sir John Hawkshaw to make a report on the work, but he died before the report came in. He was succeeded by Ismail Padsha, who refused to confirm the concessions made by his predecessor. Lord Palmerston had no liking for the Canal. So, it is possible, that he suggested the refusal. The reason of Palmerston's opposition to the canal was this : If the canal was built, Britain, as the principal Power trading with the East, would be the most interested party in the work of the canal. That interest would lead to some kind of interference in the affairs of Egypt. That interference may lead to friction with France. Later events showed that Palmerston's fears were true to some extent.

The dispute between the new Pasha and the Canal Company was referred to the arbitration of the French Emperor, Napoleon III, who decided, that as a return for the withdrawal of the concessions, the Company may be given a sum of about £900,000.

Later on, when the Canal was finished and began working pretty well, Lord Salisbury saw the necessity of having a great hand in the administration of the canal. So, he quietly worked in the matter and purchased a large number of shares from Egypt.

The Suez Canal, both ancient and modern, is, from the point of view of the sandy desert tract through which it passed and passes, a great engineering work. But otherwise its construction is simple. It is about 100 miles in length. It has an average depth of about 26 feet. Its width is about 72 feet at the bottom, and 200 to 300 at its topmost banks. On an average it takes about 16 hours to cross it.

ART. IX.—*The Hot Springs of the Ratnagiri District.*

By

HAROLD H. MANN

AND

S. R. PARANJPYE.

Contributed.

I.

Our attention was first called to the existence of a series of hot springs at or near the foot of the Sahyadri range in Western India by a letter by Dr. V. J. Shirgaonkar of Belgaum, in the *Times of India* of August 19th, 1909. It was at once evident that the attempt to investigate the whole of these as to their source, the character of their water, their temperature, and other matters in connection with them was far too big a task for us to undertake. Nor was it necessary, for the investigation of some of the properties of those in the Thana district and to the north of this had been already undertaken recently by Steichen and Sierp,^{*} the first instalment of their very interesting results being published in 1911, and the second in 1913. We resolved, however, to attempt to ascertain all that we could of the springs in the Ratnagiri District, the most southern section, in fact, of the remarkable line of springs extending from Rajapur in the South (Lat. 16° 38') to near Surat at the village of Anaval in the North (Lat. 20° 52'). Inasmuch as Dr. Shirgaonkar's letter was the starting point of our investigations, it may be well to quote it here as a whole before passing on to the special consideration of our section of the subject. Dr. Shirgaonkar wrote as follows :—

"In Colaba Zilla there is one spring near Nagothna near the Fort of Rali, and four near Mahad, three at Sov and one at Kondviti. The waters of these springs smell of sulphur and their temperature is about 109° F. They all have stone cisterns. In Ratnagiri Zilla there are many thermal springs. In Dapoli district there are two, in Rajapur one, at Baragaum there are about forty and at Aravli there is one. These springs at Baragaum have no cisterns, but that at Aravli has. These latter two villages are in Sangameshwar Taluka. At Aravli there is a temple near the spring. These springs are a short

^{*} Transactions of the Bombay Medical and Physical Society, Vol. 25, No. 1 (1911) and Indian Medical Gazette, Vol. 48 (July 1913).

distance from the main roads, and have a charming scenery. They strongly smell of sulphur and can be smelt from some distance. Their temperature varies from 110° F. to 212° F. In some springs eggs can be poached and rice boiled.

"There is one hot spring at Rajapur. It falls from a height of about four feet from the side of a hillock. Its temperature is about 110° F. Poor people of this town always bathe at this fountain, to save the expense of fuel. There is a traveller's bungalow and three dharamshalas near it and more are going to be built. The scenery all round is beautiful. This is considered to be a holy place. Besides this spring there are about twelve erratic springs of ordinary fresh water, which are supposed to be springs from the Holy Ganges of Benares. People think that they suddenly disappear when any sinful man comes to bathe there. There are local legends about the hot and the erratic springs.

"The waters of all these hot springs taste insipid and sulphury while warm, but when cool they lose the smell and taste like ordinary water. As to the therapeutics of the waters of these springs they regulate the bowels, increase appetite and the action of kidneys and skin. Uses : Chronic rheumatism, dyspepsia, chronic constipation, incipient cases of tuberculosis, some skin diseases especially scabies are cured by these waters.

"I sent some patients to Rajapur and Sangameshwar and they were much benefited. They used to bathe in these waters and drink them too.

"In order to popularise these springs I advised some Bombay gentlemen suffering from chronic rheumatism to try them ; but they prefer the nasty mixtures of chemists, to these pure medicated springs of nature. Men are blind and are led by fashion. Till some metropolitan fashionable doctors send some of their rich patients to these places these springs must run to waste."

II.

Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the hot springs of the Ratnagiri district is the fact that they are so little known. There are a few old references to them, summarised in Oldham's list of the Thermal Springs of India*, but since that time little has been done. We will reserve remarks as to individual springs until we deal with each of them, but the following two or three older references to the springs as a whole will be found interesting.

* Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. XIX, 1882.

In 1846 Newbold writing in Scotland on * "the temperature of inter-tropical springs and rivers," and making some remarks on the investigations of Duncan (to be referred to later) wrote as follows :—

" Since my arrival here my friend Malcolmson has put into my hands the first volume of the Bombay Medical and Physical Transactions where I find, (p. 257) a few notes on the Thermal Springs of the Konkan, by A. Duncan, Esq. The geographical distribution of these springs corroborate the remark in my paper, under the head of thermal springs, *vis.*, 'That the majority of the springs termed thermal occur in India at or near lines of great faults.' The thermal springs mentioned by Mr. Duncan lie at the base of the Western Ghat elevation, intermediate between the mountains and the sea, generally from sixteen to twenty-four miles, or thereabout, inland from the latter. The line of springs follows pretty nearly that of the mountains, *vis.*, nearly North and South : and extend from the vicinity of Surat, or about 21° N. Lat. to South Rajapur. They are supposed to exist still further south, following at irregular intervals, the line of West Ghats to Ceylon. Not less than twelve are known to exist between Dasgaum and South Rajapur, *vis.* :—

- 4 at Oonale in the taluka of Viziadroog.
- 3 in the Ratnagiri taluk, at Rajwaree, Toorul & Sungmarry.
- 1 at Arowlee, in the Konedree taluk.
- 1 at Mat, Hatkumbee Mahal.
- 1 at Oonale, Jaffrabad Mahal.
- 1 at Savi, in the Ryghur taluk, Bhar Nergannah.
- 1 at Oonale, Sankee taluk, Mahal Salee.

12

" Oonale is the native term for a hot spring. The temperature of all the springs examined exceeded, with a single exception, 100° F., and amounted to 109°. That of Toorul, which, unfortunately was not thermometrically ascertained, appeared to Mr. Duncan to be almost at the boiling point. The water was not found to be mineral, though impregnated with sulphuretted hydrogen. A little higher up, in the hill where the thermal spring No. 1 occurs, is a single intermittent cold spring, over which a temple has been built. It is resorted to by crowds of Hindoos, during the season when the fountain periodically flows, *vis.*, during the hot months. A more minute analysis of the water, and

* Edinburgh New Philosophical Transactions, 1846, page 174-175.

a more continued series of thermometric observations, are a great desideratum."

We can find no further general discussion of these Western India springs until the appearance of Oldham's paper, already referred to, in 1882. Before giving details as to each spring known to him, he made general remarks as follows :—

"At intervals along the base of the great range of cliffs known as the Western Ghats, which stretch almost continuously along the Western coast of the Peninsula from Surat, north of Bombay, to Belgaum, and are continued further to the south, though in a more broken range of high ground, a large number of copious hot springs rise in the comparatively flat ground, known as the Konkan or Kokan, which forms a narrow belt between the Ghats and the sea. Generally speaking, these springs lie about 20 miles (from 12 to 24) from the coast, and a little further from the hills which rise on the east. They occur both as single isolated springs, and in groups of springs, where several issue within a circle of small radius.

"Of these the most southerly known to me is Rajapur. I say the most southerly known to me, because I find many marked far to the south of this on Greenough's sketch map of the Geology of India; but I have not succeeded in finding any description of these, while the general inaccuracy of the map prevents any confidence being placed in such references."

The Bombay Gazetteer, to which we are accustomed to turn for authoritative information on questions of this sort, is very unsatisfactory on the subject of these springs. All it states is the following, which, it will be seen, is largely a series of quotations from Duncan :—

"Hot springs are found in various parts of the district. The line of springs runs half-way between the Sahyadri hills and the sea, and seems to stretch both north and south of the Ratnagiri district. Three villages, two in the Dapoli sub-division and one in Rajapur, have been named Unhala from their hot springs. There are similar springs near the towns of Khed and Sangameshwar and at the villages of Aravli and Tural in the Sangameshwar sub-division. The water of all these springs, as far as taste and smell form any test, seems strongly impregnated with sulphur. But Dr. A. Duncan, who in 1837 examined the water, came to a different conclusion. He writes : 'The water of these wells is, so far as I could ascertain, to the taste both insipid and

sulphury. Does this latter result from its insipidity, for I can find no trace of sulphur in it, nor of iron, nor of alkali, nor of iodine, nor of anything? And when it has been cooled and freely exposed to the air, it becomes a pleasant and a healthy water to drink. It would seem to be simply boiled water yet it may contain foreign ingredients, although with my limited means, I have been unable to discover them.' (Trans. Bom. Med. and Phy. Soc. 1, 259). The temperature of the water varies in different springs from 100° to almost the boiling point (212°), and at Tural the experiment of poaching an egg has been successfully performed. Cisterns have been built to enclose most of the hot springs. Dr. Duncan remarks that 'One of these wells was formerly much frequented for a variety of ailments, cutaneous, dyspeptic, and rheumatic. As a bath, the water affords a remedy of great power in several forms of rheumatism. It excites the appetite, and is therefore serviceable in some forms of dyspepsia. I have also observed cases of debility, without lesion or apparent disease beyond perhaps a want of relish for food considerably benefited. I am less acquainted with the effects produced on cutaneous ailments, but on some of these, I infer, a bath of this sort cannot be otherwise than beneficial.' The water is still much used for bathing and washing clothes, but is not regarded by the natives as having any special sanctity. The springs appear to be perpetual, and are no doubt the remains of volcanic activity."

Little can be obtained from these accounts except to show the existence of a series of hot springs about half-way from the Sahyadri range to the sea, of very varying temperature, possibly containing sulphur, though this is doubtful, with reputed medical qualities in certain cases. The composition of none of them is ascertained: the method of occurrence, whether uniform or otherwise, is not referred to: their general relationship to rivers or other natural phenomena is not indicated, and we are left with a doubt as to whether we are dealing with a series of occurrences of different or of similar type. We will try and consider these general questions after giving the results of our examination of each individual spring.

III.

The number of springs is larger than has hitherto been stated. Oldham catalogues eight springs or series of springs. We have seen all that he refers to, and two or three other ones, and we do not flatter ourselves that we have seen all of them even now. Those which we have found and examined are now described, commencing from the most southerly at Rajapur.

RAJAPUR HOT SPRING.

Latitude $16^{\circ} 38\frac{1}{2}'$ N. Longitude $73^{\circ} 34\frac{1}{2}'$ E.

Two rivers, both running from the Western Ghats to the sea, meet at Rajapur, and there become tidal. The more southerly of these is the Savinda, and it is on the south bank of this river, about one and-a-half mile to the east of Rajapur, in the village of Unhala, that the spring occurs (*vide* map in Plate I). It has often been described. Duncan (Trans. Med. Phys. Society of Bombay, Vol. I, 1838) refers to it and says: "There is only one hot spring. This is in the Viziadroog taluk, 20 miles from the Ghats and 12 miles from the sea." Hazlewood (Trans. Geog. Soc. Bombay X, 1852) states: "Water issues out of the mouth of a stone cow, and falls into a small tank." The Bombay Gazetteer refers to it as follows:—

"The hot spring mentioned by Hamilton at the foot of the hill about a mile from the town of Rajapur is still, for its virtue in curing rheumatic and skin diseases, much frequented by natives. The water from the side of the hill, about 300 yards from the south bank of the river, flows into a ten feet square stone-paved cistern, and thence through a short pipe ending in a stone cow's head, pours in a full stream into the river. With a temperature of about 120° the water has no special taste or smell." (Trans. Bom. Geo. Soc. VII, 159, 1846.)

Except the general description in the Gazetteer and by Dr. Shirgaonkar already given, these seem to be all the accounts given of this spring.

The spring seems to have been known from prehistoric times, and is said to be referred to as *joala kund* in the so-called *Medini Puran*. It lies about twenty paces from the south bank of the Savinda river, and originally issues from a crack or a series of cracks in trap rock. Many years ago, however, the original outlet, at the bottom of a well, was covered over, and a stone pipe carried from the side into a stone built square cistern, where people can and do bathe, and where the water flows from the mouth of a stone cow as described by Hazlewood (*vide* supra). In time the exact location of the original spring was forgotten, and when we had the latter opened, a good deal of difficulty was experienced in locating the exact site. It was finally discovered, however, and the character of the spring found. The well was nine feet deep. The top two feet were circular in shape, but below that point the water rose in a narrow oblong slit running E. and W. The bottom, in which the crack occurred, was composed of irregular black trap-rock. The whole was covered with a stone cover, from just below which the stone channel to the cistern, about eight feet away,

led the water into the cistern aforementioned. This was apparently last repaired in 1879 A.D. and an inscription in Marathi, as follows, above the outlet refers to this repair :

श्री राम

शके १८०१ प्रभायी० कार्तिक शु० १ दिनी हिंदू लोकांचे उष्णोदक तीर्थाचा जीर्णोद्धार गंगापुत्र व राजापूर व घोपेश्वर येथील हिंदू सावकार लोकांनी केला असे.

The quantity of water which issues was measured, and found to be, in February 1912, about twelve gallons per minute. The volume of water is said to be unaffected by the season, and it gives no more water in the monsoon than at other times of the year. The man who last repaired the spring and made the present arrangements told us that its volume at that time (thirty years ago) was much greater than at present. This may be due to less water coming, but more probably is due to leakage from the masonry channel, leakage which was evidently occurring, as a second stream of water (at a temperature of 106° F.) was soaking between the stones on the south side of the cistern.

The temperature of the water as it falls into the cistern is remarkably constant, both at different times of the day and at different times of the year. In November 1911 careful records gave as follows :—

7-30 A.M.	...	...	...	...	109° F.
1-15 P.M.	...	...	...	...	109° F.
6 P.M.	...	...	...	...	109° F.

In the following February the same temperature exactly was obtained.

The water, though it had the smell which is usually connected with the presence of sulphuretted hydrogen, was perfectly free from this substance. It gave no blackening with a solution of lead acetate either in acid or alkaline solution, but a bright piece of copper became slightly stained when it remained several hours in it. It was organically fairly pure, and after evaporation the residue remained without any appreciable blackening on heating. The actual figures of analysis in this respect were as follows :—

Free Ammonia ... ..	...	...	...	00026 parts per 100,000
Albuminoid Ammonia ... ..	...	...	...	0092 " "
Oxygen absorbed in 15 minutes ...	...	...	...	032 " "
" " in 4 hours ..	...	...	...	083 " "

Particular interest centered in the salts contained in the water, which was analysed on two occasions—May 1911 and February 1912. The total solid matter contained in the water was very small, far less than in any other of the hot springs in the district, and amounted to (1) 36.00 and (2) 37.00 parts per 100,000 on the two occasions quoted.

The nature of the mineral constituents is shown in the following analyses :—

	November 1911.	February 1912.
Total solid matter	36.0 parts per 100,000.	37.0 parts per 100,000.
containing	Per cent.	Per cent.
Calcium... ..	8.2	7.1
Magnesium	7.9	8.0
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄)...	4.6	20.5
Chlorine (Cl)	7.8	7.6
Carbonic Acid (CO ₂)...	45.1	43.9
Alkalinity (as Sodium		
Carbonate Na ₂ CO ₃)	2.1	<i>Nil.</i>

In neither case were any nitrates present. Sulphuretted hydrogen was (as already stated) absent.

The water remained clear on standing, and gave no precipitate even after remaining open for three days (72 hours). When seventy litres of the water were concentrated to two and-a-half litres, the water (in November 1911) became strongly alkaline.

MATH HOT SPRING.

Latitude, 16° 56' N. Longitude, 73° 32½' E.

Unlike the spring at Rajapur, which is well known and frequently visited, that which one comes across next on going north is hardly known at all even to the people of the neighbourhood, and is practically not used even for purposes of bathing. It was, however, described by Duncan in 1837 (*Trans. Medical Phys. Society, Bombay, Vol. 1*), who besides describing its position states that "people are said to be afraid to use the water of this spring on account of the increased consumption of grain and *ghee* it occasions by creating a voracious appetite." We are not aware that any further description of this spring has been made since Duncan's time.

Math is a village of the Ratnagiri taluka, about eighteen miles from Ratnagiri near the road from Pali to Lanja. The village is three miles from Pali (*vide* map in Plate II). The spring is about four miles from the main road, on the east bank of the Kanjee (Kajvi) river,* and can only be approached by tracks across the hills, even a regular path to it being absent.

* We cannot understand Oldham's description of it (*loc. cit.*) as "about one mile to the north of the river Kanjee, which passes down from near the Ambaghat to Ratnageriah and is "about half way between the Ghats and the sea in Halkambi mahal." There is, however, a tradition that the spring formerly opened in a temple some miles to the north, but there is no trace of any spring now. We were not able to get any details further.



From Survey of India Map.

Map showing the surroundings of Math-Hot-Spring,
x Hot-Spring.

The present condition is that the spring flows from the northern side of the river a few yards from the bank. It is said that at one time there was a cistern a few paces away from the bank of the river, but now there is no trace of it. And although the volume of water discharged from the spring is about equal to that of a one-inch pipe, the existence of it is not known to many people of the village.

The rock surrounding the spring is black trap, and it is probable that the spring arises from a fissure in this rock. It appears, however, in the earth on the bank of the river, and we did not get the opportunity to clear away the earth and actually get at the origin of the water.

The temperature of the water at the date of observation (February 1912) was 101° F. at 5 P.M. It had a smell which a casual observer would say was sulphuretted hydrogen, but there appeared to be no trace of this gas when the water was tested with lead acetate paper. The water is clear, but slightly salt.

On analysis for organic impurity the water yielded the following figures:—

Free Ammonia	...	...	...	0101 parts per 100,000.
Albuminoid Ammonia	...	...	...	0210 " "
Oxygen absorbed in 15 minutes	...	...	...	069 " "
" " in 4 hours	...	...	...	135 " "

The residue on evaporation charred and became black on heating. This contains the most organic impurity of any of the springs we have studied in the Ratnagiri district,—impurity which it probably obtains by infiltration into the fissure, from the village which lies above it. The following figures show the mineral contents of the water:—

Total solid matter containing	112.0 parts per 100,000.	Per cent.
Calcium	...	8.44
Magnesium	...	0.55
Sulphuric Acid (SO_4)	...	15.35
Chlorine (Cl)	...	43.75
Carbonic Acid (CO_3)	...	1.29
Alkalinity (as Sodium Carbonate Na_2CO_3)	...	0.82

This is evidently a water whose principal constituent is common salt (Sodium Chloride), over sixty-six per cent. of the saline contents consisting of this substance.

SANGAMESHWAR HOT SPRING.

Latitude, $17^{\circ} 12\frac{1}{2}'$ N. Longitude, $73^{\circ} 39'$ E.

About sixteen miles to the north as the crow flies from the hot spring at Math, across a country deeply seamed with hills and narrow valleys

lies the curious assemblage of hot springs in the bed of the river Shastri, at Phansavane or Kasaba Sangameshwar three miles to the north-east of the present town of Sangameshwar.

These were first described by Duncan (*loc. cit.*) in 1837, as a "spring in the bed of a river about one mile to the east of the town of Sangameshwar, south of the Shastri river which passes that place." Hazlewood more correctly describes them as springs "in the middle of the river" (Trans. Bom. Geog. Soc., Vol. X, p. 42).

We visited these springs on two occasions. The first was in November 1911, the second was in February 1912, when the river might be supposed to be almost at its lowest. On both occasions they were in the bed of the river, and their position was revealed by the quantities of bubbles of gas continually rising in the water over a length of about twenty yards in the river. The actual springs—and there are many,—were found by wading in the river and then feeling with the feet for the hot water in the neighbourhood of the bubbles. The people say that just before the rains some of the springs are outside the water in the river bed for a short time, but it is evident that for more than eleven months in the year the springs rise in the bed of the river.

Owing to this fact our determinations of the temperature are not so exact in this as in other cases. We found, as near as we could make it, 120° to 122° F. The water evidently came from a series of fissures in the trap rock mostly running north-east to south-west in the line of the river, but covered with silt so that it was impossible to clear the fissures for observation. It was impossible also to get a sample of this water for analysis, but the gas given off in large quantity was collected on April 11th, 1913, and on examination proved to be wholly composed of Nitrogen or gases equally unreactive.*

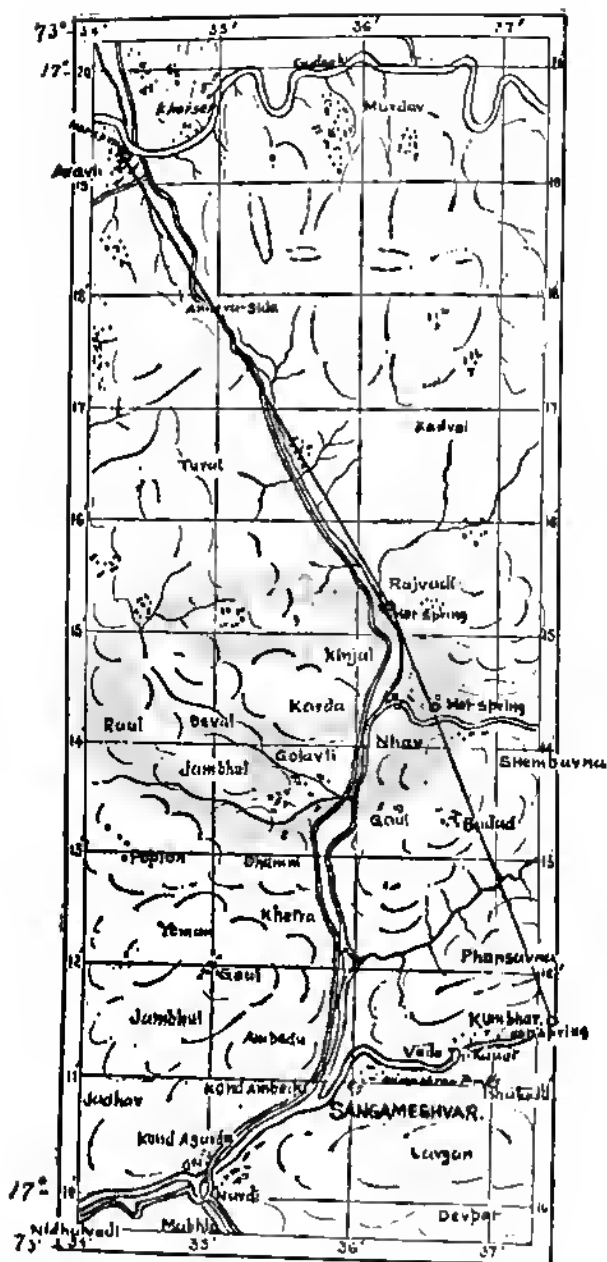
HOT SPRINGS AT RAJAWADI AND BARAGAON.

Latitude, $17^{\circ} 14' - 15'$ N. Longitude, $73^{\circ} 36' - 37'$ E.

The springs above described in the river at Sangameshwar seem to form the southern extremity of a series which reappear in two successive valleys a little to the north practically on one line (see attached map in Plate III). While those at Sangameshwar, as a result of their position, however, are not used and not usable, several of those at Rajawadi and Baragaon (in two adjoining valleys) have regular tanks made round them and are in the immediate vicinity of temples.

These springs have been several times described, but it is difficult to reconcile the descriptions with the actual conditions. Duncan (*loc. cit.*) says: "At Rajawadi there are two thermal springs removed from each

* The gas analyses recorded in this paper were kindly carried out for us by Mr. N. V. Kanitkar, B.Sc.



Map showing the lines of Hot-Springs between Sangameshvar and Aravli.

other by the distance of a few feet. There is a great difference in their temperatures. The villages Turul or Toorul* and Rajawadi are at opposite (west and east) sides of a feeder of the Shastri or Sangameshwar stream, and about half a mile from it. The principal hot spring lies between the two close to the little stream; but there are several others. Water said to be very hot, almost boiling." Hazlewood (*l.c.*) simply notes that it is said to be so hot that the hand cannot be put in without being scalded. Both these authors had evidently not visited the springs themselves. Giraud (*l.c.*) apparently visited the place and took a temperature of 110° F. though of what spring he took the record one cannot say. He says that the flow of the spring was one and-a-half gallons per minute.

These springs, however, form about the most interesting group in the district and merit a more careful description than any of those on record. The road to the north from Sangameshwar Bandar follows the line of the Shastri river for some miles and then leaves it to follow that of a feeder. This is produced by two smaller streams, and the road continues to follow up the course of the western one of these. The valleys of both these feeders are however full of springs. The village and temple of Rajawadi lies near (west of) the eastern stream and there is a series of hot springs near the temple and about fifty yards from the stream itself, and another on the eastern bank of the stream. The western stream (which the road follows) has, about twenty yards away, one large and very hot spring at Baragaon and a number of minor ones near the stream itself. Between the two valleys is the spur of a hill on which Rajawadi village chiefly lies. The whole group (as will be seen from the map) forms a line of springs running north-west to south-east, with an interruption, of course, where the spur of the hill occurs. The northern end of this line is formed by the Baragaon temple spur, the southern end by the spring beyond the river (to the east) at Rajawadi temple. The length of the line is about one and-a-half miles. The people at Rajawadi declare that there is a connection between these springs and those at Sangameshwar, but we have not been able definitely to trace the line between the two places.

Starting from the southern end of the line, beyond the river at Rajawadi, the following is a description of the springs :—

Spring beyond the river at Rajawadi.—This spring comes out from the southern bank of the river a little above the normal cold weather level of the stream. The water forces its way through a mass of alluvial deposit, and it was not possible to dig deep enough to expose the rock fissure from which it is derived. It is at the base of a wild fig

* The Baragaon spring is often called 'Toorul.'

tree, and is always shaded and we estimated it to give about twenty-five gallons per minute in February 1912. The water as it comes out of the ground has the following temperature :—

(November 1911) Morning 7 A.M.	...	...	...	127° F.
Noon 1 P.M.	...	...	...	127° F.
Evening 5 P.M.	...	...	...	127° F.

On one occasion a temperature of 134° F. at midday was recorded. In April 1913 a redetermination gave a temperature of 129° F. These temperatures were taken in the hole made by the water forcing itself through the alluvium. There are several other signs of hot springs in a north-west direction in the bed of the stream itself, detected by the feet when wading in the stream.

The water was clear, insipid, and with a strong smell which might be mistaken for sulphuretted hydrogen. It is neutral to litmus, and gives immediate froth with soap. After a bath, the body becomes sticky, and the bathers are said (as in other cases with these hot springs) to feel giddy and hungry.

The water is organically very pure as is shown by the following analysis :—

Free Ammonia	...	...	...	'0029 parts per 100,000.
Albuminoid Ammonia	...	...	...	'0082 " "
Oxygen absorbed in 15 minutes	...	...	...	'054 " "
" " in 4 hours	...	...	...	'12 " "

The analysis of the saline contents of the water gave results as follows :—

Total salts in the water	96·4 parts per 100,000.
containing	Per cent.
Calcium (Ca)	7·4
Magnesium (Mg)	2·7
Chlorine (Cl)	42·1
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄)	11·2
Carbonic Acid (CO ₃)	2·4
Alkalinity of water (calculated as Sodium	
Carbonate Na 2 CO ₃)...	...2·22 parts per 100,000.

Bubbles of gas continually arise with the water, and on examination these proved to be entirely composed of Nitrogen or gases equally unreactive.

Spring near Rajawadi Temple.—About two hundred paces to the north of the river on whose bank the spring just described occurs, about twenty feet above it, and separated from it by rice-fields, lies a well

known temple of Shiv. On the outside (west) of the temple are two cisterns of hot water. The real spring opens into the bottom of one of these, and the water from this cistern is allowed to flow into the second. Bathing is not allowed in the former cistern, but as the water cools down in the second, bathers are allowed to make use of the water. These cisterns are surrounded by rice-fields, but in these there are a number of places where the hot water also forces its way up, and the cultivators take a crop of winter (*vaingan*) rice, using the hot water for irrigation. They also grow brinjals, and in some places when the water goes it is said that a salt incrustation is observed in the hot weather.

These openings in the fields are obviously closely connected with that in the cistern. If they are allowed to run freely it is said that both the quantity and temperature of the water in the cistern diminishes. There is one opening about six or eight feet from the cistern of which this is particularly stated. As a rule this is kept partly closed up with stones and clay: if, however, it is desired to clean the cistern, the stones and clay are removed, and the water coming into the cistern becomes so small in amount that its cleaning is easy. There is a similar close connection said to exist between these temple springs and the one beyond the river previously described. In the rains when there are heavy floods in the river the quantity of water in the temple springs as well as their temperature is said to increase.

The local cultivators have great faith in these waters, used as a bath, for cutaneous disease, but we had no evidence that they have any but a purely local reputation, though a large fair is held at the temple in February each year.

The tank into which the original spring flows is about four feet deep and eight feet square. The second, used as outflow from the first and for bathing as above described, is only three feet deep twelve feet long and three feet wide. There was a luxuriant growth of green algae in the original tank with water at 126° F.

The bottom of the tanks appears to be black trap rock.

The temperature of the water in the original tank was as follows in November 1911:—

7 A.M.	—	...	...	...	...	116° F.
1 P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	128° F.
5 P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	121° F.

The water as it emerges from the ground in the spring a few yards away (already described) was as follows :—

7 A.M.	...	...	...	...	133° F.
1 P.M.	...	...	...	...	133° F.
5 P.M.	...	...	...	...	133° F.

The water, organically, is fairly pure, and gave figures on analysis as follows :—

Free Ammonia	...	...	...	0064 parts per 100,000.
Albuminoid Ammonia	..	...	...	0042 " "
Oxygen absorbed in 15 minutes	...	...	...	036 " "
" " in 4 hours	...	...	...	020 " "

The analysis of the saline contents of the water gave results as follows :—

Total salts in the water containing	100.0 parts per 100,000.
	Per cent.
Calcium (Ca)	6.4
Magnesium (Mg)	1.9
Chlorine (Cl)	44.8
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄)	11.1
Carbonic Acid (CO ₃)	1.7
Alkalinity of water (calculated as Sodium Carbonate Na ₂ CO ₃) ...	0.7 parts per 100,000.

Bubbles of gas continually arise in the tank, and on collection this proved to be a mixture of Nitrogen (or equally unreactive gas) and Oxygen as follows :—

	Per cent.
Oxygen	16.76
Nitrogen	83.24

An incrustation occurs on the stones in the field near the spring and this gave, on analysis, the following figures :—

	Percent.
Insoluble matter	40.2
Calcium (Ca)	3.96
Magnesium (Mg)	1.53
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄)	10.90
Chlorine (Cl)	26.25
Carbonic Acid (CO ₃)	0.29

The water in the tank is clear, and does not give any precipitate on standing for several days. It smells of what at first sight seems to be sulphuretted hydrogen, but no sulphides are present. The taste is insipid, and it forms a lather with soap quite easily. The same stickiness is felt in the body after bathing as already noted for the spring previously described, and the same sensation of hunger is said to be felt.

Spring in rice-fields below Baragaon Temple.—If a straight line to the north-west from this point be taken to Baragaon temple, the shoulder of the hill above Rajawadi village has first to be crossed, and then the valley of the second stream is entered.

In the rice-fields in the narrow valley there are numerous signs of hot springs. The largest of these is on the southern bank of the river, surrounded by grass and an area which is always muddy and wet. The water rises from a hole in the ground, and the temperature readings in the hole were as follows :—

8 A.M.	...	...	...	...	142° F.
1 P.M.	...	...	...	...	142° F.
5 P.M.	...	...	...	...	147° F.
6 P.M.	...	...	...	...	142° F.

The quantity of water produced by this spring in its present condition is small, but in character it seems very similar to the last. It gave (May 1911) the following figures on analysis :—

Total salts containing				92 parts per 100,000.	Per cent.
Calcium (Ca)	6.4
Magnesium (Mg)	2.9
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄)	11.9
Chlorine (Cl)	47.2
Carbonic Acid (CO ₃)	2.5

Spring at Baragaon Temple.—Across the river from the last named spring, in the midst of jungle on the side of the road and seven miles from Sangameshwar lies the lonely temple of Baragaon. Nobody lives there or in the immediate vicinity, but just below the temple, at a distance perhaps of ten or fifteen yards, there is a well built cistern containing hot water, from which a constant stream issues, and runs to the river below, after passing through and watering a number of rice-fields on its banks. Before the tank was built the water came out in a ditch; it was so hot as to be impossible to go near, while rice could be cooked in the water. There are stories of buffaloes and jackals having died by falling into the ditch. The present cistern was built by Govern-

ment in 1910 to avoid accidents : two of the springs have been included in the one cistern and the water in this is naturally much cooler than the springs themselves.

Near the hot spring,—about eight feet to the north—there was said to be a cold water spring, and there is such a cold water spring at present about twenty-five feet to the north. The local people maintain that this is a part of the water of the old cold spring, the other portion of which has been included in the cistern and hence cannot flow with the old force. Hence the greater portion of the cold water finds its way out by the more distant outlet.

The cistern is four feet deep, ten feet long and eight feet wide. It now contains much sand and shells, and green algæ are growing luxuriantly, though the temperature is nearly 140° F.

The temperature of the water in this tank was as follows in November 1911 :—

8 A.M.	...	...	...	...	...	137° F.
2 P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	139° F.
6 P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	138° F.

Later determinations of the temperature of the water of the tank are as follows :—

February 17th, 1912	...	...	...	140° F.
April 12th, 1913	...	...	...	140° F.

We were not able to get the exact temperature of the water as it issues, but it would certainly be considerably higher, even if the local tradition of a cold water spring having been included in the tank is not correct.

The analysis of the saline constituents of the water gave results as follows :—

Total salts in the water containing	92.0 parts per 100,000.	Per cent.
Calcium (Ca)	7.6
Magnesium (Mg)	2.5
Chlorine (Cl)	45.1
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄)	12.8
Carbonic Acid (CO ₃)	1.3
Alkalinity of water (calculated as Sodium Carbonate Na ₂ CO ₃) ...	1.48 parts per 100,000.	

It is curious to see how utterly different this water is from the much more superficial cold water spring, already mentioned, a few feet away which gave figures as follows :—

Total salts in the water					18·0 parts per 100,000.
containing					Per cent.
Calcium (Ca)	...	...	...	...	14·2
Magnesium (Mg)	.	...	...	...	2·0
Chlorine (Cl)	...	...	...	...	11·7
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄)	...	...	...	...	10·1
Carbonic Acid (SO ₃)	...	...	...	...	32·2
Alkalinity of water (calculated as Sodium Carbonate Na ₂ CO ₃)					Nil.

This cold spring contains very little salt of any kind : what there is consists essentially of carbonates with very little chloride or sulphate : the hot spring water is much more highly saline and the salts consist essentially of chlorides with very little carbonate.

As with all the other hot springs bubbles of gas are continually given off, and on analysis this proved to be a mixture of nitrogen (or equally unreactive gas) and oxygen as follows :—

	Per cent.
Oxygen	1·22
Nitrogen	98·78

The water in the cistern is clear, and smells exactly like that at Rajawadi temple. It does not precipitate on standing for several days. The same results of bathing as at the other members of this group of springs are said to be noticed here. The hot water gave figures, as regards organic impurity, as follows, and was thus very pure :—

Free Ammonia	...	...	...	·0008 parts per 100,000.
Albuminoid Ammonia	...	...	...	·0034 " "
Oxygen absorbed in 15 minutes	·032	..	..
" " in 4 hours	·038	..	..

The Baragun temple spring forms the extreme north of the curious line of springs that we have described, and there is a gap of six miles before another hot spring is found to the north. There seems little doubt that all these Rajawadi springs have an essentially common source, and arise from one fissure or series of fissures. The configuration of the land and the great accumulations of alluvium did not permit us to try and trace the fissure itself.

HOT-SPRING AT ARAVALI.

Latitude $17^{\circ} 19' N.$ Longitude $73^{\circ} 34' E.$

The spring at Aravali, now to be described, is one to which attention was earliest directed in the Ratnagiri district, and is specially interesting because in this case the actual fissure from which the hot water rises can be examined. The spring was mentioned by Duncan (*l. c.*) who stated that it was sixteen miles from the Ghats and twenty-four from the sea, that it was near the bank of the Garui river, and that the water was impregnated with sulphur. To this information, Giraud adds that the flow was about one gallon per minute. If this was so, the flow must have much increased since his time.

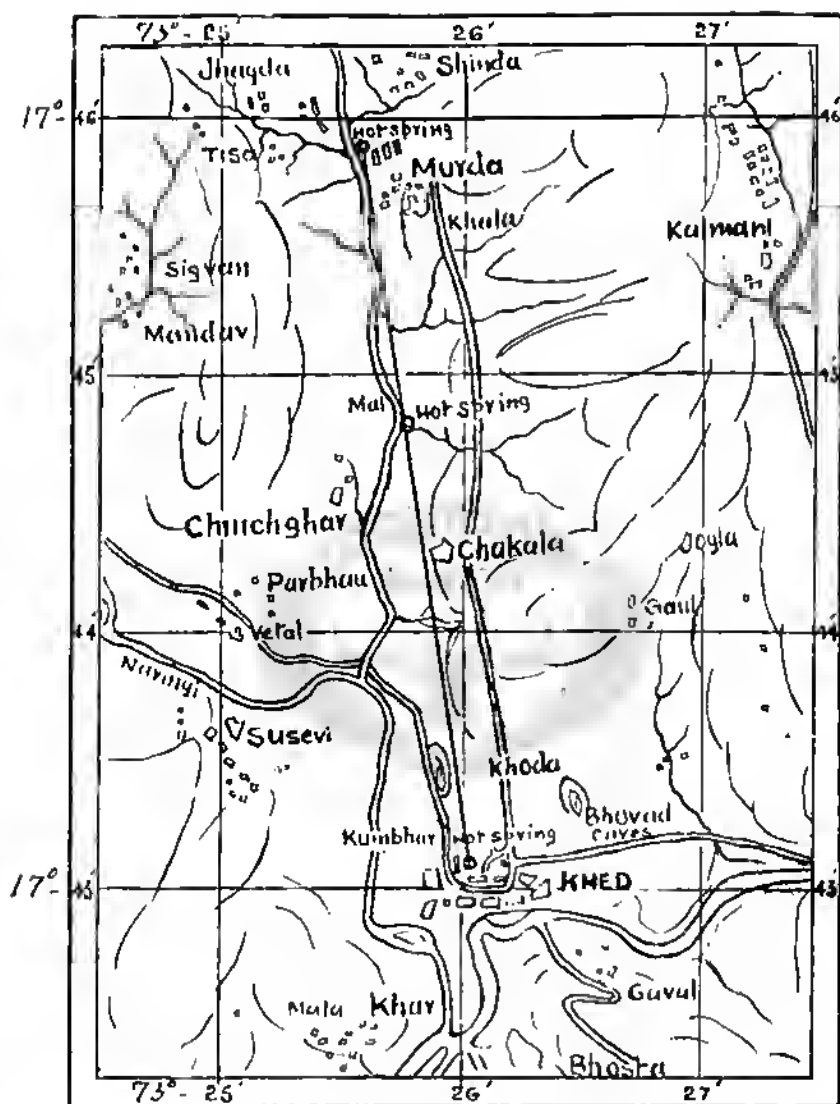
Hazlewood (*Trans. Bombay Geographical Society* 1852 under date February 2nd, 1850) describes his visit to Aravali as follows :—

"We were at Aravali yesterday, where there is a very beautiful hot spring. The Brahmins are in the habit of bathing and washing their clothes in it, and finding it in a very filthy state we put a dozen men into it, and emptied and thoroughly cleansed it. It filled again in the course of two hours, and the water was then as pure as crystal. I plunged a thermometer into it, and it rose to 105° , after being in a few minutes. The water of this spring is strongly impregnated with sulphur. We bathed in it, and enjoyed our bath amazingly."

Aravali is a village at the extreme north of the Sangameshwar taluka, thirteen miles from Sangameshwar and eighteen from Chiplun. The spring is situated on the west of the road between these places, about twenty yards from the road itself, and one hundred yards from the bank of the river. There are two cisterns actually in use, rebuilt in 1909-10. The water rises in one of the cistern, and the overflow passes into the second. The first cistern is five feet deep and eight feet square: the second is smaller. The bottom of each of them is irregular and formed of black trap rock.

The water is regularly used for bathing, and in this case the people actually stand in the tanks themselves, and wash their clothes in them. The excess of water from the spring is used for irrigating garden vegetables especially brinjals.

We had the cistern emptied, and thus were able to take the temperature of the water as it actually issued from the fissure of the rock. The fissure ran from north-west to south-east, and dipped at an angle of about forty-five degrees towards the south-west. In this case gas was not noticed and the water simply rose from the fissure and filled the tank.



Map showing the line of Hot-Springs near Khed.

After emptying the cistern, the water from the fissure refilled it in about three hours, or about one hundred cubic feet per hour, equal to ten gallons per minute or ten times the amount estimated by Giraud in his day. The temperature of the water as it rose in the fissure was $105^{\circ}8'$ F. The water in the cistern, as usually found, gave readings for temperature as follows :—

December 1911.

7-30 A.M.	...	...	...	...	...	103° F.
1 P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	104° F.
4-30 P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	104° F.

The water in the cistern is usually turbid, but becomes clear after settling for some hours. The effects, on bathing in it, are similar to those observed with other waters. Unlike any of the other it contains much sulphuretted hydrogen. The quantity of sulphides was equivalent to 1,395 parts per 100,000 of hydrogen sulphide.

The saline constituents of the water on analysis gave results as follows :—

Total salts in the water containing	December 1911.	February 1912.
	60.0 parts per 100,000.	56.0 parts per 100,000.
	Per cent.	Per cent.
Calcium (Ca)	3.1	3.6
Magnesium (Mg)	3.6	4.3
Chlorine (Cl)	35.0	37.5
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄)	17.0	8.5
Carbonic Acid (CO ₂)	3.9	4.1
Alkalinity of water (calculated as Sodium Carbonate Na ₂ CO ₃) ...	3.0 parts per 100,000.	3.0 parts per 100,000.

HOT SPRINGS AT KHED.

Latitude $17^{\circ}43'$ N. Longitude $73^{\circ}26'$ E.

The next springs of which we will treat, which lie a little further west than the line almost due north and south on which all the previous ones have lain, is the group in the neighbourhood of Khed. These have been very little referred to by the authors who have described the hot springs of the Ratnagiri district, but the principal spring was mentioned by Giraud (*l.c.*).

Hitherto all records of the Khed spring have suggested that there was only one : we have however found several in the same river valley at several miles distance. The principal one, and that to which evidently

all previous descriptions refer occurs in the middle of a flat plain immediately to the west of the town of Khed. It is surrounded by rice-fields, and though there is a hill away to the east, at a distance of about one hundred and fifty yards, the land immediately round is quite flat. The river (a tributary of the Jagbudi river) is half a mile away to the west.

The spring is built up with stone and lime and its construction is curious. The exit of the water from the rock is eight to nine feet below the level of the ground, and a cylinder of stone has been built round the spring up which the water rises over the surface into a cistern. It is said that this arrangement has existed from the time of the Peshwas, but that the whole was repaired before 1861.* Old people were consulted, who remembered or had heard of the time when the spring was repaired, but no one knew anything about the real source of the spring. One man said definitely that it came from the hill on the east, but he had no evidence to show, and this is extremely unlikely. Against it is the following evidence that the fissure from which the water rises is immediately under the spring. First, the spring is in the middle of a flat field: again the stone cylinder up which it rises is built vertically; and again a large amount of gas rises with the water up the cylinder. Further attempts have been made in recent years by the Public Works Department of Government to raise the level to which the water rose in the stone cylinder by raising the height of the cylinder by two to three feet. The effort has been unsuccessful as the water refused to rise, and the only effect was that the total flow was reduced, and it almost ceased in the hot weather. The height has now been reduced to the original point. This gives an idea of the pressure as the water comes out of the rock fissure; it amounts to from eight to ten feet of water.

The rock out of which the water arises is not visible, being covered with several feet of alluvium, and we were not able to have the place specially opened, but the rocks surrounding are pure trap.

The temperature of the water as it flowed out into the cistern was as follows in December 1911:—

7.30 A.M.	...	...	...	...	96° F.
1 P.M.	...	...	...	...	96° F.
6 P.M.	...	...	...	...	96° F.

It is clear, and keeps clear on standing for three days. It smells, as do so many other of these waters, as if it contained sulphuretted hydrogen, but in reality it contains no sulphides. It is used for

* By Mr. Balaji Janardhan Behere, Mahalkari of Khed, who retired in 1861.

washing clothes, and is very good for this purpose, but its continuous use for cleaning brass pots is said to stain them. The water as it runs away from the cistern is used for irrigation of garden crops, such as vegetables.

On analysis the water gave the following figures as regards its saline contents :—

Total salts in the water containing				102.0 parts per 100,000.	Per cent.
Calcium (Ca)	3.8
Magnesium (Mg)	2.5
Chlorine (Cl)	45.3
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄)	10.4
Carbonic Acid (CO ₃)	4.5
Alkalinity of water (calculated as Sodium Carbonate Na ₂ CO ₃)				...	Nil.

It is evident a water of exactly the same type as we have already described at Math, at Sangameshwar, at the Rajawadi group of springs, and at Aravali, so far as its saline contents are concerned.

As regards organic impurity it gave the following figures on analysis :—

Free Ammonia	...	...	...	0.0209 parts per 100,000.
Albuminoid Ammonia	...	...	0.0090	.. ..
Oxygen absorbed in 15 minutes	...	0.080	..	..
.. .. in 4 hours	...	1.02	..	..

The spring at Khed is, we find, only the lowest of a series whose existence has not previously been noted, further up the river in whose basin it lies. The nearest of these is at the village of Chisghar about two miles away, of which the following description was written on the spot in February 1912.

“ At Chisghar is a neglected spring, just on the banks and actually in the bed of the Chisghar stream. The slightest flood must cover it and fill the hole with dirt. This happens every year, we are told, and after the floods are over, it is dug out. It is only used for bathing, and is in deep alluvial deposit, ten feet below the level of the banks, on the north bank of the river. The valley here is wide. To the north there are hills half a mile away : to the south and east the hills are distant one to one and a half miles : to the west they are at least two miles away. The water rises from below, and there is a flow of about four gallons a minute. There is no sign of a vigorous rise of water in the hole, and so the pressure is evidently very small, not more than two feet

of water at any rate. Gas is given off in small quantity if the hole is stirred. The temperature is 91° to 92° F. in the hole.

"To the west of this and about fifteen feet away there is another smaller spring, with about half the amount of water, composed of a number of exits over a circle of five feet in diameter. The temperature here is practically the same as in the larger spring. In both these cases there has been an attempt to build up the spring below ground, two to three feet deep, with stones all round, so as to make them more available for bathing. Solid trap rock is found in the bank of the stream thirty feet to the south-west of the first spring."

The water of the larger of these Chisghar springs gave the following figures on analysis as regards its saline contents :—

Total salts in the water containing					87.0 parts per 100,000.
					Per cent.
Calcium (Ca)	...	...	...	...	6.7
Magnesium (Mg.)	...	...	...	...	2.8
Chlorine (Cl)	...	...	...	...	43.4
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄)	...	...	...	...	13.3
Carbonic Acid (CO ₃)	...	...	...	...	13.3
Alkalinity of water (calculated as Sodium Carbonate Na ₂ CO ₃)					Nil.

The same stream which passes Chisghar contains still another hot spring at the village of Murda, three miles further to the north. The water of the stream is here held up by the cultivators by means of a dam and this prevents the spring being visible and retains it always under water. The following notes are from observations made by our friend Mr. N. M. Padwekar, in March 1912 :—

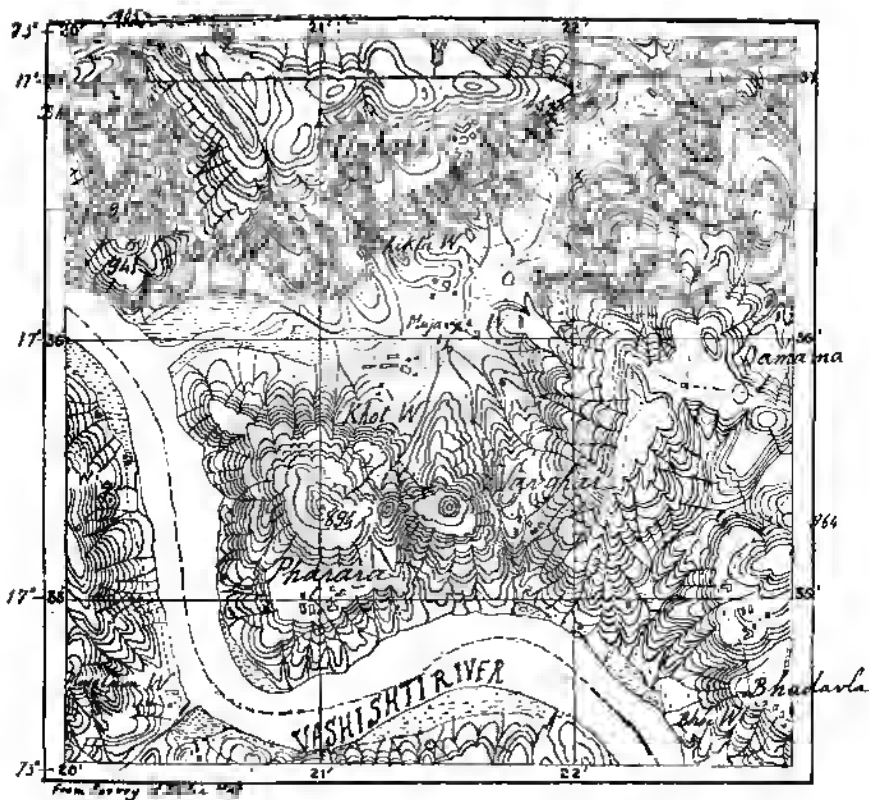
"The spring is always under water usually three feet deep and in the centre of the stream. It can be detected by the bubbles which rise to the surface, and by wading in the water when the warmth is felt by the feet. The villagers say there is black trap rock round the spring. The people apparently have no interest in the spring."

As a consequence of its position we were unable to obtain the water for analysis or to determine its temperature.

HOT SPRINGS AT UNHAVARE (near the Washishti Creek).

Latitude $17^{\circ} 37' N.$ Longitude $73^{\circ} 22' E.$

As has already been indicated, all the hot springs in the Ratnagiri district, from the most southerly known (that at Rajapur) as far as north as that at Aravali lie on one line almost due north and south. From this point northward however they are much more



Map showing the position of Hot-Springs near the Vashishti River,
x Hot-Springs.

irregularly distributed, and many of them lie much further to the west. Those just discussed at Khed lie, roughly speaking, about twelve miles to the west of the longitude of the line just mentioned: the one at Unhware is still further to the west and hence nearer the sea coast and not far from the banks of the Washishti Creek which joins the sea at Dabhol.

This spring has been several times visited. Duncan (*loc. cit.*) states that it gives water "so hot that rice is boiled in a few minutes." Hazlewood speaks of it as follows (*l. c.*):—

"There is a very hot spring, which is passed coming up the Dhabool karee at Nurje Onaren, Turaf Haveyld, Jaffarahad, in the Soovern-droog taluka, distant about 400 paces from the karee. On the left side as you come up, it is so hot that rice is boiled in it in a few minutes. Onaren is two miles from the mouth of the Dhabool karee."

Practically nothing beyond these remarks is on record. Oldham (*l. c.*) quotes an incorrect determination of the temperature by W. G. Salmon (109° F.), but we have not been able to find the original authority in this case. Hazlewood's description too, above, seems to be incorrect as to the position of the spring. It is not two, but rather fourteen miles from Dabhol by creek. A rough sketch of the place is attached.

On the northern bank of a feeder of the creek from Dabhol, leaving it at Phurara village, and about thirty paces away from the bank is a boggy place about one acre in extent. In this there are from ten to fifteen actual springs of water. The place where the hottest water comes out of the ground is supposed to be sacred by the Mahomedans, and questions are asked of the Pir to whom the place is sacred through Mujavars or priests, by whom answers are communicated.

In this area there are in all four cisterns for bathing. The first is provided for men of any of the touchable castes; the second is for women; the third is for Mahars; and the fourth for Chambhars. The first two are twelve feet square and three feet deep: the last two are much smaller, not more than four feet square and the same depth as the others. Little care is taken of these last two, and they are often partly filled up with mud, as the channels carrying water to them are not made up with stone. The second cistern (for women) is surrounded by trees, but as it is near the shrine of the Mohamedan Pir, it is dirty and has bones and flesh and heaps of feathers scattered round it.

The whole area occupied by these springs is very soft, covered with green grass, and it is necessary to walk with great care. The cisterns are very dirty: the water in them is muddy and oily. The accumulated water which rises from the ground flows by a series of open channels into the cisterns. This enables us to determine approximately the volume of the water. About one-fourth of the total quantity is allowed to flow into the cistern provided for men of the touchable castes. It then filled this cistern in one and-a-quarter hours. This gives 432 cubic feet in this time, or a total flow of about four times this or 1,384 cubic feet per hour. This gives, for the whole flow, about 144 gallons per minute.

The temperature of the water as it rises from the ground is indicated by the following determinations (March 1912):—

7 A.M.	...	...	154° F.	...	...	155° F.
1 P.M.	...	...	154° F.	...	...	155° F.
6 P.M.	...	...	153° F.	...	...	156° F.

It thus stands as the hottest spring we have found in the district. Giraud, one of the best of the older observers, gives the temperature as 157° F., a figure very close to ours.

The water is clear and keeps clear on standing for three days. Like other springs it appears to smell of sulphuretted hydrogen, but it contains none and no sulphides. It is brackish to the taste. Clothes washed in it remain sticky, and it is said to stain pots washed in it. Stones on the side of the cistern, and also in the side of the channel are incrustated with salt.

The incrustations on the stones near these springs were collected and analysed. They gave figures as follows:—

		White	Yellow
		incrustation.	incrustation.
		Per cent.	Per cent.
Insoluble matter	...	5.2	16.5
Calcium (Ca)	...	2.42	3.52
Magnesium (Mg.)	...	0.74	0.76
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄)	...	3.89	9.88
Chlorine (Cl)	...	52.50	42.35
Carbonic Acid (CO ₃)	...	0.22	0.14

The water has a local reputation of curing skin diseases, gout, and indigestion. It is not however used for drinking, but only for bathing.



Map showing the position of the Hot-Spring in Mandangadh Peta.
 x Hot-Spring.

On determination of the saline constituents in the water the following figures were obtained :—

Total salts in the water containing	199.0 parts per 1,00,000.	Per cent.
Calcium (Ca)	5.3	
Magnesium (Mg)	0.4	
Chlorine (Cl)	51.9	
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄)	7.6	
Carbonic Acid (CO ₃)	0.7	
Alkalinity in the water (calculated as Sodium Carbonate Na ₂ CO ₃) ...		Nil.

The very large excess of sodium chloride which these figures reveal indicates almost certainly contamination with sea water. The salt creek is not many paces away, and such a result is not unnatural. The gas given off from the springs was entirely composed of nitrogen or some equally unreactive gas.

HOT SPRINGS AT UNHAVARE (MANDANGADH PETA).

Latitude 17° 57' N. Longitude 73° 15½' E.

This, the last spring we have to describe in the Ratnagiri district is one of the most inaccessible. Its existence has, however, been noted by Duncan as well as other writers. Duncan says that it is in the Severndroog Taluka. It is evidently, as Oldham remarks, the *Severndroog Oonale* of Buist. The village Unhavare in which it occurs is a *khoki* village in the Mandangadh Peta of the Ratnagiri district, twenty miles from Dapoli by road, and eighteen by footpaths, and the same distance from Harnai Bunder on the coast.

A rough sketch of the surroundings is attached. On the southern bank of the Bharja River, and a few paces away there is a cistern built of laterite covered with a slab of trap rock at the opening of the spring. About a hundred paces away from this, in a rice-field almost due to the south there is a boggy patch, deep with mud, is found the actual source of the spring. It is stated that at this place also there is a built cistern, but it has now got filled up with mud—so full, in fact, that all trace of it is lost. There is, however, an overflow from it which runs towards the river, where there is a regular stream of water.

The cistern first described is supposed to be a holy place sacred to the goddess of the village and is in charge of the khots of the village

termed *raos*. There are two smaller tanks fed from the overflow and used for bathing respectively by Mahars and Chambars. They are neglected, are almost in the bed of the river and are often filled up with mud.

We removed the stone which covered the cistern first described. Below it was a hollow full of sand and pebbles,—and some bronze coins were also found—all in a blackened condition. The size of the space into which the water rose was four feet long by twenty-one inches wide by nine inches deep. This was filled in ninety seconds, indicating a flow of 215 to 220 gallons per minute. In the hole from which the water rises the temperature is 128° F., in the cistern itself it is constantly 126° F. (March 1912). A later visit to the spring in April 1913 gave a temperature at its exit of 130° F.

The water is used for bathing, but the villagers know nothing about its being of medicinal value. The utmost we could get in this direction was by a visitor who stated that it was useful to bathe in, in cases of itch. The water is said to have the same effect as it reported from nearly all the other springs. It leaves the body sticky, and the bather hungry.

The water is clear and remains clear on standing. It smells as usual, apparently of sulphuretted hydrogen, but no soluble sulphides could be detected in it. It is brackish to the taste, and the stones at the side and in the channel have salt incrustations. The following are the figures obtained on analysis of the saline contents of the water :—

Total salts in the water containing				17,510 parts per 100,000.
				Per cent.
Calcium (Ca)	...	...	...	4.9
Magnesium (Mg)	...	...	...	0.7
Chlorine (Cl)	...	...	...	51.6
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄)	...	...	...	7.1
Carbonic Acid (CO ₃)	...	...	...	0.8
Alkalinity in the water (calculated as				
Sodium Carbonate Na ₂ CO ₃)				1.8 parts per 100,000.

The excess of sodium chloride again in this case suggests contamination with sea water.

The gas which is given off with the water turned out to be pure nitrogen or gases equally unreactive.

The incrustation found at the side of the cistern gave the following figures on analysis :—

	Per cent.
Insoluble matter	12.1
Calcium (Ca)	2.40
Magnesium (Mg)	2.31
Sulphuric Acid (SO ₄)	2.74
Chlorine (Cl)	49.58
Carbonic Acid (CO ₃)	0.96

IV

Such is an account, as complete as we can make it at this moment, of the known hot springs of the Ratnagiri district, each of which we have visited and hence obtained first hand information on the spot. We should have liked to add, to what we have ascertained, an account of the radio-activity of the springs; but this will be done, we hope, in the near future by the Rev. Fr. Sierp, S.J., who has promised to undertake it.

There are a few general observations, however, which remain to be made. The known springs, evidently deep seated from their temperature, lie so far as all except the northern ones are concerned on a line which is nearly due north and south from the latitude of Rajapur to the latitude of Aravali. The longitude of each of the springs is as follows :—

Rajapur... ..	73° 34' E.
Math	73° 32½' E.
Sangameshwar	73° 39' E.
Rajawadi group	73° 36' to 37' E.
Aravali	73° 34' E.

North of this there appears to be either a curving of the line of fissure to the west or else other cracks have been formed further away to the west. The springs appear in no less than six river valleys on almost exactly the identical line, nearly north and south, and it is more than probable that a careful examination would lead to the discovery of further sources. North of Aravali, or rather north of the large Washisti Creek, the same line is not followed. The three known series of springs appear in three different longitudes, and there is nothing like the same regularity. The spring north of those dealt with in this paper, in the Kolaba and in the Thana districts, are equally spread about at irregular distances from the main line of the Western Ghats.

Regarding the composition of the salts contained in these waters, one may at once say that it is remarkably constant. Leaving aside

the Rajapur spring which, on account of the amount of salts contained in the water and their composition, seems to be a much more superficial source than the other deep seated springs, the waters may be said to contain much chlorides and little carbonates, a fact which is rather unexpected. We have collected a large quantity of the salts in many of these waters by concentrating them on the spot, and hope later to present a detailed examination of these salts as a contribution to the study of the decomposition of the deep seated rocks of the trap area. In the meantime, over forty per cent. of the solid matter in all the waters (except that at Rajapur) is chloride—and this when any contamination with sea water is most unlikely, as the springs are beyond the tidal region in all cases except the three northern ones [Khed, Unhavaré (Washishtī), Unhavaré (Mundangadh)]. These last three contain still more chlorides, but there is, in their case, a very considerable chance of sea water infiltration. In all cases (except at Aravali and again at Rajapur) the amount of magnesium is much less than that of calcium, and, with again the same exceptions, the proportion of sulphuric acid is fairly constant.

The temperature of the springs varies very widely, as would, of course, be expected. The groups of springs with the highest temperatures are those at Unhavaré (Washishtī) where they reach 156° F., and at Rajwadi-Baragaon, where the highest tested, near the river side at Baragaon gave a temperature of 147° F.

ART. X.—*Hamza Isfahani.*

By G. K. NARIMAN.

(Read 21st October, 1915.)

[A PREP. INTO ARABIC HISTORIES ON MATTERS IRANIAN.]

From the time the enlightened Government of Iran granted a constitution to its subjects the Persian authorities have shown a general spirit of liberality and wide religious outlook. In matters religious it has adopted a tone of tolerance, if not positive sympathy, towards alien beliefs. One cannot prophesy what the future has in store for this most ancient of monarchies. With the progress of Iran, however, our attraction to the land must necessarily increase, and it is a happy sign of the times that not long ago in Teheran itself the respected Government officials, sincere Moslems and learned Ulemas, assisted in the founding of a Zoroastrian school, and what is more astonishing, of a Fire Shrine. The first onrush of the Arabs 13 centuries ago undoubtedly destroyed much of value of ancient Iran, but to say that the barbarities and vandalism perpetrated on the soil were committed only by Moslems is to ignore history and strifle truth. According to my humble studies much that was of priceless value in matters religious from ancient Iran was already annihilated by Alexander. Nor can I conscientiously blame all Arab historians for a prejudice against Zoroastrian Iranians. The extent of the subject corresponds to its importance and interest. We can only touch the fringe of it in an hour's discourse. We have only to remember that if we detest the spirit which has brought about the subversion of the Sasanian Empire, Moslem Persia to-day still cherishes an inextinguishable hatred for Omar-ibn Khattab, the conqueror of Iran. But the Iranis of to-day look to Iranism first and religion next. Even the Armenians and Jews and the Hindus from Shikarpur as itinerant merchants are treated without the slightest trace of religious intolerance, and it would be an affectation to deny that there is a positive attraction on the part of young Iran of to-day for the descendants of the brothers of their own ancestors. It behoves Parsis therefore to study, if not all, the Arabic literature, in itself a priceless treasure, at least such authors as were of Iranian descent or origin, whose mother-tongue was Persian, but who employed the Arabic language in the composition of their books. As a beginning towards that study I shall speak briefly to-day of Hamza of Isfahan; not because he was the

most prominent Iranophil or partisan of Iran among Arabic writers. There have been others who far exceeded him in their fervent love for their motherland, but because very little is known about him so far as I know in English books generally. Huart, Nicholson and even the most learned and sympathetic of modern Iran's friends, Prof. Browne of Cambridge, dismiss him in a few pages.

The Abbaside Dynasty of the Khalifs which began in the middle of the second century of the Moslem era synchronised with the flourishing period of Arabic literature. The Khalifs energetically endeavoured to support literature and to help men of learning and poets. That is now common knowledge. Especially more energetic in this direction were the Khalifs al-Mansur Harun-ar-Rashid and al-Mamun. They gathered together in their court literati from various countries and patronised literary undertakings. It is no news that the scholars of Baghdad and Damascus were less prejudiced than the Moslem men of learning whom Akbar attracted to his brilliant court. You know that the Ulama attached to the court of the Khalifs, studied with avidity, foreign languages and alien literatures of Greece and India and Iran. Badauni, our Indian Moslem historian, on the other hand, records the astonishment of himself and the Maulavis of Akbar who were sorely puzzled at the emperor's command to translate the Ramayana into Persian! Abdul Kader's pious soul revolted at Akbar's thirst for Hindu learning.

The political power, however, of the Abbasides did not last longer than a century. An interminable series of struggle debilitated the strength of the Khalifs. One province after another fought itself loose from the hands of the central power and presently the Khalifs were reduced to a state of nominal suzerainty in secular matters. The spiritual control over the masses, however, was of longer duration. But even in the middle and towards the close of the third Moslem century, under the unhappy rule of the weaker Khalifs, there were engaged in philological undertakings in the city of Basra, scholars like al-Mubarrad. There were men of learning in Baghdad and there were savants like Beladhuri, Ibn Qutayba, and Tabari. In eastern Persia also, which was the country of contending nationalities, Arabic literature flourished for a long time. Above all, in spite of the storm and stress of the period, the capital Ispahan was not without its men of letters. The number of Arabic scholars of the Persian city was so considerable that special treatises were composed devoted to the life and labour of the scholars of Ispahan.

In the lands of Persia proper, moreover, in the tenth Christian century, modern Persian literature was gradually developing itself

into the most powerful and at the same time common medium of literary intercourse for almost all the countries of Asia which were not under Mongolian influence. The Persian spirit proper, which had never died out, now revived and was revived into a life of strength and stumped much of the literary activity finding its expression in Arabic works with its own peculiar impregnation. Among the scholars of the time in whose Arabic works a particular Persian influence is perceptible comes "Hamza-ih-Hasnat-Ispahani." We advisedly speak of Ispahani although he is better known as Ishahani. The Arabic language having no *p* commuted the equivalent of this consonant into either *b* or *f*. All reference to this historian in early European writings speak of Ishahani since the westerners came to know of the Persian historian only through his Arabic works.

Although the majority of his works, of which only a few are preserved to us, treated of philological matters, "Hamza is noted for his excellence as a historian, as the author of the 'Annals'" and of the history of Ispahan which is so frequently mentioned. It was the 'Annals' which early directed the attention of European scholars for Hamza. Of course the early European scholars made certain mistakes. It was only latterly that the Persian author was fully identified and appreciated. Harbelot, for instance, confuses Hamza Ispahani with Mahomed's uncle who bore the same name! Shultens, Rasmusen, Reiske, all drew upon Hamza for some of their materials in the history of ancient Arabs. It was Sylvestre de Sacy who in 1833 subjected to an ingenious and critical examination Hamza's chronologies of the Persian kings with the contemporary rulers of Yamen and Hira. Finally, the entire text of the 'Annals' was published with a Latin translation by Gottweldt in 1848, in the city we now know as Petrograd.

I propose first to cursorily examine, besides the historical works of Hamza, his philological activity, because Hamza had a consummate command of both Arabic and Persian, and his works are a store house of information on the interrelation of the two languages.

HAMZA'S LIFE.

HIS LITERARY SOURCES.

What the Arabic sources supply to us regarding the life and career of Hamza is very meagre. Even the celebrated Fihrist here does not give much help. We shall have to speak often about this famous book in the course of our paper. We may as well call back to mind a

few salient features of this monument of Arabic literature. The *Fihrist* was composed about 998 A.D. by an-Nadhim. It is a kind of catalogue or list, scientifically arranged and most conveniently grouped; of all the books in Arabic that existed in his time. Not only does he give us brief notices of the books, but he has to tell us a good deal of the lives of the authors of whom he treats. The description of the various ancient alphabets that he gives is of absorbing interest. In fact, the knowledge of the European scholars of the peculiarities of the Pahlavi language so to say, was first obtained from the indication given of it in the *Fihrist*. It notices books that were originally composed in Arabic and it dilates on a number of works that were translated into Arabic from various languages like Greek, Latin and Sanskrit, but what is more of interest to us from Pahlavi. The chapters that he devotes to translators are themselves mines of information and they have been continually worked at from early times, and yet there is a good deal that is not made accessible in any European language. As I have elsewhere more than once indicated, we should be failing in our duty if in the case of this book we omitted to mention the labours of the late Shams-ul-Ulema Shihli Naomani, who was, so far as I know, the only Indian authority, who fully appreciated the worth of the *Fihrist*, and wrote a number of valuable and highly interesting essays on the ancient literature upon which the Arabs had drawn, and to which references abound in the *Fihrist*. The essays are in Urdu, and they were published by the Nidwat-ul-Ulema of Lucknow, of which Shihli was the founder, and with which he was connected almost to the time of his unexpected death. Although English Orientalists have of recent years done much to enlighten us with reference to the contents of the *Fihrist*, it was continental scholars who were the first to see the real merit of this landmark of Arabic literature. For the generality of the Parsi community, the works of Professor Bravue of Cambridge may be supplemented very advantageously by the essays of Shihli which, by the way, were published long before the Western Oriental scholars devoted themselves to a systematic investigation of the *Fihrist*. Shihli's achievements are perfectly independent of western researches, although so early as 1862 Flügel made use of the *Fihrist* in his life of Mani, the Iranian heresiarch. Before him it was drawn upon by the Russian scholar Chwolsohn in his work on the Sabians in 1836. Interesting notices here and there of it have been given by Bruckelmann in his standard history of Arabic literature in German, published in 1836-1902. Justice to the accuracy and historical authenticity of the information of the *Fihrist* is done by Blochet in his Pahlavi Grammar published in 1905. Quatremere translated a highly interesting passage so early as 1840 from the *Fihrist* on the different

modes of writing Persian. The sidelights which this erudite book affords on the inner history of Persia and its civilisation demand that close and systematic study of it on part of the Parsi community which it owes to a book which has, in a manner unique in the whole range of Arabic literature, preserved for us vestiges of the sources of Iranian influence on Moslem civilisation. It was the Fihrist, to give one concrete instance, which enabled us to establish with an unquestionable certainty the direct Iranian origin of the Arabian Nights, apart from the problem whether or not, ultimately the Persians were indebted for the fascinating stories to the inventive genius of the Indians and their Sanskrit literature. That an-Nadhim was not drawing on his imagination for the information that he gives us has been demonstrated by several books of which his description exactly tally with the fragments that have descended to us. I am not speaking in this paper, however, of an-Nadhim and his Fihrist. Still in a paper like this it may be permissible to mention the large number of Pahlavi works which have unfortunately totally perished, but of which an-Nadhim has to say a considerable deal. He refers to several books as anonymous being himself unable to ascertain their authorship. We have a mention of the "Book of Rustam and Isfandiyar" which was translated into Arabic by Jubala-ibn-Salim; a Book of the Crown of Auguries; of the Book of Shahrizad; a Book of biography of Anushirvan; Book of Dara and the golden Image; of the celebrated *Khodainameh*, the Pahlavi nucleus, or more probably the Pahlavi original itself, which was finally elaborated into the epic of Firdausi. An-Nadhim alludes to a number of local histories connected with the Arab conquest of Fars, Kerman, Tabaristan. Then he describes such compositions as "Account of the army of Sapur," "the Book of the Gift which I saw in the writing of Kisa," Then there were compositions by authors who wrote in Arabic, but, whose origin was among the ancient Persians and who were vehemently prejudiced against the Arabs." Who but a religiously tolerant writer could hand down to posterity the names and literary labours of such pronounced Iranophiles? There were specific treatises on the "superiority of the Persians over the Arabs and their boastfulness." One Pahlavi book as translated into Arabic was specially consecrated to the study of the "Dignity of Hormaz, son of Kisa Nushirvan." Another in the "Places where the Persians were slain." A third to "Zad Farrukh on the instruction to his children." One still more to the "Moheds under Buzurj-mihir." We have equally interesting books on "Accounts and Traditions," one on "Good manners and similitudes according to the sects of the Persians, Rumis, and Arabs." In one place we are informed that Jamasp was an alchemist and the author of a "Book on alchemy." What would we not give to-day to be able

to possess the book of the "Mobed of Mobeds on Government and assemblies and Good manners" or the book of the "Testament of king Nushirvan to his son" or the book which "Kisra wrote to Marzban and his answer," or the "Book of the king of Greece regarding the sending of Philosophers to the king of the Persians" or the "Book about Ardashir who commanded and caused to be brought from the treasuries the books which the sages had composed on administration?"

Very unfortunately all that the Fihrist has to say touching Hamza is confined to the following words: "Hamza-ibn-al-Hasan belonged to the inhabitants of Ispahan. He was a scholar and an author," Ibn-Khallikhan, a valuable first-hand source, who makes mention of him often enough in his voluminous biographical dictionary, cites passages from his works and yet, strange and unfortunate, he has no special article on Hamza. The probable reason for this otherwise unaccountable omission is, according to Dr. Mittwoch on whom I mainly rely, that Ibn Khallikhan was unable to determine the year of Hamza's death. For his work is based on the principle of the exact known dates of death of the authors of whom he treats. Our next authority is Haji Khalifa. He quotes the titles of various of Hamza's works, but he gives no information of his life and career. Since a fourth authority Yaqut, in his biographical lexicon, frequently refers to Hamza and textually quotes a number of passages from his works, we might be inclined to assume that he most probably devoted a special article to Hamza in his biographical work called the *Mu'jam-ul-Udaba*. Unfortunately this too, we cannot demonstrate inasmuch as this book of Yaqut's has descended to us in a mutilated form. Professor Margoliouth of Oxford was at pains to search in the manuscripts of the *Mu'jam* and he assures us of the omission.

All the more thankful we are, therefore, for the notice which we come across concerning Hamza in the *Tarikh Ispahan* of Abu-Nuaim and in the *Kitab-ul-Ansab* of Samani. Abu-Nuaim had evidently used the history of Ispahan composed by Hamza. In his historical introduction he thrice quotes Hamza as the "*Sheb Katab Ispahan*." What has he to tell us about Hamza, however, is not much. Nor do we get any substantial information from Samani.

The last two sources, however, confirm our belief that our author was known also as Abu Abdallah, for in his edition of the *Diwan* or collected works of Abu Nuwas, wherever he has occasion to insert his own notes, Hamza begins them with *Kala Abu Abdallah* (Abu Abdallah says:)

Again both the sources agree that Hamza's father was a Muaddib or schoolmaster. They, however, differ as to the name of his father, one calling him al-Hasan and the other al-Husain. Probably al-Hasan has to be given preference, because he calls himself Hamza-ibn-al-Hasan in just the opening words of the edition of the collected works of Abu-Nuwais mentioned above. Moreover, this is the name that we meet with in the Filicrist, in Yaqut, in Biruni, Thababi, in ibn Khallikan, and Muidani. Accordingly, the full name of our author was Abu-Abdallah-Hamza-ibn-al-Hasan-al-Ispahani. His name is spelled optionally with a *b* or *f* as we already saw and this variation is observable also in the Sindh-Name. (See *Erasmische altherthumskunde*, Vol. I, page 100), with reference to the name of the city. However, this is not a matter of great importance and we may only note in passing that in the majority of cases we find *b*.

We can with tolerable certainty determine the age of Hamza. According to what he himself says in the "Annals" he completed them in 96t A. D. There are other references in the same work to the Nauruz which also give a clue to his age at the various periods of his life. Obviously it is an oversight on the part of the great Hungarian scholar Goldziher who makes Hamza die in 350 A. H. Hamza survived the achievement of his great historical work by only a few years. For according to Sumini he died before 360 A. H. In the fifth chapter of his history in which he deals with the "Chronicles of the Jews" Hamza gives us information supplied to him by a Jewish scholar in 308, in Baghdad. Further since Hamza was a pupil of Jawahiqi who died in 306 and since he refers in his "Annals" to the eight interesting occurrences in Ispahan during the years 301 and 344 as experienced by himself, we might perhaps place his birth somewhere about the year 280. Hamza, therefore, so far as we can determine, lived between the eighties of the third and the fifties of the fourth Islamic centuries. Brockelmann says that Hamza lived probably in the beginning of the fourth century in Baghdad. But Hamza's residence in Baghdad was always of a temporary character. In the beginning of the third chapter of the edition of Abu Nuwas, Hamza reports that in the year 223 he travelled for the third time to Baghdad for the purpose of collecting manuscripts and material for the poem. But even on this occasion, as he himself states, his sojourn in Baghdad was not of long duration, and we know that by the end of the same year he was again back in Ispahan. Moreover, in the passage to which we have referred in the "Annals" where he speaks of the remarkable occurrences in Ispahan, he mentions apparently as an eye-witness, the famine which devastated Ispahan during the period between the close of 323 and the commencement of 324. He says, *inter alia*, "and of the inhabitants of my city

of Ispahan died more than 200,000 people." (min ahale madinatiy Ispahan). In the year 50 a certain building in the neighbourhood of Ispahan suddenly collapsed and revealed some inscriptions the like of which no one had seen before. From the fact that Hamza was consulted on that occasion by the wondering inhabitants as to his opinion regarding the building, it is evident that Hamza was residing in Ispahan towards the close of his life and was looked up to with respect by the citizens. His permanent residence, therefore, was his native city of Ispahan, and therefore what the Fihrist says about him can reasonably be interpreted to mean that Hamza was an inhabitant of Ispahan and not merely that he was by descent a man from that city.

(Fihrist.—Hamzat bin al-Hasan min ahul Ispahan wa Kana adibaḥ musannifan, i.e., Hamza bin Hasan belonged to Ispahan and was an accomplished author.)

Hamza's travels were so many excursions for the purpose of scientific pursuits. They afforded him opportunities to come in contact with celebrated expounders of Hadith; and the men whose disciple Hamza was according to two manuscript authorities of Samani and also Nuaim were thorough traditionalists. We shall see later on how Hamza profitably employed his visits to Baghdad for the purposes of his philological investigations. First of all, it is instructive from the standpoint of Moslem traditional literature to glance at the scholars versed in Hadith who were Hamza's teachers. Jawaliqi was one of the most celebrated traditionalists of his age and author of several works. Yaqut calls him the greatest scholar of Ahwaz. He was well known for his marvellous memory. Qahtha about whose exact name there is a certain vagueness, was another of his masters. A third was Wasiti, a fourth was Tabari, though here too, we are far from certain whether it was the great historian or a namesake. Then there were Dhariri and Nasair about whom we know little beyond their names.

On the other hand, there were pupils who perpetuated traditions (or accounts of events and occurrences supposed to refer to the Prophet and his immediate followers) as taught by Hamza. One such was Mirdasibi (an Iranian name) who like Hamza himself was the author of a history of Ispahan, of a commentary on the Quran and other works. Hamza studied traditions not as a speciality, but as one of the branches of learning with which a Moslem scholar ought to be acquainted. For we do not know of any special book of his dealing with hadith. His peculiar forte lay in history and philology and lexicography. As we said above, his journeys to Baghdad were under-

taken for the purpose of his deep studies as they brought him in close intimacy with the scholars of the city. Among the numerous authorities cited by Hamza in his works many are such as could have been familiar to him as brothers in letters.

Now we shall consider some of the scholars with whom he came into personal touch. Durrîd is mentioned by Hamza in his philological works pretty frequently. Generally it is in brief notes that his authority is quoted. He was renowned as the "greatest poet among scholars and the greatest scholar among poets." Hamza describes in detail the circumstances under which he got acquainted with Muzarra. The passage is of some interest. In the year 323 he was on his third visit to Baghdad to study the manuscripts of the poems of Abu Nuwas which were in the possession of the family of Naubakht. He was introduced by the latter to Muzarra, for Muzarra was in possession of poems composed by Abu Nuwas in Egypt. From Muzarra Hamza learned all that could be known regarding Abu Nuwas's poetry. Nay more. When Muzarra noticed the enthusiastic efforts of Hamza's for the collection of Abu Nuwas's poems he himself composed a special risala or dissertation setting out in detail what he believed to be shortcomings of the poetry of Abu Nuwas. He particularly grouped together the verses which Abu Nuwas had borrowed from preceding poets. This he did in spite of the fact that he was a great admirer of Abu Nuwas.

His object in separating the couplets was to show that brilliant and witty as they were, they were not the production of Abu Nuwas. For they were all of a Bacchanalian or erotic character and Muzarra was anxious that posterity should not associate Abu Nuwas's memory as a sober scholar and historian with lyrics of love and wine. The first risala on Abu Nuwas was dedicated to Hamza himself, and was sent on to him to Baghdad. Then Muzarra wrote another risala which was "Appreciation" of Abu Nuwas. By the time it was finished Hamza had left Baghdad. Consequently he was able to embody in his Diwan only the first risala. Hamza prefaces it with a few personal observations on the author.

Shawarîr, another contemporary and friend, was more of a grammarian than anything else. Hamza himself describes him as unadorned. All his works the rules of which are known to us treat of grammatical themes. As regards the family of the Naubakht it is frequently alluded to by Hamza in his edition of Abu Nuwas. They were a celebrated family of Baghdad. They were of pure Iranian descent. They are mentioned in the Fihrist among the translators from the Persian into the Arabic. Parenthetically, wherever we read of a

translation from Persian into Arabic, as a rule it is obvious that by Persian the Arabs meant what we call Pahlavi and what western scholars call Middle Persian. Naubakht himself was an astronomer under the Khalif al-Mansur. (136-158 A. H.). Abu 'Nuwas was familiarly known to the Naubakhtian and had inscribed several of his poems to them. Amburi, another contemporary, has been highly praised on account of his astonishing familiarity with poetry in general. Another authority relied on by Hamza in his philological studies is another Isbahani. He was a genealogist and younger than Hamza. He is mentioned by the author of the *Fihrist* as a contemporary scholar. He is interesting to us as being the author of a history of Persia and of imperial genealogies. From these and other authorities Hamza critically studied Arabic and Persian literatures making a special study of proverbs and sayings both Arabic and Persian, tracing their sources and incidentally giving us anthropological and social sidelights. And one of the instructors who solved some of his difficulties, was this Isbahani himself familiar with matters Iranian.

What interests us in particular regarding Hamza is this circumstance. Like many other Arabic writers about whom we may take occasion to speak on future opportunities, Hamza was at pains to make enquiries in circles other than specifically Mahomedan for the furtherance of his scientific and historical studies. He turned to whichever quarter was likely to furnish him with the requisite information. He consulted Jews, Greeks and Zoroastrians. A Jew solved some of his difficulties with regard to the Old Testament in Baghdad in 308. Hamza suggested to him the preparation of a concise compilation of Israelite Chronology. These oral and written information from the Jew are at the basis of his fifth chapter of the "Annals."

How Hamza came by information for his account of Byzantine matters, is recorded by himself. A Greek prisoner was a servant of Abu Dulaf. He was at once a master of literary and colloquial Greek and at the same time had a working acquaintance with colloquial Arabic. His son, however, who was in Government service, was familiar with both the tongues, and it was this son who acted as interpreter between Hamza and his authority. The old Greek prisoner read from a Greek book and his son translated it into Arabic for Hamza. Hamza himself laid great store by this source of his information. And there is no doubt that he was personally convinced of it all. After narrating varying reports on this subject in his "Annals" based on Arabic versions of Greek writers, Hamza goes back to his own source and tells

us that the latter is worthy of unquestioned credence. For he maintains that his own report was derived directly from a Greek whilst the authority, for instance, of al-Qadhi, rested on a basis where there was a possibility of misunderstanding the Greek original.

We are unfortunately handicapped by an absence of requisite Arabic works in the Bombay libraries to enable us to assign to Persian sources their true value in the works of Arab historians. From the brief notices which alone we can command it will be evident, however, that the Persian sources of Arab writers were by no means insignificant. In the case of Hamza he consulted Zoroastrian priests. This he states himself and is supported by Yaqut. They gave him among a good deal of what would now be held fantastic information, much reliable material on the history of the place names of Persia. The Arabs after the conquest of Iran mutilated the language and pronunciation of pure Persian almost beyond recognition. The case of Iran was similar in this respect to that of India some fifty years ago when the names of Indian cities were mispronounced by Europeans. It was one of the aims of the Shuubiya to restore Persian names to their original and correct shape. The occurrence of Shuubiya in my mind tempts me to what I believe would prove to be an exceedingly pleasant digression. But I will say only a few words about them. Browne and Nicholson have given in English a good description of their novel and beneficent activities. One day we may listen to the fascinating story of this society as related by Goldziher and Kremer if not by their original authorities. In a word, the Shuubiya were a party of Iranian Moslems who took upon themselves to glorify ancient Persia. They went even further. They ran down the Arabs and all that was connected with Arabia. Some Shuubiya had the temerity even to attack the religion of the Arabs.

The Arabs, following the example of the Persians, were greatly interested in etymology. Very often the Persians supplied them with the correct scientific explanation of proper names. More often we are bound to admit the information was fanciful and based on what we should call popular etymology. Hamza consulted a Mobed regarding the name Basra and the reply given seems to have satisfied Hamza though it is antiquated according to our advanced philology. The same, probably another Mobed, gave him an account of the palace of Madain or Persepolis.

Obviously Hamza consulted the work of his predecessors in philology. Every one of his books evidences wide and many-sided reading. We may note here in passing a peculiarity of Arabic authors. What we know as quotations from previous writers was not unknown to them.

But the citing of the source was not recognised as a principle. Passage after passage is often quoted without mention of the source, and as a rule these citations are verbatim. This is no plagiarism in the sense in which we regard the term. It was simply the peculiarity of those times. An indirect but important advantage of this practice to us is this: these citations have preserved for us most valuable material from books which as such have been lost. Thus there are descriptions preserved of the court of Persian kings and the ceremonial observed during the Sasanian times in works which do not directly bear on the theme. To give one specific instance, we have an old Iranian Arabic writer, Kisravi, preserved in a less ancient author, Ibn Qutayba, describing in detail the festivities as they took place during the Nauruz days. The long passage positively revives Persia of old for us. It gives us a glimpse, but a true and vivid one, of the court life of bygone days. It strikes me that the passage itself is a close Arabic translation from Pahlavi. The Persian proper names unfamiliar to the scribes have been so mutilated. But I will, for the present, not judge it by my little Arabic and less Pahlavi. Now, to return to Hamza, he was an exception to the rule, and he gives us long quotations mentioning the origin. He mentions by name the authors and works which he lays under contribution and he equally mentions the authorities whom he controverts. Accordingly, in Hamza's writings a good many valuable passages are enshrined from works on Persian history which as such have been lost and the authorship of which we can, thanks to Hamza, satisfactorily trace.

This leads us to a brief survey of the works which Hamza consulted. The most important work which served Hamza for his historical account is the *Khudai Nameh* in its Arabic form in at least six different versions. The *Khudai Nameh* would demand a chapter by itself to do full justice to its origin and the variety of its translation into various languages. The history of its journey is not less fascinating than the history of the peregrination of the *Panchatantra* itself. Muhl has more or less exhaustively treated of this in the introduction to his translation of the *Shah Nameh*, which valuable dissertation has been done into English by Mr. Khandalavala. An interesting and long account is given by Baron Rosen in Russian, and the third and the most critical account is by Noeldeke in German. The latter, however, is unfortunately devoid of all sympathy with old Iran. My English translation of it is all but complete. Among other books consulted by Hamza were a historical work by Hisham Adi, and by Khwarzmi; he seems to have also drawn upon al-Bulkhi and al-Quadhi; then, of course, upon Tabari and Ibn Qutayba. According to Dr. Mittwoch in Hamza's work there are traces of assistance derived

from four grammarians of note including the Persian Sibawaihi, (you know that Sibawaihi is the Arab way of pronouncing Sihyeli) and eight works on lexicography, nine works of popular proverbial literature of the Arabs, eleven miscellaneous works on the peculiar species of literature called *adab* which corresponds to what the French call *belles lettres*. A detailed examination of these works, however interesting, cannot be undertaken in this brief review of Hamza's literary career.

As regards Hamza's own productions, the following are worthy of note. We have to premise that a good many of his works have been lost. The authorship of about twelve books is imputed to him. They range over a variety of subjects including history, lexicography, and miscellaneous subjects comprised under the head of *adab*. Of these twelve books we possess three, namely, his history or "Annals," his collection of comparative proverbs, and his edition of the poet Abu Nuwas, and as we noted above, there are large sections from his lost works preserved in the books of later authors.

Hamza calls his history *Tawarikh sin muluk al ard wal ambia*. He divides it into ten chapters and successively treats of general chronology and history of Persia, Rome, Greece, Egypt, Israel, then the Lulimnides, the Yaminides, the Hunyars, the Kindites, and lastly, the Muslim dynasties, down to his own times. Hamza's treatment is neat and precise. Again and again he tells us that he has aimed at brevity. More exhaustive treatment is reserved in the first chapter for the history of Iran, and in the tenth for that of the Arabs. The sixth section of this tenth chapter might well be studied by the students of our religious calendar of the Persia as it comprises a list of the Nawruz days from the first year to the 350th year of Higira in which Hamza completed his "Annals." He gives the month and date of the Arabic calendar on which the Persian New Year fell.

In the first chapter there is an instance of Hamza's intimate acquaintance with things Iranian and of his credulity regarding things etymological. He connects, for instance, the Arabic word *tarikh* with the Persian *mah ruz* (month and date). Such derivations from Persian are often to be met with in the "Annals." For example, the Arabic *sarir* (throne) is derived from *takht saghir* and *barid*, the animal on which was carried the post in the times of the Khalifate, from the Persian *baridah dumb*, the docketed tail. He, however, rendered some service to his fatherland by reducing to their proper original forms the corrupted names of geographical places of Persia.

As is common with other Arabic writers, whenever Hamza has to relate something about which he himself is sceptical, he makes a

plentiful use of the pious expression *wa hua aalim*.—He knows the best, which is sometimes substituted for the longer expression *wa hua aalam bis sawab*.

Hamza's "Annals" have been utilised by Biruni in his celebrated work on chronology and by the unknown author of *Mujmil at tawarikh*, a work composed in 520 in Persian. This work, as can be judged from a comparison, is almost a word for word Persian translation of Hamza's sections relating to the history of Persia. Hence, by the way, its valueless nature as an independent history.

Hamza's *Kitab Isbahan* is lost. But what it contained can, to some extent, be determined. He quotes it in the "Annals." Ya'qut has borrowed a passage from it, concerning a family of scholars settled in Isbahan. We are more fortunate with regard to Hamza's collection of comparative proverbs. It has come down to us though it awaits an editor. The book is mentioned in the *Fihrist* and is described by Haji Khalifa under the title of *Kitab ansal ala' alal*. There is a complete manuscript of it in Munich. It is instructive to note that at Maidani after the particular fashion of those days has almost entirely incorporated this work of Hamza into his own book. The *Fihrist* again is our solitary authority for ascribing to Hamza a Barmatian book of songs which has not been spared to us by time. Less tolerant generations of Moslem copyists have probably declined to perpetuate the verses offensive to puritans. Whether he was their author or not, there is no doubt, however, that Hamza was familiar with the lighter literature of the Arabs and very probably his contribution to that species of lively entertainment was not insignificant. Hamza's important book devoted to the poetry of the old Arabs, is of course the edition of the collected works of Abu Nuwas. It is curious that though we have no reason to doubt the authorship of this edition, it is nowhere specifically ascribed to Hamza in the Arabic source books.

A collection of Hamza's own essays is known under the title of *Kitab rasail*. One of these essays is cited by Biruni. It treated of the very interesting subject of special poems composed on the two great national festivals of ancient Iran, namely, the *Naturz* and the *Mihir jam*. For long after the conquest of Persia by the Arabs the national festivals of pre-Mahomedan times continued to be celebrated with all their former éclat and they have been studied in engraving detail not only by scholars like Kremer and Goldziher, but by the numerous western travellers who have from time to time visited Persia. A philological work of Hamza's called the *Kitab al Tumbih*, (not to be confounded with a similarly named work of Masudi) has been cited at length by Ya'qut. It deals with the five dialects current

in Persia, namely, Pahlavi, the Dari, the Persian proper, the dialect of Khuzistan, and what is called the dialect of Syria. Goldziher is of opinion that Hamza had written a special book with the object of proving the distortions brought about by ignorant Arabs in the pronunciation of Persian names of men and places. A book called *Katib al-Muwazana* written by Hamza is attested by citations preserved in the work of Thalibi and by a fragment in the Khedivial Library at Cairo. It was written with the purpose of treating ancient geographical names. Peurile as it may appear to us, Yaqut's quotations from Hamza on the derivation of such names as the Jalin, Ispahan, Sagistan and all proper names ending in *nah* are instructive. They, at any rate, testify to Hamza's or rather his authority's vivid imagination.

HAMZA'S POSITION AS AN ARABIC WRITER.

There is a difference of opinion among scholars regarding the attitude taken up by Hamza with reference to the parties into which the Arabic world of letters was divided, one defending the ancient civilisation of Iran, and the other decrying it and exalting the superiority of the Arab culture. In other words, it is not yet established whether Hamza was a declared Shuubiya or not. Goldziher who is supported by Brockelmann is of opinion that Hamza was a defender of the ancient civilisation. He was in fact an Iranophil. Dr. Mittwoch, however, controverts this view. He believes that Hamza, though fully conscious of his Persian descent, does not manifest open Shuubite leanings in the sense that he fulminated of set purpose, against Arabs or their language or that he favoured Persia and the Persians at the expense of the Arabs, in a spirit of unreasoning bias. Hamza's work bears a special personal stamp. He went wherever possible into detail on matters Persian, and he was a critic as criticism went in those days. But his criticism was not actuated by personal idiosyncrasies. He leaves no opportunity to extol the Arabs and their achievements where they were in his opinion deserved, and he is not slow to reproach the Persians where he finds them unreliable and arrogant. He did not hate the Arabs as Arabs, and he refrained from absurd adulation of the Persians as Persians. We will give some instances.

Hamza speaks in glowing terms of Khalil who was a pure Arab and who was the creator of the Arabic metre. He gives him high praise, but considering the circumstances perhaps not too high. Without entering into the facts as to whether certain vices attributed to old Iran were indigenous to the nation, we may also indicate that if Hamza was a blind partisan of Iran he would not have given his opinion regarding them as candidly as he does in a remarkable passage. On the other

hand it goes without saying that Hamza was of pure Iranian blood and evinces warm interest in his mother tongue which he probably preferred to Arabic though the exigencies of the age compelled him to compose his works in the language of the rulers. Hamza and his Iranian contemporaries and successors for centuries were situated similarly to ourselves. We employ English in our general affairs though our Indian vernacular is the home language of most of us. To prove him a Shuubiya, too much seems to have been made of the ridicule passed by him "on the mendacity of the Arabs." But if we examine the circumstances in which the observation was made by Hamza it is difficult to draw the inference of his hostility to the Arabs as a nation. In explaining the Arabic proverb *akal nin Lukman al Adi*, i.e., more voracious than Lukman al Adi, Hamza's gloss on the saying is this: "They believe that Lukman al Adi used to devour a whole camel for breakfast and at dinner; this belongs to the falsehood of the Arabs." Perhaps the real explanation is that here by "Arab" is meant the Beduin who is looked down upon by the city Arabs as a barbarian. This and another passage of equally trivial import, which have both been borrowed by Maidani, are by no means an index of Hamza's antagonism to Arabs. It is only the consequence of his fearless critical investigation.

To us of real absorbing interest is his observation made in his "Annals" relating to the religious scriptures of the Persians which he clearly denominates *al abesta* and which he only mentions to laugh at. He expressly states that he refers to this Abesta, which of course, is only the Arabic form of Avesta, at the close of his chapter in order that the reader might perceive its fabulous character. The Avesta, in his view is to be looked upon just like the legends of about Lukman Adi or like the anecdotes of the Israelites. This must suffice to show that whatever leanings Hamza had towards Iran were not inspired by an uncritical spirit of vulgar partiality, and hence the value of whatever he has to say regarding the antiquities of Persia. We need not stop to discuss his opinion on the Avesta. We do not know what portion precisely of the Avesta was communicated to him. We do not know if it was the text or the commentary. And may we not doubt if really it was the Avesta or a genuine section of it which was imparted to him; although he tells us in so many words that what he consulted was a rendering of the Avesta: *Karatu fi Kitab nuqala min Kitabihim al-musammun hil Abesta*, i.e., I have read in a book translated from their book entitled the Avesta. As to the contents of the Avesta as analysed by our modern judgment, Max Muller has for all time effectively replied to those who would approach the ancient Oriental scriptures with the spirit of sciolistic levity. A literal word for word

translation of a passage from the Old Testament, or an Upanishad, or a Surat of the Qoran will not read more coherent than any other writing not necessarily religious of the same age and country.

Hamza's book of parallel proverbs commented upon 1800 sayings of the Arabs, and in a sort of appendix to it are discussed critically 500 Arabic words. These sayings are of interest to the anthropologist. The Arabs came into contact with numerous animals of whose nature and characteristics they studied with their keen observation. Hamza observes that just as the standard of comparison among the Arabs was some one or other of the animal kingdom, so was the case also with the Persians. Thus he quotes the wise Persian saying according to which a man was considered fit for military service only when he had the heart of a lion, the energy of a wolf, the strategem of a fox, the patience of a cat, the circumspection of a crow, the watchfulness of a crane, the sense of locality possessed by a dove, and the defensive tactics of a wasp. For a king, in another example, he suggests, are necessary, the intrepidity of a fly, the power of the ant and the craftiness of the woman. When this was reported to a king, relates Hamza from Persian, he was angry, and was pacified when told that a fly is so bold that it settles on the nose of the king, the ant is so strong that it carries a load heavier than itself which is not what an elephant can do, and that a woman is so cunning that she overcomes the most scheming of men. And saturated as his mind was in the popular and proverbial wisdom of the Persians, he quotes Buzurjumihr. The latter was questioned as to how he managed to attain the success he had gained. The sage's reply was, "because I got up earlier than the crow, I was voracious about knowledge like a swine, and because I had the energy of a wolf and the patience of a cat." In illustrating an Arabic maxim which emphasises the sharp hearing faculty of the cock, Hamza refers to Aristotle and proceeds to say "it is therefore that the Iranians also call the cock the son of the Sun." In commenting upon the Arabic proverb "aharr min azanâr" (hotter than fire), Hamza says "this is an Arabic saying which stands in a contrast with an Indian one; since Kalila says, for every fire there is something which can extinguish it. For the natural fire there is water, for the poison there is its antidote, for affliction there is patience, for love there is separation but the fire of enmity can be quenched by nothing." Here the word which we have translated by Indian is *ujam*, since Hamza always uses the word *Purs* in designating the Persians. I need not remind you that Kalila is the Pahlavi incarnation of our old friend Kartika of the Panchatantra which was translated into Pahlavi and subsequently through the Arabic into the numerous languages of Europe and Asia. One more maxim and we will leave Hamza's

museum of popular beliefs crystallised in Persian proverbs. With reference to the Arabic saying *aamar min hayya* (longer-lived than the snake) Hamza instructs us that the Arabs believed that a serpent never dies of itself. It has always to be killed. And he compares the saying with a Persian saying which makes an onager live 80 years, an eagle 300, but the serpent lives for ever unless killed.

The last chapter of the book which is in the shape of an appendix, consists of 30 tales, some of which are animal stories and others illustrating the various superstitious ideas and customs of the ancient Arabs which invests the chapter with a peculiar value for anthropologists. It treats of the evil eye diseases and other calamities, and deals at length with their remedies, antidotes, and exorcisms. Both the contemporary Persians and Arabs were superstitious. And which nation is not? Especially was developed among them the art or science of omens and portents and there is no doubt that the modern *Faal names* all go back to at least the Sasanian era, if not further back. Thanks again, to the Arab custom of embodying in one's own book large citations from one's predecessors, we have, descended to us, a very important substantial chapter on the science of omens and portents as practised in the Sasanian times. We shall have occasion to speak in detail about certain superstitions current which are not yet extinct among us and which some are inclined to trace to Hindu influence. They reveal to us the social and domestic life—the life of the hearth and the market place. And here the Iranian Annalist often excelled his contemporary fraternity and sometimes, modern historians. For some of them had a truer sense of the historical science than could be looked for in those times. If my memory serves me right, it is Dinawari who tells us in his preface that he has aimed at giving a picture of the life of former times rather than record how A killed B and C invaded D, and so on, till history is lost in a chronicle of butchery, perfidy and lust of mankind. The superstitions of the old world Arab was a favourite theme with scholars of Hamza's times, and we have in the second part of the second book of Nuwiri an exhaustive collection of the superstitious notions which correspond with that of Hamza to an extent which would lead one to suppose borrowing on one side or the other. The possibility, however, is not precluded that both Hamza and Nuwiri drew upon a self same anterior source. The last chapter contains the names of 17 various amulets or charms used by the Arabs. Hamza says that each of the 17 was accompanied in former days with a formula of abjuration, though in his time only seven were known. With this seven magical sentences the book closes. As may well be expected Hamza's treatises on proverbs became very popular and soon found many imitators. The

greatest of these imitators who in a manner surpassed Hamza was Maidani. He is the best known representative of the proverbial literature of the Arabs in Europe. We have already observed that this author has entirely incorporated the work of Hamza in his. Maidani, however, makes acknowledgments to Hamza and mentions that he studied and made extracts from fifty works before he set out on his own composition. It is remarkable that Maidani omits all parallels to Persian grammatical usages and proverbs to which Hamza has given a prominent place. This is curious inasmuch as Maidani himself was an Irani by birth and was the author of a dictionary and syntax of the Arabic language treated in Persian.

Unquestionably scholars like Maidani and his compatriots like the famous Qoran annotator Zamakhshari, employed freely the Persian language in their ordinary everyday life intercourse. That is clear from some of the humorous anecdotes which have reached us. Zamakhshari, for example, is reported out of jealousy for Maidani, to have maliciously punned upon his name and called al-Maidani, by a slight change in the spelling of his name, an-Namidani, that is to say, "the ignorant." Similarly al-Maidani corrupted Zamakhshari's name into Zan-Kharid (woman-bought). Thus we see that though the language of books of learning was Arabic authors were thoroughly conversant with Persian, a familiarity which accounts for their friendly intercourse with the Zoroastrians and the information they supply us regarding the latter. And this familiarity with Persian accounts for the fact that Persian phrases, sentences, and sometimes whole verses are to be met with in Arabic histories. Here the copyists ignorant of Persian and conversant only with Arabic have taken strange liberty with their texts. Mathematicians are believed to experience a peculiar delight when they come upon the solution of a problem which has taxed their patience for some time. We should imagine Sachau, Justi (in his *Namen buch*) and Huart to have had like joy when they restored, for instance, Nahr Arda to Mehr Adar, and the senseless maskuriya to mushk daneh (grain of musk). Perhaps the result would be out of proportion to the labour entailed in seeking out Persian passages from voluminous histories such as Tabari's. But those who can afford an intellectual luxury, I would recommend reference to the text published by the Dutch scholar De Goge, Vol. II, page 724, lines 6-12; Vol. III, page 65, lines 14-15; Vol. III, page 921, line 11, &c.

Talking of Arabic historians who have minutely gone into ancient Persian history, I might incidentally remark that not only every Arabic historian feels himself bound to treat generally the Persian history, but he often devotes what may appear dispro-

portionately large amount of his book to matters Persian. Take for example, another Arab historian of whom our community has not made, I fear, sufficient study, namely, Ibn Athir. He refers to Jamshed and describes the king as the first who built bridges. He gives a detailed account of all the Persian dynasties, and as usual, his voluminous chapters on this subject have been borrowed and condensed in a form perhaps much more acceptable to our age than to the leisurely days of yore, by Ibn Qutaiba. Ibn Athir has much to say on the cities founded by Ardashir which differs from the account of Tabari on the one hand, and of Hamza on the other. His treatment of the mazdakite heresy, of the life and career of Zardusht, of Shapur, surnamed Dhul Aktaf, Kaysa Anusharwan, all are there awaiting the enthusiast whose effort should be its own reward, to be studied comparatively with other sources. The mention of Ibn Athir (to whom I was very kindly first directed by the Right Honourable Justice Ameer Ali, then a Judge of the Calcutta High Court) puts me in mind of two other Arabic authors of note who are by no means exceptional, but are, I should say, typical. They evidence the care and attention bestowed upon matters Iranian in general, in the course of set histories or essays or general literature, or poetry by Arabic writers. The Arabs had great fascination for the wisdom of the Persians and their eloquence. They imitated and elaborated the Persian art of letter-writing. Anything, indeed, that they saw in ancient Iranian books which invited their imitation they were fain to hand down to posterity. Look then for a moment into Baihaki. He refers to the wise sayings of Buzerjmeher. He narrates anecdotes about king Kobad. He stops to digress on the battle of Zu-kar. He notes the eloquence of Anushirwan and relates legends, stories, and histories about that king; he refers to wonders of the cities and towns on the Caspian Sea; he tells you stories of Parvez, and semi-legendary accounts of the last of the Sasanians. Again and again, he reverts with admiration to the sagacity and foresight of the kings of Iran as disclosed in their apothegms. He relates the story of Behram and the daughter of the Merzban, the wise snws of Behnmgor, the proverbial wisdom of thr Mobed of Parvez. No Arab writer refers to Buzerjmeher without referring to him again. I am afraid they are not likely to usurp your memory or haunt your dreams. But surely his philosophy must have something in it when it fascinated the nut and out practical genius of the Arabs. There is a lovely story in Baihaki referring to a dispute between the Arabs and the Persians on "Guests and Hospitality," where the Persian is easily assigned the palm. Baihaki quotes in the original Persian some of the proverbs attributed to Anushirwan.

One passage in *Baihaki* it is difficult for me to pass over without comment. He refers to inscriptions on Persian *Naus* or tombs.

It opens up quite a field for search. One will find an efficient stimulant to further study on the subject in the papers read before learned societies by the representative scholar of our community Shams-ul-Ulema Dr. Mōdī. First among Indians, he has already enlightened you on the *astodan*. It deserves to be studied in connection with the Persian mode of the disposal of the dead. These references to Persian things are not to be found in set separate chapters. They are scattered over whole books. Only a patient search of them will throw light on the obscure past of Iran.

Another Arabic book called *Al Mahasin wal adlad* likewise abounds in allusions to the Persian court, its sovereigns, their pomp and circumstance, and a super-abundance of proverbs and sayings, witticisms, jests, superstitions, beliefs, ceremonials, and courtly etiquette of old Iran.

To come back to Hamza whom we have, I fear, left out in the cold in our warm admiration of others, his critical edition of Abu Nuwas analyses those idioms and expressions of the Arabic poets which are direct loans from the Persian, and he everywhere lays his finger on the Persian words which have served him so well in expressing Abu Nuwas's genius. To take a sample of Hamza's Persian philological commentary. This is his derivation of the word "*mahachin*." "This is a name for China. Here the name of the moon and a proper noun are combined, because "*mah*" is the name of the moon and "*chin*" is the term for China. The cause of this combination of the place name and the name of the moon is that the Persians were in the habit of calling "*mah*" moon, every country abounding in vegetation. Hence also the name "*Mah-Sejan*" for "*Sagestan*." This explanation is further amplified in another book as we learn from Yaqut, who quotes the entire passage where also occur "*Mahachin*" and "*Sagestan*" and there the whole passage concludes with the following note: "I assume, though I have not heard it, that the Persians added the term "*mah*" which means "*moon*" to the names of the countries rich in vegetation, because the moon exercises an influence upon moisture and water of which no vegetation is independent."

A partial analysis of the contents of Abu Nuwas's work has been made by Ahlwardt and we may glance at the list of contents. It certainly is not insipid. Chapter I deals with the merits of Abu Nuwas's poetry and his art and treatment of verse. Chapter II is

controversies with poets and incidents in connection with them and with musicians. Then follow the chapters in which the poetry of Abu Nuwas is divided into the headings of panegyric, dirge, approbation, satire, repentance, hunting, wine (*khamriyat*), chapters on Muannathat, and Mudhakkarat which were demanded, possibly as much by the literary mode of the day as by the personal inclination of the poet, and a final chapter on wit and humour. On the eighth chapter containing hunting songs, Hamza notes that 71 of the verses were found by him in some of the manuscripts, while others did not have them, and he is accordingly inclined to look upon them as spurious. The introduction to the ninth chapter contains Hamza's observation that this section abounds in interpolations and he has rejected some verses as not genuine, but that he found it difficult to weed the whole section of the excrescences which were unjustifiably attributed to Abu Nuwas. Further, like a modern critic, Hamza sets apart the verses of Abu Nuwas which have been borrowed from or employed by foregoing poets and groups together such as have served as a model to his successors. His commentary is not confined to the verbal elucidation. He makes wide observations and references to fields other than that of poetry. Sometimes his learned notes stretch into long excurses. However interesting these may be they must yield to your convenience. We have no more time for Hamza this evening.

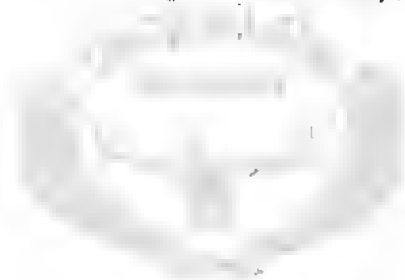
A Meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay was held at the rooms of the Society in the Town Hall on Thursday, the 21st instant, when Rev. Dr. Machichan was in the Chair.

Mr. G. K. Nariman's paper on "Hamza Ispahani, a peep into Arabic Histories on matters Iranian" was read. The following is an outline of Mr. Nariman's Paper :

In the lands of Persia proper, in the tenth Christian Century, modern Persian literature was gradually developing itself into the most powerful and at the same time common medium of literary intercourse for almost all the countries of Asia which were not under Mongolian influence. The Persian spirit proper, which had never died out, now revived and was revived into a life of strength and stamped much of the literary activity finding its expression in Arabic works with its own peculiar imprimature. Among the scholars of the time in whose Arabic works a particular Persian influence is perceptible comes, Hamza-ibn-Hasan-al-Ispahani. Hamza is noted for his excellence as a historian, as the author of the "Annals." The entire text of the

"Annals" was published with a Latin translation by Gottwaldt in 1848, in the city we now know as Petrograd.

The author of the paper cursorily examined Hamza's Historical works and his philological activity, giving a short outline of his life and his literary sources. Hamza lived in the tenth century A. D. He consulted Jews, Greeks, and Zoroastrians for his materials. He consulted Zoroastrian priests, who, among a good deal of what would now be held as fantastic information, gave him much reliable materials on the history of the place-names of Persia. Among some of the works which he consulted, one was the Arabic form of the Khudai Nameh referred to by Firdausi, as one of the sources of his materials for the Shah-nameh. His "Annals" have been utilised by Alberuni. Among some of the interesting things one finds in Hamza's work, the following would specially interest Parsees: References to the old Persian Calendar, the original of the Shah-nameh, the Avesta, Jamshedi Navroz, Khudai Nameh, destruction caused by Alexander the Great by fire and his slaughter of the Mobeds, etc.



ART. XI.—*Harsha and his Times.*

By C. V. VAIDYA.

Read 25th November 1915.

INTRODUCTORY.

The broad facts mentioned in this paper are of course taken from Mr. V. Smith's now standard work on the early history of India. I have, however, studied the materials referred to by him in the original and by their help and the help of the *Harsha-Charita* of Bāna have tried to throw additional light on many incidents in Harsha's life. On two points I have ventured, with some diffidence, to put forward views differing from those of Mr. V. Smith. I have further added a few detailed notes embodying discussion on the most controversial points. And lastly I have attempted to determine, on data supplied by the *Harsha-Charita*, the exact date of the birth of Harsha.

(I) ACCESSION OF HARSHA.

When the seventh century of the Christian era opened, Prabhakaravardhana of Thaneser was undoubtedly the premier king of Northern India. He had defeated and humbled the Huns who, notwithstanding their signal defeat in the previous century by the combined forces of India, led by Yasodharma of Malwa and Baladitya of Magadha, were still a powerful people in the Punjab and had their kingdoms at Gandhara or Peshawar and at Sakala or Sialkot still in existence. He had defeated the ruling king of Sind and of Gurjara, the chief state in Rajputana, and had also conquered the kings ruling in Malwa and Gujarat at the close of the sixth century.¹ In the eastern portion of Northern India the Maukharis of Kannauj held sway very probably as far east as the Brahmaputra called Lauhitya in ancient days and southwards as far as the Vindhya range which extends across India into Magadha and they were connected with him by marriage, his daughter Rajyashri being married to Grahavarma of Kannauj. Thus Prabhakaravardhana of Thaneser was in 605 A. D. by far the most powerful king in Hindustan and he was well justified in assuming the title of Maharajadhiraja Paramabhattacharya, whereas his

¹ See हर्षचरितकिसरा सिन्धुराजज्वरो गुर्जरप्रजगर्गः गन्धिराधपेक्षास्तज्वरः लटपाटव पाटञ्चरा मालवलक्ष्मीलतापरशुः I H. C., p. 174.

father and grandfather were simply Maharajas, as the seal of Harsha found at Sonpat shows.

But within a year there was a sudden change in the fortunes of Prabhakaravardhana though not of his people or country. The Huns suddenly invaded the northern boundaries of his dominions and he had time only to send his elder son Rajyavardhana to oppose and chastise them. The Maukharis of Kanauj also appear to have fought with the Huns often, probably in conjunction with the forces of Thanaser⁴ but there was no time to call in their aid. Rajyavardhana, the elder son of Prabhakara, was a youthful prince of about nineteen or twenty at this time and must probably have been anxious to save his father the trouble of proceeding against the Huns in person, which he had often done before. Rajyavardhana proceeded with all haste towards the Huns of the Punjab, and his younger brother, Harsha, followed him as a matter of exercise and hunted in the jungles at the foot of the Himalayas. Rajyavardhana decisively defeated the Huns and drove them away and came back in triumph to Thanaser only to find his capital immersed in grief by the sudden death of his father. Harsha had already returned from his hunting trip on hearing of his father's sudden illness and had been by his bed-side at the time of his death. His mother Yasomati with more than Rajput instinct had preceded her husband by burning herself on a pyre in spite of the implorations of Harsha. Thus, by a sudden turn of the wheel of fortune, Rajyavardhana found himself raised to the throne of Thanaser though rendered inconsolable by the sudden demise of both his parents. The Buddhist Rajya thought of retiring in favour of the astounded Harsha; but all such thoughts were given up when just at that moment a messenger arrived with news of the strangest character. The Guptas of Malwa

⁴ Gupta inscriptions No. 52. *Corpus Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 231—

परमादित्य भक्तो महाराज श्री राज्यवर्धनस्तस्य पुत्रो परमादित्यभक्तो महाराज श्री आदित्यवर्धनस्तस्य पुत्रः श्री महासेनायुधोदयानुव्रतः सर्व वर्णाश्रमध्यवस्थापन प्रवृत्तः श्री परमादित्यभक्तो परम भद्रारक महाराजाधिराज श्री प्रभाकरवर्धनस्तस्यपुत्रः श्रीमन्मयोश्रीमन्मयाप्रसन्नः परम सौम्यः (परम भद्रारक) महाराजाधिराज श्री राज्यवर्धनस्तस्यानुजः महादेया यशोमत्यानुव्रतः (परम भद्रारकम्) दाराजा (धि) राज श्री हर्षवर्धनः

⁴ See Apsara Inscription of Adityasena to be named more particularly to note. The words important here are श्री भौखरेः समितिषूद्धसङ्गसैन्या वृगदृढा विघटयन्नुवारणाम् । Translated as follows—"Breaking up the proudly stepping array of elephants belonging to the Maukhari which had thrown aloft in battle the troops of the Huns" (page 206). Thus the Maukharis of Kanauj seem to have had fights with the Huns of the Punjab and must be supposed to be allied in these conflicts with the troops of Thanaser whose country intervened between Kanauj and the country of the Huns.

seem to have been the hereditary enemies of the Maukharis of Kanauj.¹ When news spread abroad, and in ancient India, in spite of the absence of railways and telegraphs, news always spread very quickly, that Prabhākara was dead and that his son Rajya had gone on an expedition against the Huns, Deva Gupta of Malwa thought it an opportune moment to attack the young king Grahavarman of Kanauj. He suddenly marched on that city, killed Grahavarman in a surprise attack and taking his queen Rajyashri a prisoner, inhumanly confined her like an ordinary delinquent, loaded with iron fetters, in a prison. He thought himself now strong enough to invade the kingdom of Thanester itself and commenced his march towards its capital, though his ally and friend Sasanka Gupta of Karnasavarna or Bengal, who had already marched to his assistance, had not yet arrived. It is not difficult to understand that the Guptas of Bengal like the Guptas of Malwa were smarting under the supremacy of the Maukharis of Kanauj, who had supplanted the power of the imperial Guptas and established their sway up to the Brahmaputra, and were only waiting for an opportunity to wreak their vengeance on them. It is also possible to conceive that the two Guptas were leagued against Thanester and Kanauj, because the kings of the latter two were now Buddhists. No doubt religious differences, in ancient India, at least in the seventh century, were not of much animosity but still such differences might accentuate political enmities already existing and the kings of Bengal and Malwa

¹ The Aphsad inscription above mentioned which gives the genealogy of the later Guptas of Magadha as they are called is of great importance to us in this history. Adityasena, whose inscription it is, probably ruled in Magadha or some country near as this inscription along with others of his was found there. But no country is mentioned either of the original ancestor as usual or of any descendant in any inscription. The genealogy given in this Aphsad inscription is as follows:—

1. Krishna Gupta; 2. Harsha Gupta; 3. Kumar Gupta who fought with Ishvaravarana probably a Maukhari; 4. Damodara Gupta who was killed in a fight with Maukhari (race only mentioned यो मौखरेः सपितृपुत्र हणसेन्या, etc.); 5. Mahasena Gupta who also fought with one Susthitavarana, also a Maukhari probably; (श्रीमत्सुस्थित वर्म युद्ध विजय श्लाघा पदाङ्कं मुहुर्यस्यायापि विबुध कुन्दकुमुदभञ्जनाच्छ हासावतम् । लाहित्यस्य तटेषु शीतल तलेषूत्कुलनागदुमच्छाया मुग विबुध सिदमिधुनैः स्कीनं यशो गीयते); 6. Madhava Gupta who was probably with Harsha for his panegyric has a line श्रीहर्षदेव निजसंगम वाद्ययत्न although not finished and therefore somewhat doubtful; and 7. Adityasena Gupta, the liverier and his queen Khandavi. It appears plain from this that three ancestors of Madhava Gupta, a contemporary of Harsha, fought with three generations of the Maukharis. The enmity of the Guptas and the Maukharis seems thus to have been hereditary and it is probably this enmity which explains the sudden attack on Kanauj by a Deva Gupta probably belonging to this Gupta family. The Maukharis seem to have generally had the upperhand as appears from H. C. (Bomb.), p. 252. तिमिरै स्तितस्कारोदेः यो मौखराणां मालवैः परिभवः Who Deva Gupta was we will try to explain in a special note.

might have been united in harbouring a wish to run down Grahavarma of Kanauj and Rajyavardhana of Thanesar who were also both young and inexperienced at this time.

Such was the grave news which reached Rajya, just raised to the throne of Thanesar and not yet rested from his fight with the Huns. He was, however, a valiant and an undaunted warrior. Setting his grief aside he started immediately, with a view to speedily reach his enemy, with a mobile force of 10,000 horse under the command of his trusted general, Bhandi, who was his compeer and cousin, being the son of his maternal uncle. In spite of entreaties he left Harsha, his younger brother behind at Thanesar both as a matter of convenience and precaution. He surprised his enemy Deva Gupta by the suddenness of his movement and totally defeated him, the latter being probably killed in action. He marched on to the relief of Kanauj and met Sasanka of Bengal on the way. The wheel of Destiny which was evidently working from the first in favour of Harsha now had a third turn and engulfed Rajya in its working. Sasanka was unequal to face Rajya and resolved to rid himself of his enemy by a bold stroke of treachery. He offered his submission to the youthful king of Thanesar and promised to give his daughter in marriage to him in atonement for his fault¹. Such was the usual Kshatriya fashion to patch up differences between contending kings. Rajyavardhana, straight and confiding, without arms and with a few followers only, went to the camp of Sasanka and while at a feast was treacherously murdered by that unscrupulous king. He, then, without attempting to try conclusions with Rajya's army commanded by Bhandi, as suddenly marched back from Kanauj to his kingdom as he had marched to it; while a Gupta chief who was in charge of the city of Kanauj quietly released Rajyashri from confinement² and sent her away, in order probably to divert the attention of Bhandi.

Such were the strange, yet not improbable, circumstances which, within a few months of the year 606 A. D. (about May), placed Harsha on the throne of Thanesar at the early age of 16³. They have been very

¹ The commentator on Harsha-Charita makes this suggestion which is very likely.

नथादि तेन शशाङ्केन विश्वासार्थं कन्यायदानमुपवा प्रलोभितो राज्यवर्धनः स्वमेहे सानुचरे भुञ्जान एव ह्यदना व्यापादितः ॥ H. C., p. 241.

कायकुञ्जादौडसधर्मगुप्तितो गुननाम्ना कुलपुत्रेण निष्कासनं निर्मताया राज्यवर्धन मरण पत्रेण...सर्वमधुनोत्परेजनतः ॥ H. C., page 334.

³ From the Harsha-Charita some idea may be formed of the probable and exact age of Harsha. We have added a note trying to fix his exact age. But it may be noted here that Rajya appears from Harsha-Charita to have been three years older than Harsha and Harsha about two years older than Rajyashri. When Kumara and Madhava were given to them as

eloquently related by Bana, the most famous prose writer of Sanskrit literature, who was Harsha's contemporary and protegee, and they are supported to a considerable extent by the account of Hiuen Tsing, the most famous and trustworthy traveller of China who was honoured for his Buddhist learning and piety by Harsha. Young as he was, Harsha was a man of extraordinary courage, ability and good fortune like his remote successor Akbar who fought his first battle at 14, ascended the throne of Dehli a few months later and assumed absolute power at 18. He resolved at once on punishing the dastardly Gupta of Bengal and on rescuing the unfortunate queen of Kanauj. He harnessed his army of elephants, horses and men with a view not only to conquer Bengal but the whole of India, for he well surmised that the whole country would be arrayed against him, unfriended and inexperienced as he apparently was. To quote the poetic expression of Bana he therefore asked his foreign secretary to write to all the kings of India to *proffer either battle or submission*. He started immediately on this *Digvijaya* or expedition for the conquest of the four quarters. His first camp was pitched on the banks of the Sarasvatī, only a few miles east of Thanesar and the Patel or headman of the village came forward to receive his king at this first halting place and offered the customary *nissar* of a gold coin marked with a bull and specially struck a new for the occasion, on the palm of his hand. Harsha, while picking up the coin, accidentally let it go and it fell on the muddy bank of the Sarasvatī imprinting the soft soil with its impression. Persons present stood aghast at this ill omen happening at the very outset of his march for *Digvijaya*, but Harsha, with undimmed courage and wit, remarked that it was a good augury it plainly indicated that the earth would soon be stamped with the sign of his sovereignty. To a man of such strength and presence of mind no advice was needed, yet his minister had implored him to guard himself against possible treachery giving him a score of examples how in past times kings had been murdered by various devices by wily persons, both male and female. Thankfully accepting his minister's advice and entrusting his kingdom to the proper persons, Harsha had set forth on his conquering expedition and now marched towards Kanauj. He met Bhandi on the way and with tears in his eyes heard from him again the story of Rajya's murder. He saw the army of elephants captured from the defeated king of Malwa as also the vast treasure secured and the family and courtiers of the king all put in chains in return for his savage treatment of Rajyashri. He learned,

companions Kumara is said to be 18 years of age. अष्टादशवर्षवयसं (H.G., p. 166). Rajyashri was married about a year after this and Prabhakara's death might have happened a year later. If we take Rajya to be about the same age as Kumara Rajya seems at this time to be about 19 years of age and Harsha about 16 when he came to the throne of Thanesar.

however, from Bhandi that Rajyashri had been let off from confinement, that she had taken refuge in the jungles of the Vindhya and that in spite of efforts made, her whereabouts were not still ascertained. In the impetuosity of his affection for Rajyashri, Harsha had his army halt on the banks of the Ganges and with a select retinue started off himself in search of his sister. He came by chance to the hermitage of one Divakarmitra, a Buddhist recluse, who turned out to be a close friend of his brother-in-law, Grahavarma. From one of his disciples he heard that a lady in affliction was going to burn herself on a pyre just in the neighbourhood and with this man's aid Harsha reached in time to save the queen of Kanauj, who, unable to bear her calamities, was going thus to put an end to her life. But the calamities of both the brother and the sister were now at an end, and they joyfully went to take leave of Divakarmitra. Rajyashri was so impressed with the sanctity and quiet of the Ashrama of the Buddhist hermit, her husband's friend, that she implored her brother to permit her to turn a Buddhist nun. But Harsha and Divakarmitra both dissuaded her, Harsha prophetically saying that he and she would both together take the holy order when their life's business was done. Harsha then returned with his sister Rajyashri to his camp on the bank of the Ganges.

Here ends the romantic, but not unauthentic story of Harsha and Rajyashri given in the *Harsha-Charita* of Banu, who to the great regret of the historian and the general reader, unaccountably leaves off the story in the middle. But it is of great help to us in understanding the account recorded by Hiuen Tsang. Hiuen Tsang's account has been to my mind misunderstood. It plainly seems that that account relates to what happened subsequently at Kanauj and does not relate to what had already happened at Thanaser. Harsha probably was the sole remnant in the family of the kings of Thanaser, and his brother Rajya, young as he was, had left no issue. Rajya was probably not even married.¹ Harsha, therefore, became king of Thanaser at once and without any doubt. The doubts entertained by Harsha as to whether he should be king or not as related by Hiuen Tsang must be referred to his doubts as to whether he should be king of Kanauj. The whole story becomes intelligible, if we connect these doubts with the kingdom of Kanauj. When Harsha and Rajyashri reached Kanauj, there must have been some anxious deliberation there as to the disposal of that kingdom. From the *Harsha-Charita* Grahavarma appears to have been the eldest son of his father Avantivarman.² Should Rajyashri be set aside and consigned to obscurity and some younger heir of

¹ See H. C., p. 253. कलत्रं रक्षत्विति श्रीस्ते निर्भिरोऽ धिवसति ।

See H. C., p. 200. अश्वन्तिवर्मणः सूनुरप्यजो महवर्मा.

Avantivarman be raised to the throne? Harsha who had just brought the afflicted Rajyashri back from a pyre and a hermitage was unwilling to do so. He was also unwilling to seize the kingdom for himself. Grahavarman was a Buddhist and presumably Rajyashri also. Harsha, too, owing to his great and sudden afflictions in early age had Buddhistic inclinations though he was a declared devotee of Shiva.¹ It was thus naturally and perhaps astutely decided, that the difficulty should be solved by a reference to the Bodhisatva Avalokitesvara whose temple was outside the city of Kanauj, and the Bodhisatva solved the difficulty in a congenial manner. Rajyashri, it was ordained, should rule and Harsha should be her lieutenant. He should not ascend the throne nor take the title of the king of Kanauj but should style himself only Rajaputra Siladitya. According to the Chinese work, Fang Chih, Harsha henceforward "administered the kingdom in conjunction with his widowed sister" (page 338, V. Smith's *E. History*, 3rd edition). To my mind this explanation of the apparent hesitation of Harsha is simple and plain and it also explains why after Harsha's death there was anarchy and disorder again in the kingdom of Kanauj as will be related hereafter. At this stage it is difficult to understand how historians came to confound Thanaser and Kanauj² and how it is for a moment entertained that the nobles of Thanaser hesitated to offer their allegiance to Harsha. The nobles of Thanaser, as related by Bana, had at once acclaimed him king of Thanaser and it was only at Kanauj where he arrived in his conquering expedition with his widowed beloved sister Rajyashri that doubts arose with regard to the succession to the throne of that kingdom—doubts which were finally removed as aforesaid. Harsha very naturally hereafter gave up residence at Thanaser and made Kanauj his capital which he ruled in conjunction with his sister. Between the two the fondest attachment subsisted throughout their reign. Their Buddhistic tendencies united

¹ The Banskhara inscription of the 9th year of his reign declares Harsha to be Parama Mahaveera still. Bana also relates that when Harsha started on his Digvijaya from Thanaser, he first worshipped the god Mahaveera, see *विरचय्य परम भक्त्या भगवतो*

नीललोहितस्याचार्यम् || H. C., page 273.

² Probably the Records mixed up the two kingdoms and hence the misunderstanding. The words in the Records are: "The statesmen of KANAUJ, on the advice of their lending man Kani invited Harshavardhana, the younger brother of the murdered king, to become their sovereign. He seemed unwilling and made excuses. He then determined to take the advice of Avalokitesvara," &c. I think Bana's account and this must be put together and Harsha's unwillingness to take up the kingdom of Kanauj should be explained as above. It is also probable that Mr. Vincent Smith's unwillingness to accept Kanauj as the capital of the Maukharis Grahavarman has increased the difficulty. But the fact that the Maukharis ruled at Kanauj cannot, as shown in a note, be denied. The Imperial Gazetteer, too, under Kanauj unreservedly accepts the theory that the Maukharis ruled at Kanauj before Harsha.

them in religious sentiment also and it appears that during their long reign nothing happened to mar their amicable relations.

NOTES.

I.—THE MAUKHARIS OF KANAUJ.

Corpus Inscriptionum, Vol. III, Asirgad Seal, No. 47 (page 219), gives us a seal inscription of Śaravarmā and this contains, to my view, the genealogy of the kings of Kanauj. Unfortunately in these records the recorders never trouble themselves to mention the kingdom where a particular king ruled. Perhaps they omit the name of the kingdom because they think it so well known, but this omission causes us at this distance of time a great deal of doubt and difficulty. It is from the Harsha-Charita that we know that the Maukharis ruled in Kanauj; for Grahavarmā came from there and was killed there and Rājyashri was also imprisoned there. Well, this seal gives the following genealogy:—1. Maharaja Harivarman; 2. Maharaja Adityavarmā; 3. Maharaja Śivaravarma, born of Harsha Gupta; 4. *Maharajadhiraja Śanavarmā*, born of Upagupta; 5. *Parama Mahesvara Maharajadhiraja Śaravarma* Maukhari. This line of the seal may be continued by the help of the Apsad inscription of the Guptas (p. 203, Corp. Ins., Vol. III); 6. Sūsthitavarmā, and by the aid of the Deo Barnak inscription (p. 217 ditto); 7. Avantivarma. This Deo Barnak inscription is of one Jivita Gupta and mentions the confirmation of the grant of the village of Varunika (now Deo Barnak), a village about 25 miles south-west of Arrah, the chief town of the Shahabad district of Bengal, to a sun-worshipper, first made by Bālāditya and subsequently confirmed by Śaravarmā and again by Avantivarmā, both styled Paramesvara. These two are evidently the kings of the Maukhari line of Kanauj. We may by the help of these inscriptions, give the Maukhari line of kings with the Gupta line as follows:—

The Maukharis.	The Guptas.
1. Harivarman.	1. Krishna Gupta.
2. Adityavarmā, married Harsha Gupta.	2. Harsha Gupta.
3. Śivaravarmā, married Upagupta.	3. Jivita Gupta.
4. Śanavarmā.	4. Kumara Gupta, fought with Śanavarmā.
5. Śaravarmā Maukhari.	5. Damodara Gupta, killed in fight with Maukhari.
6. Sūsthitavarmā.	6. Mahasena Gupta, fought with Sūsthitā.
7. Avantivarmā.	
8. Grahavarmā.	7. Madhava Gupta.

Three generations of the Guptas Kumara, Damodara and Mahasena are explicitly said in the Apsad inscription to have fought with three generations of the Maukharis, Isana, Sarva and Susthita; the first two names of which we find in the Ashirgad seal inscription of Sarva also. Adityavarma is said, in the seal, to have married Harsha Gupta and she appears to have been a sister of the contemporaneous Harsha Gupta. Mahasena Gupta must be taken to have lived long or Susthita to have a short reign, hence his generation covers two of the Varmas which is not improbable, Grahavarma and Madhava Gupta, son of Mahasena being contemporaneous with and almost of the same age as Harsha.

It is possible to deduce a few salient facts of the history of this line of Maukhari kings from these three records, namely the Apsad inscription, the Ashirgad seal and the Deo Barnak inscription (Corp. Ins., Vol. III, Nos. 42, 47 and 46). In the first place this line of kings became powerful in the days of Isanavarma who for the first time is called Maharajadhiraja, the three before him being called Maharajas only in the Ashirgad seal. The seal assigns the title Maukhari for the first time to his son Sarvavarma.* In the Apsad inscription also while his father Isanavarma is mentioned by name, his son is called by the simple name of Maukhari. Thus Sarvavarma appears to have been a greater king than his father and he and probably his father also fought with the Huns. His dominions or rather overlordship extended south upto Ashirgad where his seal is discovered and also east as far as Bengal where as stated in the Deo Barnak inscription he confirms a grant given by Baladitya of Magadha to a sun-temple which indicates that the dominion of Baladitya's successors had been substituted by that of Sarvavarma of Kanauj. The same grant is confirmed by the grandson of Sarvavarma named Avantivarma, the father of Grahavarma, brother-in-law of Harsha.

We have now to consider the inscriptions of the Maukhari king, named Anantavarma given in Corp. Ins., Vol. III. In these the pedigree given extends only over three names and these are Yajnavarma, Sardulavarma and Anantavarma. These seem to be a branch of the same family, for they call themselves Maukharis. But they are distinct from the Kanauj family and are of much less importance. For the greatest of the three Sardula is no more than a Mahasamanta (see Corp. Ins., Vol. III, No. 48: श्री शार्दूल इति प्रविष्टिन यशः सामन्तचूडामणिः) while Sarvavarma and Isanavarma are styled in the seal Maharajadhiraja (see No. 47 *ibid*). These Maukharis appear to be a later branch established in the

* This title may be explained by supposing that the Maukharis of Kanauj were the leading Kshatriyas of Northern India; see H. C., p. 200. सत्सर्वपुत्र्येषु वररुणेषु अभिजनमेषामिष्यन्ते

श्रीमन्तः । धरणीधराणां च भूमः सुभिः स्थितो सकलमुबननमस्कृतो मोखरो वंशः ॥

Gaya district, where their inscriptions have been found and probably belong to a date later than that of Harsha.

2.—DEVAGUPTA OF MALAVA.

We have next to determine who Deva Gupta or rather the Malava king was who attacked Grahavarma of Kanauj and who was killed in the battle with Rajya. The difficulties in this connection are numerous and troublesome. In the first place Banu in the Harsha Charita distinctly says that it was a king of Malava who attacked Kanauj: देवो महर्षी दुरात्मना मालवराजेन जीवलोकं त्यजितः (H. C., p. 251); also कालावसाने गडनिचलो-कृतचरणयुगले सकलमालवराजलोकम् (H. C., p. 303). Clearly therefore a king of Malava attacked Grahavarma, and Bhandi showed Harsha the people of that Malava king enchained (the king himself being probably killed) after his defeat by Rajya. Now in the Madhubani inscription of Harsha, Rajya is said to have punished kings like Deva Gupta. Rajya in his short life fought only two battles, one with the Huns and the other with the Malava king who had murdered Grahavarma. Putting the two together the name of this Malava King, therefore, was clearly Deva Gupta. Now in the Apsid inscription above mentioned, we have the names of members of a Gupta family who were the hereditary enemies of the Varmas of Kanauj and it contains also the name of Madhava, the companion of Harsha. This family may, therefore, be taken to be the family of the Guptas of Malava though in this inscription the country of the Guptas is not mentioned, nor unfortunately the name of Deva Gupta. And we may accept the ingenious guess made by Dr. Hoernle (R. A. S. 1904) that Deva Gupta was Madhava's brother, with some changes to be noted further on.

The fact is there is no other explanation possible. The Harsha-Charita plainly states that the two princes, Kumara and Madhava, both called Guptas who were given by Prabhakaravardhana to his sons, Rajya and Harsha, to be their companions were मालवराजपुत्रौ or sons of the king of Malava. This Madhava Gupta who was the companion of Harsha is very probably the Madhava Gupta of the Apsid inscription for he is expressly described there to be desirous of the company of Harsha. (श्रीहर्षदेविजयमगमवांछयाच.) Moreover from the description of Madhava as a tall imposing fair young man, given by Banu in the Harsha-Charita in detail differing from that of Kumara one is inclined to infer that Banu had in his mind the fact that this Madhava subsequently became a well-known king. But a difficulty presents itself here, namely, how could the king of Malava attack Grahavarma, while the king's own brothers were the

* If we take this, to mean "fight" with Harsha, he is still Harsha's contemporary.

attendants of Rajya and Harsha, the brothers-in-law of Grahavarma? The guess of Dr. Hoernle seems to be acceptable that they were on inimical terms and it may be supplemented by the suggestion that Kumara and Madhava were not merely the younger brothers of Deva Gupta, but were his half-brothers or sons by another wife of Mahasena Gupta. There is always ill-feeling even in ordinary families between half-brothers, and in royal families in India such brothers are usually at deadly enmity. By this suggestion is also removed the difficulty of explaining why the sons of a king were given as companions of the sons of another king. Kumara and Madhava had no right to the throne being younger sons and their presence in Malwa was not very palatable to the eldest son and heir-apparent Deva Gupta who was most likely an impetuous man. In fine the story of the Malavaraja in connection with Harsha may be told thus. A Gupta family starting from Krishn Gupta reigned at Ujjain or some other place in Malwa and were the hereditary enemies of the Maukharis of Kanauj. They were connected by marriage with the Vardhana family of Thaneser, Prabhakaravardhana's mother Mahasena Gupta (mentioned in the Simpat seal of Harsha) being a sister of Mahasena Gupta of Malwa. The last had a long reign and had an eldest son Deva Gupta by one wife and two younger sons Kumara and Madhava by another wife. These he sent to his sister's son Prabhakara to seek their fortune. Mahasena Gupta died a little before Prabhakara and Deva Gupta became king of Malwa. When Prabhakara died suddenly and Rajya and Harsha and Grahavarma were left young and inexperienced, Deva Gupta, as usual, with his family suddenly attacked Grahavarma and killed him, Rajya with Bhandi and Kumara, half-brother of Deva Gupta, attacked, Deva Gupta and defeated him and seized all his treasure and put his men and family in chains for his dastardly treatment of Rajyashri. Rajya and Kumara both being subsequently killed treacherously by Sasanka, Harsha became King of Thaneser and came and took from Bhandi the charge of the booty and prisoners and the army of elephants of the Malwa king. It seems probable that for the great crime of Deva Gupta the kingdom of Malwa was seized by Harsha for a time at least and not given to Madhava to whom it properly belonged. It appears so clear from the Harsha-Charita where Bana says : अयास्यच्च तत्सर्वमवनिषति : स्वाकर्तु यथाधिकारमादिदेशाव्यक्षन् which means that the booty including the throne or सिंहासन was taken possession of by Harsha and handed over to his officers and not to Madhava. Madhava must have been retained by Harsha as his companion during all the time he conquered Northern India and founded his empire. Subsequently as Emperor Harsha must have put Madhava in possession of some eastern kingdom on the bank of the

Ganges for the Aphasad inscription of Adityasena and other inscriptions seem to indicate that Adityasena's country lay in Bengal. Since this family in Bengal had nothing to do with Deva Gupta his name does not appear in the genealogy of Adityasena. For, as Madhava did not succeed to Deva Gupta, his half-brother, at all, Deva Gupta's name has properly been omitted. In the kingdom of Ujjain when Hiuen Tsang visited it there was a Brahmin king ruling. This Brahmin king may either have seated himself on the vacant throne, being tolerated by Harsha, or he may even have been appointed by Harsha the Emperor as Matrīgupta was appointed to Kashmir by Yasodharma Vikramaditya of the Mandore inscription. Thus the difficulty created by the mention of a Brahmin king in Ujjain by Hiuen Tsang is also removed and reconciled with the story of the Harsha-Charita. Or we may take Deva Gupta's capital to be some other town like Vidisa which is also a portion of Malwa. Both Bana and Hiuen Tsang are contemporary and reliable narrators and their statements can only be reconciled in this way.

The line of Malava kings so to say became extinct with Deva Gupta, and the line of the Guptas of Magadha, as the Cor. Ins., Vol. III styles it, continued in the person of Madhava. We may give the two lines as follows from the Aphasad and other inscriptions given in this volume and even assign some dates with corroboration, as one inscription contains a date 66, presumably of the Harsha Era. We give the Thanesar and Kanauj lines also for comparison.

Thanesar. (Sonpat seal No. 32).	Malwa. (Aphasad inscription and Deo Barnak inscription)	Kanauj. (Aphasad inscription and Asirgad seal)
	1 Krishna Gupta	
	2 Harsha Gupta	
	3 Jivita Gupta fights with	1 Isvaravarma
1 Rajyavardhana	4 Kamara Gupta	2 Isanavarma
2 Adityavardhana	5 Damodara Gupta	3 Sarvavarma
m. Mahasena Gupta	6 Mahasena Gupta	4 Susthitavarma
3 Prabhakaravardhana		5 Avantivarman
	Deva Gupta killed 606 A. D. (Malava kingdom line closed)	6 Grahavarman killed 606 A.D.
Rajyavar- dhana killed 606 A.D.		
Harsha- vardhana King 606 A.D.		
	Madhava Gupta of Magadha	
	Adityasena A. D. 672	
	Deva Gupta	
	Vishnu Gupta	
	Jivita Gupta	

Corpus Ins., Vol. III, plate No. 42, mentions the erection of an image at Nālandā in the reign of Adityasena in the year 66 (of Harsha Era presumably) i.e., 672 A.D., which is not inconsistent with the story we have sketched above. Madhava may either be supposed to have come to power and established himself in Maghada after Harsha's death or during his lifetime as stated before.

The theory of Dr. Hoernle about Deva Gupta is objected to by Pandurang Shastri Parakhi in his Marathi Life of Harsha. He thinks that Mahasena Gupta could not have been the sister of Mahasena Gupta as in that case the sons of the latter Kumara and Madhava became the brothers of Prabhakaravardhana being his maternal uncle's sons and therefore uncles of Rajya and Harsha who could not therefore have bowed to them when introduced, as stated by Bana. But this is not correct. Although seniors, even a king's sons, when they come in a subordinate position, have to bow to the master king. The master king and his sons are above all relations in point of etiquette. I have seen even a grand-father bow to his daughter's son, the latter being the king. Secondly, Parakhi does not believe that Deva Gupta was Mahasena Gupta's son, but there can be no other person (if we bear in mind the Madhuban inscription of Harsha), intended by Bana when he says that it was a Malava Raja who attacked Grahavarma. Thirdly, Mr. Vincent Smith also does not accept Dr. Hoernle's theory as a whole and especially that part of it which brings in Siladitya of Malwa mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. This last portion of Dr. Hoernle's theory, no doubt, has to be abandoned as I shall show later on. In fact, Siladitya cannot come in to attack Grahavarma, for his Malwa would be different from the Malwa of Deva Gupta. Bana must be taken to use the word Malava in one sense only though the Malava of Hiuen Tsiang and the Malava of Bana may be taken to be different. What I mean is this: Bana says that Kumara and Madhava were the sons of a Malava king (मालवराजपुत्रौ) and that Grahavarma was killed by मालवराज or king of Malava who was himself subsequently defeated by Rajya in battle. In these two statements of Bana Malava must mean the same kingdom and not different kingdoms as Dr. Hoernle takes by introducing Siladitya along with Deva Gupta. Bana's statements clearly require that Kumara and Madhava were brothers of Deva Gupta or that they belonged to the same kingdom, which may be taken to be Ujjain or some other town in eastern Malwa. Thus, we have to give up that part of Dr. Hoernle's theory which brings in Siladitya. We have also to give up the further portion of his theory which makes Yasovati (Queen of Prabhakaravardhana), a sister of

Śilāditya and daughter of Yaśodharma. In the first place we find names of a sister and brother have some portion in common but not of a father and daughter. And, secondly and more particularly when Yaśomati's brother is described by Bana as bringing Bhaudī to Trabhakara he simply says यशोमत्या भ्राता. Had he been a king and a king of so great a fame at Śilāditya, Bana the contemporary of Harsha would certainly have mentioned the name of the king or at least affixed some epithet indicating his high position. It appears from this plain reference that Yaśomati was not the daughter of a great king but some Samanta king and hence her brother is mentioned without any distinction.* Moreover from Yaśomati's lamentation at the time of burning herself (in 606 A.D.) her father and mother appear to have been then still alive; see H. C., page 230. Under this view, therefore, Bhaudī is not the son of a great king, but a mere Samanta and expects not to rise to a higher position than that of a Commander-in-Chief. And further we are not reduced to the necessity of believing that he fought against his own father Śilāditya and had the hardihood or inhumanity to present to Harsha the family and dependents enchained, and the treasures and even the throne of his own father without any feeling. I think this part of Dr. Hoernle's theory must also be abandoned for we avoid a great many difficulties by making Yaśomati not the sister of Śilāditya of Malava but of some Samanta ruler. His theory however that Deva Gupta was a brother of Kumara and Madhava seems to me to be acceptable and explains Bana's references properly as shown above.

3.—MR. VINCENT SMITH ON THE MAUKHARIS AND THE GUPTAS.

At page 312 (3rd edn.) of his early history of India Mr. Vincent Smith observes: "These 'later Guptas of Magadha,' as they are called by Archaeologists shared the rule of that province with another dynasty of Rajas who had names ending in 'Varman' and belonged to a clan called Maukharī. The territorial division between the two dynasties cannot be defined precisely. Their relations with one another were sometimes friendly and sometimes hostile, but the few details known are of little importance." Now it is clear from the above that Mr. V. Smith refers to the Maukharis and the Guptas discussed in the above two notes. It seems however clear to me that the Maukharis originally belonged to Kanauj. That their kingdom was Kanauj is

* Even if the epithet महाभक्तुलोत्तरा applied to यशोमती Bana III, C., p. 1201 be interpreted literally, this brother who brought Bhaudī must be taken to be a younger brother: not entitled to royal epithets. His plain mention requires this as also his handing over his son to seek his fortune.

certain from the statements of Bāna. Grahavarma was attacked and killed there. His father was Avantivarma from Bāna's statement. This Avantivarman was a grandson of Sarvavarmā as seems very probable from the Deo Barnak inscription. The seal of Sarvavarmā found at Asirgad gives the genealogy of this line of kings which has been given above. These Maukharī kings thus ruled at Kanauj and held extensive sway. The description of Bāna धर्माधराणां भूतन्मूर्ध्नि स्थितोपि सकलभुवननमस्कृतो मौखरो वंशः १ as also तिमिरैस्तिरस्कृतो रवेः यो मौखराणां मालवैः परिमवः १ (H. C. pp. 200 and 252) seems to indicate that the Maukharis of Kanauj were a powerful family; and the seal found at Asirgad and the inscriptions found at Jaunpur and Deo Barnak show that they held sway over a large extent of territory southwards upto the Vindhya, northwards upto Jaunpur, and eastwards upto the Brahmaputra. In fact I would give the political history of India in the latter half of the sixth century as follows:—When the Gupta line came to an end in 538 A. D. with Kumāra Gupta II (V. Smith, page 132 of 3rd edition), many of their provinces came under the sway of the Maukharis of Kanauj. With the overthrow of the Huns by a confederacy led by Yaśodharman and Baladitya several new kingdoms came into importance in different parts of the Gupta empire and among them the Vardhanas of Thanesar and the Maukharis of Kanauj who had also their share of the fights with the Huns were the two prominent. The latter extended their sway north, south and east and for a time the eastern provinces were under their direct sway. We can only thus explain the confirmation of the grant at Deo Barnak made originally by Baladitya, by Sarvavarmā and again by Avantivarman. It was after Harsha's death that this sway of the Maukharis of Kanauj in Bengal was substituted by that of the later Guptas of Magadha as they are called by Archaeologists. This part of my theory about the Maukharis seems to me to be well founded and strong. As to my surmise that the later Gupta line originally came from Malwa, I cannot speak with the same certainty. If Madhava of the Apsad inscription is a brother of Devagupta, then he came undoubtedly from Malwa. But if not we may treat his line as ruling from before in some portion of Magadha. All the same Devagupta who killed Grahavarman and who was killed by Rajya certainly belongs to Malwa. We may well imagine that a Gupta line set itself up in Malwa after the disruption of the Gupta empire and had always fought with the Maukharis of Kanauj for supremacy. Devagupta may also be, with fitness, assigned to the line of Gupta princess of whom Bhavagupta of 580 A. D. was one. Madhava and Kumāra the companions of Harsha and Rajya must in that case be taken to belong to this line of Malwa kings, that is the Madhava of

Harsha-Charita must be taken to be different from the Madhava of the Aphisad inscription. These Guptas of the Aphisad inscription even if assigned to Magadha may also have had fights with the Maukharis of Kanauj who were as we have said above the overlords of the eastern portion of the Gupta empire.

We must lastly take into consideration the facts noted in the account given by Mr. Burn of "some coins of the Maukharis" in J. R. A. S. 1906 at page 843 referred to by Mr. V. A. Smith in a foot-note here. These coins were found in a village named Bhinauri in the Zilla of Fyzabad in Oudh. They are coins of Isinavarmā, Sarjavarmā and Avantivarmā and of Harsha, Pratapaśila and Śilāditya as deciphered from the legends. They also contain dates which with dates on coins previously found are for Isinavarmā 54, 55 for Sarva 58 (formerly found) 234, 23 (now found) and 57 which may be read as 67 and 71 (formerly found) and 250 (now found) for Avantivarma. On the coins of Harsha, Pratapaśila and Śilāditya the figures in the opinion of Mr. Burn "stand for regnal years." The three digit figures on the Varma coins now found are clearly Gupta years. The previous figures are not well explained and Mr. Burn seeks to explain them by a reference to a supposed era, started by Brahmagupta in 400 A. D. when exactly 3,600 years had expired from the beginning of the Kali age. Whatever that era may be, the dates extending over three digits, now found are clearly Gupta era figures and in the opinion of Mr. Burn this use of the Gupta era may indicate a temporary subjection to, or alliance with the Guptas. But it seems to me that no such inference is necessary. Indeed independent kings use the era of an empire which has just passed away, simply because the people are accustomed to use that era. The Valabhis used the Gupta era not because they were subject to the Guptas, but because they established their kingdom in a part of the country whence the Gupta empire had just passed away and where the people were accustomed to use the Gupta era. As they were not powerful enough to found an era of their own, they used the Gupta era in use among the people. We may cite an instance quite near our own times. The Marathas used the Fasli era and even the Fasli and Mahomedan months, though they were independent and even after the Mogul power at Delhi was reduced to a phantom, because the people were accustomed to that era and those months. Even the British used that era for some time. These remarks apply also to the form of the coins. A succeeding rule generally copies the form, the weight and even the legends or appearance of the coins of a preceding rule because the people are accustomed to the sight of such coins. The rupee of the British is formed after the fashion of the Mogul coin rather than of their

own coins in Britain. I offer these remarks, of course, with diffidence but I may contend that the use of the Gupta era does not necessarily indicate subjection to the Guptas. In fact, in the time of the Maukharis, the Gupta empire and rule had passed away. To my mind, these coins support the theory already propounded, namely, that the Maukharis succeeded to the rule of the Guptas in the Gangetic provinces. The finding of the coins in the Fyzabad District, like the Jaunpur inscription of Īśanavarmā shows the extent of their sway. The genealogy disclosed in the seal of Śārvavarmā found at Aśīrgad is also well supported by the coins, and Īśanavarma, Śārvavarma and Avantivarma seem to be the three powerful kings of this family. And the dates of the coins now found are not inconsistent with my theory, as the coin of Avantivarma can well make him a contemporary of Prabhakariavardhana of Thaneser, and his son Grahavarma a son-in-law of the latter. For if we take 250, certainly a Gupta era figure, we have $250 + 319 = 569$ for Avantivarma. Supposing it to be a date of Avantivarmā's rule we have Grahavarma seated on the throne of Kannuj in 606 A.D., i.e., about 37 years after this, which is not at all improbable. 234 G. E. for Śārvavarma again means $234 + 319 = 553$ A.D., a date consistent with the Varma family tree and also with the general history of India as sketched above. Whatever era the two figure dates may be in, I think considering the other dates, that these coins support practically the theory propounded here about the Varmas and there is nothing inconsistent with their having ruled in Kanauj, as Bāna makes them do.

4.—THE DATE OF HARSHA'S BIRTH.

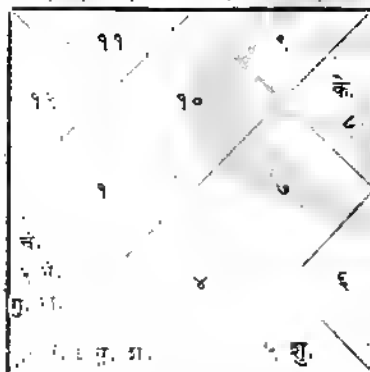
The date of the birth of Harsha can be definitely determined from data given by Bāna in his *Harsha-Charita*. Being given by a person, who was himself at the court of Harsha, these data may be looked upon as reliable. At page 183 H. C. we find ततश्च प्रति ज्येष्ठाम्नीये मासि बहुलसु बहुलपक्ष-द्वादश्यां व्यतीते प्रदोषसमये समारुरुक्षति क्षपायोवने सहस्रैवान्तः पुरे समुद्रपदि कोलाहलः स्त्रीजनस्य. This shows that Harsha was born in the month of Jyestha, on the 12th of the dark fortnight, when the moon was in the Krittikas, and at the hour when night was entering on her youth (i.e., about 10 p.m.). Astronomical calculations made on the basis of these data, by my friend Professor Apte of the Victoria College, Lashkar, shew that the moon was at 10 p.m. in the Krittikas on the 12th of Jyestha Vadya Śaka 511 (589 A. D.) as also on the 12th of Jyestha Vadya Śaka 512 (590 A. D.). The latter year seems the more probable of the two, as in the former the Dvādashi set in after sunrise. If we accept the latter year Harsha was 16 years complete in October 606 when he ascended the throne of Thaneser and from which date his era is believed to have commenced. The month Jyestha mentioned

by Bāna must here be taken to be an Amanta month, *i.e.*, month ending with the new moon; which seems somewhat strange as Bāna coming from Northern India should have used the northern reckoning which has Purnimanta months or months ending with the full moon. But the Purnimanta month Jyeshtha Vadya would be Amanta Vaishakha Vadya 12, on which day neither in 589 nor in 590 A.D. as Professor Apte has found the moon was in the Kritika. There is another point also rather suspicious as neither in 589 nor in 590 A.D. on Jyeshtha Vadya 12 were all the Grahas in their Uccha or Ascendant as Bāna says they were (See मान्याता विलंबविधि व्यतीपातादि सर्व दीपाभिरंग रहिते

सर्वपूज्यस्थानस्थितेष्वेव ग्रहेष्विदृशालये भेजे जन्म : page 184, H. C.). Perhaps this was the exaggeration of the court astrologer or else when Harsha was born his future greatness was not known and only when his subsequent greatness entitled him to it good horoscope was one manufactured for him by the court astrologer. The position of the planets as calculated for Jyeshtha Vadya 12, 589 and 590 A.D. give the following horoscopes for Harsha according to Professor Apte's calculations:—

Jyeshtha Vadya 12, 589 A.D.
(40 ghati) 10 P.M., Tuesday.

Jyeshtha Vadya 12, 590 A.D.
(40 ghati) 10 P.M., Sunday.



र.	२—२०—२४
मं.	१—५—४६
मं.	१—४—४१
पु.	२—१६—५३
पु.	१—२१—२७
शु.	४—०—४६
श.	२—१०—७
रा.	१—१२—४८
के.	९—२६—५७

२—१०—५६
१—२—५४
४—१८—३६
२—१३—६
२—१६—१५
२—१६—५४
२—१९—३७
१—२३—२९
९—१६—२०

Although from the above, Bana's testimony regarding the position of the planets is found to be unreliable, his date of birth cannot be so as Harsha's birthday celebrations must have taken place every year as emperor's birthdays usually are and there could have been no mistake about it.

To find the exact English date and for the purpose of corroboration I myself made calculations from Sewell and Dext's tables for the years A.D. 588, 589, 590 and 591. I also found that Vaishakha Vadya would not suit as Krittikas and Drâdashi do not fall together in any of these years but they come together on Jyeshtha Vadya in the years 589 and 590. Particularly in 590 A.D. there is Drâdashi from sunrise and the tithi lasts for 22 hours and more Kritikânakshatra beginning at about 4 hours after sunrise. This year therefore suits the requirements most correctly and the corresponding English date and day are Sunday, 4th June 590 A.D.

II.—HARSHA'S EMPIRE.

With the combined forces of Kanauj and Thaneser, it is not strange that Harsha succeeded in his announced resolve to subjugate Hindustan. The augury was already good. Kumararaja of Kamarupa (Assam) who probably was an enemy of Śaśanka sent a messenger to offer his friendship and to present him with a priceless white umbrella the sign of universal sovereignty according to Indian ideas. The king was gratified at this voluntary tribute and proffered friendship from Kumara and accepted them most heartily. He then moved with his army of elephants, cavalry and infantry east and west in a continuous march for conquest, which is said to have lasted for about six years and established his empire over the kings of Northern India. It may be pointed out here that the empire of Harsha was somewhat different from Moslem empires. The idea still remained fixed to the Indian mind that a Chakravarti need not dispossess the subjugated kings of their dominions. In this respect modern empires, at least in Hindustan, differ from its ancient and medieval empires. Then it was thought enough if the conquered king offered his submission, promised to pay a nominal yearly tribute and on occasions of ceremony attended upon the imperial sovereign. Indeed it was never thought allowable to dispossess the native kings of their particular kingdoms where they had long ruled and annex them to the empire. Harsha's empire, it must therefore be remembered, was different from the empire of Mahamad Tughlak or of Aurangzeb or, for that matter, of the British which naturally resembles the Mahomedan empires immediately preceding it. In his *digvijaya* Harsha only exacted submission from the various kings of India

and allowed them to rule their own territories, annexation being resorted to only in exceptional cases.

It is to be regretted that no details of this conquest or subjugation of Northern India are available. It is not even discoverable how Harsha punished Śaśanka of Karna Suvarna or Bengal called Ganaha by Bana in his *Harsha-Charita* for treacherously murdering his brother Rajya. Probably he saved himself by another stroke of policy in much the same way as he had saved himself from Rajya. He was alive, and ruling in 605 A.D. in which year a vassal king of his gave a village in gift to a Brahmin in Ganjam (Ep. Ind. Vol. VI, p. 144). This inscription plainly shows that he enjoyed the whole of his kingdom including those of his vassals intact. This was in course in consonance with the ideas of empire above described. Perhaps Harsha, in his Buddhist tendencies, extended forgiveness to Śaśanka and did not exact from him the announced reparation for murder.

The extent of the empire of Harsha can with tolerable certainty be determined. It included probably the whole of Northern India exclusive of Sind, the Punjab and Kashmir, though even over these kingdoms also he established nominal suzerainty, for he appears to have humbled all these three and exacted tribute from them.

We shall notice the rulers of different kingdoms who were contemporaneous with Harsha in the next section in which we intend to detail the various kingdoms visited by the indefatigable Chinese traveller Hsien Tsang. Here it will suffice to observe that Harsha subjugated almost the whole of Northern India and established a strong and well-ordered empire which lasted till his death. He founded as a memento of his being a Chakravarti, a special era of his own commencing from 606 A.D. in imitation of previous emperors who had founded the Vikrama, the Śaka and the Gupta eras. Indeed the founding of an era was now looked upon as an emblem of empire and Harsha in response to this tradition founded his own era in 612 A.D. after he had completed his *Digvijaya* dating from his accession in 606 A.D.

Harsha hereafter attempted to extend his empire to the south of the Nerubudda like Samudra Gupta who had led a conquering expedition through Southern India. But Southern India remained unconquered owing to the vigilance and valour of Harsha's great rival Chalukya Sanyāśraya Pulakeśi II of Mahārashtra. His capital appears from inscriptions to have been Vintapi or modern Badami but from Hsien Tsang's description it may have been Nasik also. This king, namely, Pulakeśi II was very powerful and appears to have subjugated the whole

of Southern India. He came to the throne at about the same time as Harsha, i.e., about 608 A.D. and soon extended his sway down to the southern coast. The description which the famous Chinese traveller gives of him, his army and his people deserves to be quoted here in extenso. "The inhabitants (of Maharashtra) were proud, spirited and warlike; grateful for favours and revengeful for wrongs, self-sacrificing towards supplicants in distress and sanguinary to death with those who treated them insultingly. Their martial heroes went to the conflict intoxicated and their war elephants were also made drunk before engagement. Relying on the strength of his heroes and elephants the king treated neighbouring countries with contempt. The benevolent sway of this king reached far and wide and his vassals served him with perfect loyalty. The great king Śīladitya (Harsha) was invading at this time east and west and the countries far and near were giving him allegiance but Maharashtra refused to become subject to him. (Records Vol. II, Watters, page 239.) The Life says, "The king always supports several thousand men of valour and several hundred savage elephants. These in a drunken condition rush against the enemy and without fail put the foe to flight. Śīladitya Raja in spite of his skill and the invariable success of his generals, marching himself at the head of his troops could not subjugate him." (Life of H. T., p. 147.) By a strange coincidence thus India was divided at this time into two empires ruled by two powerful kings who were a match to each other and who came to the throne at about the same time. The dividing line of these southern and northern empires was naturally the Nerbudda which divides India into two portions differing from each other in many characteristics both of country and people.

Except in a passage which we will notice in a note, it is unfortunate that we have not an account from Bana with regard to the actual establishment of Harsha's empire or its extent and we have to rely on the single* testimony of Hiuen Tsang. It is from him that we learn that Harsha conquered India during the course of six years "during which time neither the men nor the elephants were unharnessed," and that for 35 years more he ruled in peace and without any conflict. Of course the war with Pulakesi II which is placed by Mr. V. Smith about 620 A.D. and the war with Ganjam which was waged towards the end of his reign have to be excepted. This latter war was waged against the people of Ganjam or Kangode about 643 A.D. as has been

* We have however confirmatory epigraphic evidence that Harsha ruled over the whole of Northern India. See Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, VIII, p. 848, where Pulakesi II is described as

समरसंसक्त सकडोत्तरापथेश्वर श्रीहर्षवर्धनपराजयोपलब्ध परमेश्वरपर नामधेयः

सःयाश्रयः श्रीपृथ्वीवर्द्धो महाराजाधिराजः

Inferred from the *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, page 159, where it is mentioned that "Harsha was just then returning from the subjugation of Ganjam."

It would be interesting to quote Hiuen Tsang as to how Harsha maintained this vast empire. "Having extended his territory he increased his army, bringing the elephant corps up to 60,000 and cavalry to 1,00,000, and then reigned in peace for 30 (thirty) years. He was just in his administration and punctilious in the discharge of his duties. He forgot sleep and food in his devotion to good works. He prohibited the taking of life under severe penalties and caused the use of animal food to cease throughout the five Indies. He established travellers' rests throughout his dominions. The neighbouring princes and statesmen who were zealous in good works, he called "good friends." He would not converse with those who were of a different character. The King made visits of inspection throughout his dominion, not residing long at any place but having temporary buildings erected for his residence at each place of sojourn⁶; but he did not go abroad through the three months of the rainy season. The King's day was divided into three periods, of which one was given up to affairs of Government, and two were devoted to religious works. He was indefatigable and the day was too short for him" (*Records, Watters, Vol. I, p. 344*). With such diligent habits of work and such conscientious efforts for the cultivation of high morals it is no wonder that Harsha's empire remained intact throughout his long reign and prospered to the utmost. He had his own agents or officers appointed in different regions to look to the maintenance of justice and his orders, autocratic as they were, were for the good of his subjects and were promptly obeyed by prince and peasant. Harsha's empire thus may well be classed, like the reign of Marcus Aurelius to whom he may fully be likened,⁷ among the most enlightened and happy empires, which have now and then though rarely enough, embellished the history of the world, and stands out in brilliant relief from the surrounding chequered back ground.

⁶ This is corroborated by Bana also who describes the sojourn of Harsha at the first halting place, thus: "ततोऽपि नगरादुपसरन्वति निमित्ते महति नृगमये मन्दिरं प्रधानमकरोत् ।"

⁷ See note following giving an extract from H. C. containing "अत्र लोकनाथेन दिवां सुखं पवित्रितं लोकपालः ।"

⁷ Like Marcus Aurelius, Harsha appears to have been an emperor of the highest moral nature. From Harsha-Charita, pages 11-13, it appears that he had vowed Brahmacharya or continency to his wedded queen, upheld truth and justice and forswore wine and flesh. A pattern of learned men he himself was a man of great learning and an author.

The death of Harsha is placed by historians in 647 A. D. on the evidence of reliable Chinese records (see V. Smith's E. H. I., page 352, 3rd edition), Harsha having thus ruled for about 41 years. Most probably he left no issue. We have strangely enough no mention anywhere as to who his wife was and what children he had. He had a daughter no doubt and she was married to the king of Valabhi. Had he a son, there would assuredly have been no disturbance after his death, and his son would have left some record, wherein as usual his mother's name would have been recited. We are therefore justified in surmising that he left no son. This fact indeed may have accentuated that intense religious consciousness which this unique emperor displayed of the emptiness of this world's riches and greatness, and under the influence of which he held those magnificent festivals of almsgiving every fifth year which have been described to us by Hsien Tsang with such graphic detail, and in which, as perhaps no emperor in the history of the world did, Harsha gave away all his valuable treasures to Buddhist, Brahmin and Jain men of piety and learning, begging afterwards even his clothes from his sister Rnjyashri. Such was this great Emperor Harsha at once munificent, philosophic and brave.

NOTE.

Although Bana has not described the *Digvijaya* of Harsha, there is a passage in the *Harsha-Charita* of great importance from which the above statements derive considerable support. Bana's brothers in asking him to relate to them the life of Harsha, extol the great exploits of the King in this manner.

“अत्र बलजिता निश्चलीकृताश्चलन्तः कृत्तपक्षाः क्षितिभृतः ।

अत्र प्रजापतिनाशेषभोगिमण्डलस्योपरि क्षमा कृता ।

अत्र पुरुषोत्तमेन सिधुराजं प्रमथ्य लक्ष्मरात्मीया कृता ।

अत्र बलिना मोचितभूभृद्रेष्टनो मुक्तो महानागः ।

अत्र देवेनाभिषिक्तः कुमारः ।

अत्र परमेश्वरेण तुषारशैलमुत्रो दुगाया गृहीतः करः ।

अत्र लोकनाथेन दिशां मुखेषु परिकल्पिता लोकपालाः ।” (H. C. p. 139)

All these sentences are double meaning and poetical in a way which is only possible in Sanskrit; but the sense as applicable to Harsha is very important in this inquiry and may be given as follows:—“He the conqueror, by force made the several kings, their allies or supporters being cut off, immovable (in their kingdoms). He the lord of

all peoples pardoned (and allowed to rule) all kings and chieftains. He the greatest of all men having conquered the king of Sind, made his wealth his own. He of great physical strength let off the great elephant after having released from its trunk the king (Kumara). He the great emperor appointed Kumara a king. He the supreme lord exacted tribute from the inaccessible land of the Himalaya Mountains. He the protector of all peoples appointed protectors and governors of peoples in the several directions." From this passage we glean not only the information that Harsha conquered all the kingdoms of Hindustan but that he allowed the conquered kings to rule them under his suzerainty. Some particular countries are also mentioned as humbled, namely, Sind and Kashmir or perhaps Nepal which must be the country in the inaccessible Himalayas which paid tribute to him. The king appointed by him must be the Kumararaja of Assam, whom, perhaps being his first ally and willing friend he raised to a higher dignity by crowning him himself, or gave him the kingdom of Sasanka as mentioned further on. The letting off of the elephant is explained by the commentator by mentioning a legend that the Kumararaja was once seized by the riding elephant of Harsha with his trunk, and that Harsha who was a man of great personal prowess and courage rescued him by cutting off the elephant's trunk with his sword, the trunkless elephant being thereafter let off in the jungle. Lastly Harsha maintained his vast empire under his subjection and without disturbance not only by his constant movements to and fro with a strong army of elephant and horse but he had his own governors to collect tribute and to maintain law and order appointed in all directions much like the present political agents maintained by the British Government among Native States. This passage thus gives very important information and coming from an eye witness is of special value.

III.—THE KINGS AND KINGDOMS OF INDIA IN THE TIME OF HARSHA.

The detailed information given in the records of the indefatigable Chinese traveller Hsien Tsang who came to India in the beginning of 631 A. D. and who left it about the end of 645 A. D. supplies us with a very full account of the state of this country during the latter half of the reign of Harsha : an account which is strongly corroborated by epigraphic and other evidence available. Hsien Tsang often gives us the names of particular kings and also invariably the characteristics of the people touching their disposition, religion and history, information which is very useful to the student of early Indian history. The records and his life composed originally in Chinese have been translated by

European scholars and are available to us in an English garb. These accounts have also been subjected to scrutiny by noted researchers like Sir A. Cunningham who has succeeded in identifying most of the places and kingdoms mentioned by the Chinese traveller and subsequent scholars have added to the information thus noted by Sir A. Cunningham in his well-known book 'Ancient Geography of India.' All these scholars have thus laid students of Indian history under a deep debt of obligation which cannot but be acknowledged at this stage when we proceed to summarise this information in a table specially prepared for the perusal of the general reader. This table gives the name of each kingdom visited by Hiuen Tsang in order, the name of the king if any and in a third column such valuable information about the people and the country as is thought interesting and useful. This table will be sub-joined in an appendix. From this evidence and from the epigraphic evidence available we shall try in this chapter to describe the important kingdoms in India at this time, *i.e.*, in the days of the Emperor Harsha and the kings who ruled them.

To commence from the extreme north-west we have first to notice the country of Kapisa (Kabul) the king of which was a Kshatriya and a Buddhist. Who this king was we are unable to ascertain but he held under subjection the adjoining kingdoms of Lampak, Nagara and Gandhara, all beyond the Indus. The ruling family in Gandhara is said by Hiuen Tsang to have been destroyed and the country and the capital were in ruins. Probably the Huns who ruled in this country in the days of Harsha's father were after their defeat by him conquered by Kapisa. The next important kingdom mentioned beyond the Indus and along the Suvastu (Swat) was Udyana or modern Swat, a stronghold of Buddhism even in the days of Hiuen Tsang. Crossing the Indus the third important kingdom then was that of Kashmir which held under its sway the three minor kingdoms of Taxila, Sinhapura and Uraśa. The king of Kashmir, at this time was Durlabhavardhana who according to the *Rajatarangini* inaugurated the Karkota dynasty in Kashmir. Hiuen Tsang also notices that the kings of Kashmir were protected by a dragon. According to Kallhana this king was a son-in-law of the last king of the Gonardiyān dynasty, named Bakaditya. He is said by Kallhana to have come to the throne in 3677 of the Lankika era or our A. D. and to have ruled for 36 years which makes him a contemporary of Harsha almost from beginning to end. The dynasty founded by him was called the Karkota dynasty, Karkota being the name of a dragon by whose favour he was supposed to have risen to importance. He established his sway over the northern portion of the Punjab as well as

certain hill states adjoining Kashmir and was thus a powerful king. Probably it was he, who in the difficult Himalayas was made to acknowledge the nominal suzerainty of Harsha and compelled to pay tribute as mentioned by Bana. The people of Kashmir as described by Hiuen Tsang were then exactly what they are at present, handsome and fond of learning, but strangely enough Hiuen Tsang describes them as deceitful.

The next country of importance is the one which Hiuen Tsang calls Tekka, the former capital of which was Sākala and a former noted king of which was Mihirākula. Both Sākala and Mihirākula are names of note in the ancient history of India but this capital Sākala was now in ruins. The new capital and the name of Tekka have not been identified. It is possible to identify Tekka however with the Tāk of the Chachnama and the Tāk or Takshaka royal family enumerated among the 36 royal families of India. The Tāk according to Todd has disappeared from Indian history owing to conversion to Mahomedanism in the 13th century A.D. The Tekka kingdom appears to have held extensive sway as Mulasthaniapura (Multan) and Parvata are said by Hiuen Tsang to have been subject to Tekka in his days. All these countries were not pre-eminently Buddhist and it may be conjectured that they were the places where old Hindu worship then flourished. Mihirākula was a persecutor of Buddhists, and at Multan there was the famous temple of the Sun worshipped by devotees throughout India. Who the Tekka king was, it would be most interesting to discover. He was the most important king of the Punjab so to speak though as his country lay between Kashmir and Thaneser his subordination to Harsha may be inferred.

Giving up the order of Hiuen Tsang and going a little south-west we find that the next most important kingdom was Sind. The capital was beyond the Indus and it held under subjection two or three kingdoms to the west and south as far as the sea. In fine the kingdom was as extensive as the modern province of Sind. Its king though powerful had been defeated by both Prabhakara and Harsha. Who this king was is somewhat difficult to determine. He was a Śūdra by caste and a Buddhist according to Hiuen Tsang. According to the Chachnama—a history of the conquest of Sind by the Arabs in the next or eighth century,—there ruled in Sind before Chacha, the Brahmin king, a race of kings whose ancestor was Dewaij and whose last king was Sahasi Rai. After Sahasi's death Chacha the Brahmin who was his chamberlain seized the throne and married his widow. When this usurpation took place we can ascertain from the Chachnama which states that in

the 11th year of the Hejira, *i.e.*, in 632 A. D. the first invasion of Sind by Mahomedans took place. "Chacha was then on the throne and 35 years of his reign had passed." The usurpation of Chacha from this statement falls in 597 A. D. He ruled forty years, *i.e.*, till 637 A. D. when his brother Chandra succeeded him and ruled for 7 years, *i.e.*, till 644 A. D. Thus in 641 A. D. when Hiuen Tsang visited the kingdom of Sind, Chandra must have been on the throne and he is said in the Chachanama to have been a Buddhist. But he was a Brahmin and hence Hiuen Tsang's description that he was a Śūdra does not apply. It is not possible to suppose that Hiuen Tsang made a mistake. It should rather be said that the Chachanama is mistaken, for much of it is fanciful and it is more a hearsay history for events before the conquest of Sind by the Arahs than the evidence of an eye-witness. Moreover if Chandra died in 644 A. D. his nephew Dahar must be taken to have come to throne in 644 A. D. He was the king when Sindh was conquered by Mahamud Kasim in 712 A. D., a date which is certain and reliable. Dahir therefore must thus have been on the throne for 68 years, a somewhat long period. What I surmise is that Sahasi was still on the throne of Sind when Hiuen Tsang visited the country in 641 A. D. He appears to have been of the Māurya dynasty as the Chachanama represents that the ruler of Chitor was his brother or distant relative. Chitor was not yet in the hands of the Sisodias but was ruled by a Maurya family of kings from whom as the traditions of the Sisodias declare the kingdom was seized by Bappu Rawal. The Mauryas were of course looked upon as Śūdras. It is not improbable that branches of the Māurya family sprung from Chandra Gupta and Aśoka still ruled in several places in India. We would therefore give greater weight to Hiuen Tsang's statement and hold that the king of Sindh at this time was Sahasi II and he may have been a Buddhist. It is also more consistent to suppose that it was Sahasi II who was defeated by Harsha and not Chacha who was a peculiarly fortunate king and who extended his sway north, west and south. Chacha is said to have conquered Multan and Parvata and made his boundary continuous with that of Kashmir. As Hiuen Tsang states that Multan was subject to Tekla and not to Sind when he visited it in 641 we may take it as a further argument to hold that he visited Sind in the time of Sahasi II. Some place the usurpation of Chacha in 631 (see Sind Gazetteer and Gazetteer of Bahawalpur) on the authority of another Mahomedan historian, but I think we must place it sometime after Harsha's death, *i.e.*, without 648. Chacha ruled for 40 years or till 688 and his brother Chandra till 695 and his son Dahir must have been on the throne for about 17 years when he was conquered by Kasim in 712 A. D.

The divergence between the testimony of Hiuen Tsang and Chachanama with regard to the caste of the ruling king in Sind leaves us in a doubt as to whether Sahasi II was then ruling there or Chandra, brother of Chacha. But there is no doubt as to who was then ruling in Valabhi or Eastern Kathiawar the next most important kingdom in Northern India. Hiuen Tsang describes the ruler of this kingdom very vividly. "He was a Kshatriya by caste and a son-in-law of Harsha. His name was Dhruvabhata. He was hasty of temper and young but a devout Buddhist." He is subsequently described as often accompanying Harsha on his march and he was present at the great alms-giving assemblage held at Prayaga where Hiuen Tsang was the presiding priest in 641 A.D. Epigraphical evidence is amply corroborative in this connection. The ruling family of Valabhi was founded by Senapati Bhattarka, who came from Ayodhya, during the troubles of the Huns about the beginning of the sixth century (some place this in 485 A. D.). Their grants testify to their history and power and they were generally worshippers of Śiva though Dhruvabhata the son-in-law of Harsha was a Buddhist. It was undoubtedly a premier Kshatriya family for the premier Kshatriya family of later Indian history, namely, the Sisodhas of Udaipur derive their descent from this family of Valabhi. It is therefore not improbable that Harsha gave his daughter in marriage to this king because he was a Kshatriya King, as his father had given Rajyashri in marriage to Grahavarman, another well known Kshatriya king of his days. In fact, then as now, kings tried to give their daughters to kings of unquestioned Kshatriya lineage for as Bana says (H. C., p. 200) सत्त्वप्यन्वेषु वरगुणेषु अभिजन मेवानुरुध्यन्ते धीमन्तः (Among other good qualities of a bridegroom wise men look to good lineage alone).

The next important kingdom was that of Gurjara in Rajputana. Its capital was Bhinmal. It was the principal country of the Gurjras in those days, though now the country is not Gujarat but Rajputana. "The king was a Kshatriya by caste," according to Hiuen Tsang, and "a young man celebrated for his wisdom and courage and a firm believer in Buddhism." This king must have been a son of king Vyaghramukha in whose time the noted astronomer Brahmagupta in 628 A. D. composed his treatise on astronomy. As Hiuen Tsang visited the country about 641 A. D., Vyaghramukha's successor must have been a young man. Gurjara was defeated by Prabhakara, the father of Harsha as stated in the Harsha-Charita, p. 174 (युजैरप्रजामरः प्रतामशील इतिप्रथितापरनामा प्रभाकरवर्धनो नाम राजाधिराजः). Though its conquest by Harsha in his *Digvijaya* is not mentioned, it may be

easily presumed. But Hiuen Tsang's description of the king suggests that like Sind and Kashmir, Gurjara was nominally subject to the overlordship of Harsha.

There was a Gurjara kingdom to the south of Valabhi also. It was very probably founded by an offshoot from the Gurjara kingdom from the north. This was the first incursion of the Gurjaras into this part of the country which in later times has always borne their name. The kingdom is called Bharukaccha by Hiuen Tsang and its capital was Bharukaccha or modern Broach on the north bank of the Nerbudda at the head of the estuary of that river. It derived its wealth from sea-borne trade. The king who ruled Bharukaccha at this time was Dadda II whose grants found disclose the genealogy of the family and mention it clearly as a Gurjara family*. These kings were worshippers of the Sun, a fact which also connects them with the original Gurjar kingdom of Bhimmal where there was a well-known temple of the Sun. The tree of the family is as follows :— (1) Dadda I who came into this part about 528 A.D. and founded the kingdom, (2) Jayabhata I, (3) Dadda II, contemporary of Harsha and Hiuen Tsang. He was practically an independent king though his titles are those of a Mahasamanta. For this king Dadda is said to have given refuge to a Valabhi king when he was attacked by Harsha. Perhaps it was Dhruvabhata himself who subsequently became the son-in-law of Harsha, but perhaps his father if this invasion happened during the early years of Harsha's reign.

We next go on to describe the kingdom of Molapa or Malwa as described by Hiuen Tsang. "Its capital" says he "was on the south-east side of the Mahi river. The people were intelligent, of a refined speech and of liberal education. Malwa in the south-west and Magadha in the north-east were the two countries where learning was prized. In this country virtue was esteemed and humanity respected." This flattering description applies to ancient Malwa as a whole, for Malwa throughout Sanskrit literature bears a high reputation for learning. But Molapa must be identified with Western Malwa (as at present constituted politically) as the capital is said to be on the Mahi river, which is even now a river of Western Malwa as well as Gujarat. It may perhaps have been Dhārānagari noted in the next few centuries as the seat of the Paramaras, the liberal patrons of learning and learned men. Dhara is mentioned in the Jaunpur inscription of Isvaravarma (Gupta Ins. Vol. III, plate No. 51, p. 230), and thus must have been in existence even at that time. Whatever the capital may have been this Matwa of Hiuen Tsang owing to the mention of the

*विपुल गुर्जर नृपान्वय प्रदीपतो, &c. (Indian Antiquary, Vol. VII, No. 63.)

Mahi is undoubtedly Western Malwa, Eastern Malwa, separated from it by the Chambal river, being mentioned by him as Ujjain of which we shall speak presently. Who the king of this Western Malwa was it does not clearly appear. Hiuen Tsang mentions that from the records of this kingdom, about sixty years before his arrival there ruled here a Śīladitya who was famous for his rare kindness and compassion. He was a Buddhist and had a temple of Buddha built near his palace. "This fine work had been continued for successive generations without interruption." (See Records, Watters, Vol. II, p. 242.) The Life adds "He would not injure even a fly. He caused the water given to the horses and elephants to be strained, unless he should destroy the life of a water-insect. He impressed on the people of the country to avoid taking life. Thus for fifty years he continued on the throne," p. 148. If this king ruled Western Malwa for fifty years sixty years before Hiuen Tsang's visit in 630 A.D., he must be taken to have come to the throne in 530 A.D. or somewhere about it and died in 580. At this time, therefore, his grandson or perhaps great grandson must have been ruling in Western Malwa. Who this Śīladitya was we shall discuss in a note appended to this chapter.

Next we come to the kingdom called Ujjain from its capital. This kingdom was pre-eminently Malwa and should have been so called. But Hiuen Tsang coming to Western Malwa first and finding it completely Buddhist, gave it the name of Malwa and gave to the next kingdom which was ruled by a Brahmin and which was not wholly Buddhist the name of Ujjain. Ujjain however was Malwa pre-eminently. It was the same Ujjain as is famous in the old Buddhist and Hindu literatures. There is no doubt about its identity for Hiuen Tsang reports that Aśoka in his youth had built outside the city a hell (jail) for the punishment of evil doers. The ruler of the country when Hiuen Tsang visited it was a Brahmin. He was perhaps appointed by Harsha or had seized the vacant kingdom and had been tolerated by him. Of the Gupta family which appears to have ruled here in the beginning of Harsha's reign we have already spoken in a note. It may be stated that the Gupta emperors of Pataliputra and Ayodhya conquered Malwa and Ujjain in 400 A.D., under Chandragupta II. His successors ruled in Malwa as well as Kathiawar and Gujarat as their coins testify. With Skandagupta the regular Gupta line ceased. It was overthrown as is well-known by the Huns. A Buddhist Gupta however ruled between the Jumnā and the Nerbudda about 480-500 A.D. (see Bombay Gazetteer History of Gujarat, p. 71) as appears from the Eran inscription and also from his coins. Other branches of the Guptas founded by Gupta chiefs must have established themselves in the several provinces of their empire

and we may take it that the family mentioned in the Aphsad plate ruled in Malwa at Ujjain until Deva Gupta the contemporary of Rajya was killed in the battle with him and the kingdom was seized by Harsha in 606 A. D. After that date and between 640 A. D. a Brahmin king may have set himself up or been appointed in Malwa.

After the fall of the Gupta power and of Budha Gupta, who ruled between the Jumna and the Nerbudda, other kingdoms might have been formed in this part of the country besides Malwa or Ujjain and Hiuen Tsang mentions two, namely, Chichito or Zajoti in what is now Bundelkand the capital being probably at Eran and Mahesvarpura which has been identified by many with Gwalior (or perhaps Narwar). All these three kingdoms go by the name of their capitals and were ruled by Brahmin kings who may well be originally only Gupta governors subsequently assuming kingly status.*

We have thus far noticed the important kingdoms on the west of the empire of Harsha and mentioned the names and other particulars of the kings who ruled them. They were, to repeat, the kingdoms of Kahul, Kashmir, Tekka (Punjab), Sind, Valabhi, Gurjara, Broach, Malwa, Ujjain, Bundelkand and Gwalior. Durlabhavardhana ruled in Kashmir and Sahasi II in Sind. At Valabhi the premier Kshatriya king Dhruvabhata ruled and he was the son-in-law of Harsha. In Gurjara north or Rajputana and in Gurjara south or Broach ruled two Kshatriya kings, *vis.*, a son of Vyaghramukha and Dadda II, respectively. In what is Central India as constituted at present, three kingdoms, named Ujjain, Zajoti and Maheshwarpura besides Molapo or Western Malwa were ruled by three Brahmin kings. All these were probably actually included in Harsha's empire and Valabhi and Broach were practically so, while Gurjara, Sind, Kashmir and Tekka were nominally under Harsha's suzerainty. In Molapo, which was also practically under the rule of Harsha, a grandson of a Śiladitya ruled with certainty. Who this Śiladitya was it is yet doubtful but the probability is that he was the son of Yaśodharma Vikramaditya the vanquisher of the Huns.

Before going on to describe the kingdoms of Mid-India, we must notice a small kingdom not visited by Hiuen Tsang, the ruler of which in the beginning of the next or 8th century laid the foundation of the Mewad kingdom so noted in modern history for its great heroism and its constancy to Rajput traditions. This was the small

* The king in Chichito might have been a descendant of the Brahmin king Sankshobha of the Parivrajaka family whose inscription is given at No. 25 in the Corp. Ins., Vol. III, p. 115, or he may have been a descendant of Dhyanavishnu whose inscription has been found at Eran.

kingdom of Eder in the south-west of Mewad, founded by a son of Guhaditya of the Valabhi family of Kshatriyas, in the middle of the sixth century. The descendants of Guhaditya obtained the name of Gehlots, who subsequently took the name of Sesodias, the modern title of the Mewad Rajputs. At this time, i.e., in the first half of the seventh century, the ruler in this family was named Nāgāditya Śīladitya who is mentioned in an inscription dated 646 A.D. (see *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Mewad Agency, Vol. II). In this family was born Bappa Rawal who in the beginning of the 8th century seized Chitod and inaugurated the Mewad family of Rajputs as we shall have to relate hereafter. The origin of the Mewad family thus traced to the Valabhi kings is doubted by many historians, but I do not see any reason why this tradition of the Mewad kings about their origin should be discredited. Ancient traditions may be accepted to be correct unless they are obviously absurd and as Bappa's date goes so far back as the 8th century, his ancestors may well have sprung from the Valabhi family in the latter half of the sixth century.

We now come to Mid-India or what is practically the present United Provinces. The valley of the Ganges and the Jumna has been the seat of Indo-Aryan civilization from ancient times. Indo-Aryan mental and physical power was developed here and from here the Aryans dominated so to speak Northern India or Hindustan as it is usually called. This part in ancient times was called the Madhya Deśa from which Śrī Krishna says in the Mahabharata (Sabha parva) "the Yadavas were so sorry to be ousted and whither they pined so vehemently to return." The same name continued down to the time of Hiuen Tsang who also calls it Mid-India and Varahamihira also makes this part the central division of India. The climate of this part of the country is or rather was remarkably dry and healthy in those days when it was not cut up by numerous canals taken out from the Jumna and the Ganges, which while they have added to the fertility of the land and insured it against famine, have created a malarial climate and detracted much from its healthiness. The country then was and still is very fertile and hence numerous peoples or kingdoms flourished in this very compact territory and rose to pre-eminence in ancient times. The principal kingdoms here at this time were Thaneser and Kanauj⁶ both ruled by one and the same king Harsha. These two kingdoms were in fact the ancient Kuru and Panchala kingdoms united again as they once were under Janamejaya and the combination was naturally so powerful that Harsha like Janamejaya easily became the emperor of Hindustan. As

⁶ Kanauj is now a mere Tahsil or Taluka town in the Farrukhabad District, U. P., and nothing but debris remains to attest its former greatness.

Harsha usually lived at Kanauj that city now rose to the importance and assumed the status of the capital of India. This status it retained throughout the mediæval period of Indian history of which we are treating. It had already risen into some importance during the days of the Muksari kings Isana, Sarva and Avantivarma who ruled there during the latter half of the sixth century and who established overlordship over the eastern portion of the Gangetic valley, while the Vardhanas of Thaneser established overlordship over the western. The union of Thaneser and Kanauj at once raised Kanauj to the position of the capital of India now lost completely by Pataliputra. The latter city when Hiuen Tsang visited it was in ruins and almost deserted. It had finished its rôle. Chandragupta Maurya had raised it to the position of the capital of India and Asoka had confirmed it. Subsequent dynasties of emperors down to the Guptas respected that position, but when the Guptas moved out of it for the first time to Ayodhya for a sort of change, its decline began, and when Harsha established the court of his empire at Kanauj, that position was finally lost by it after having thus retained it for about 800 years, *i.e.*, from 300 B. C. to 500 A. D. Kanauj remained the acknowledged capital of India during the rest of the period of the early history of India. Delhi was almost a village at this time. It had shone once only during the brief reign of the Pandavas in the beginning of Indian history and had then retired into shade. It came into view again in the 9th century A. D. with Anangapal who claimed to be a descendant of the Pandavas but it remained inferior to Kanauj till the 12th century when it threw Kanauj into shade with the victory of Prithviraja over Jayachand. The Mahomedans who finally conquered Prithviraja made Delhi the chief seat of their rule and Delhi has since remained the capital of the Indian empire down to this day.

This short account of the shifting of the centre of political gravity westward along the Gangetic valley from Pataliputra to Kanauj and from Kanauj to Delhi will be found interesting. In the interval between 600 and 1200 A. D., Kanauj was the accepted capital of India as Arab historians of this time also testify : for when they speak of the capital of Hind they always refer to Kanauj. The halo of the empire of Harsha hovered long over the city and induced each successive aspirant to Imperial power to establish his dynasty there during this period as had happened at Pataliputra during the centuries preceding and as happened at Delhi during the centuries following. The city of Kanauj consequently acquired grandeur and accumulated riches commensurate with its dignity. It was at the height of its splendour in the time of Mahomed of Gazni, who himself observed that it could justly boast to have no equal and that it was full of palaces and temples

built of marble. Even when Hiuen Tsang visited it, it was already a great city. It was, says he, five miles long and one mile broad, was very strongly defended and had lofty structures everywhere. "There were beautiful gardens and tanks of clear water and in it were collected varieties from strange lands." Kanauj was so grand and strong in the 8th century that the Chachnama uses (Trans. p. 52) "You want Kanauj" as a proverb meaning you want the impossible.

In this city reigned Harsha the patron of Bana and Hiuen Tsang. Thanesar or Shrikantia as the country is called by Bana, and Kanauj were kingdoms directly under Harsha. Hiuen Tsang mentions many kingdoms in the Gangetic valley besides these two and most of them also must have been directly under Harsha's rule. Pariyatra or modern Alwar was however under a king of the Vaiśhya caste as also Śrughna (about Hardwar) and Mutipura where a Śūdra king ruled, and Brahmapura or modern Garhwal. But Ahicchatra and Pilošana, Sankasya and Ayodhya, Allahabad and Kauśambi where no kings are mentioned by Hiuen Tsang were probably under the direct sway of Harsha. Along the foot of the Himalayas were small kingdoms like Śravasti and Kapilavastu, Ramagrama and Kusinagara where petty chiefs ruled. These places were places of Buddhist worship and hence kept up some population; otherwise strangely enough the country was desolate. Many cultivable and fertile parts of India were indeed in ancient times under jungles which have been cleared only under the British rule. Civilization and prosperity followed in ancient days the course of the Ganges and the Jumna, and away from them were jungles infested by elephants. The incessant internecine fights between opposing kings prevented the growth of overflowing population and the means of communication being limited, the export of grain from India must then have been almost nil. Hence the need for extension of cultivation was not felt and it is no wonder that even the empire of Harsha was bordered, so to speak on both sides, by wide fringes of jungles along the Himalayas on the north and the Vindhya on the south. These jungles provided the immense number of elephants required for the armies of contending kings. Considering this state of the country, therefore, we need not be surprised that there were 60,000 elephants in the army of the emperor Harsha alone, while there must have been thousands more in those of other kings.

We will now proceed to describe the kingdoms to the east of Mid-India, or in what are now the provinces of Behar and Bengal. The first kingdom to notice was that of Magadha. Hiuen Tsang relates that before his time a king named Puranavarma who was

supposed to be a descendant of *Aśoka* ruled in Magadha where he had rebuilt the wall round the Bodhi tree which had been thrown down by *Śaśanka* king of *Karnasuvarna*. Magadha was the chief place of Buddhist worship. It contained the Bodhi tree and *Buddha's* footprint stone. Besides, the *Nālandā* monastery, the chief seat of Buddhist learning was in Magadha. Beyond Magadha were *Hiranyaparbata* or *Monghyr* and *Champa* or *Bhagalpur*, *Kajugul* or *Rajmahal* and *Paundravardhana* or *Rangpur* ruled by kings, of whom we have no information. Beyond was *Kumarupa* or *Assam* which was ruled at this time by *Bhaskaravarma* whose other name was *Kumara*. He was a friend and ally of *Harsha* from the first as we have already described. Strangely enough the accounts of this king given by *Hiuen Tsang* and *Bana*, two contemporary witnesses agree almost to the last detail. At page 186 of the *Records*, Vol. II, (*Watters*) we read, "The reigning king who was a Brahmin by caste and a descendant of *Narayana Deva* was named *Bhaskaravarma*, his other name was *Kumara*. The sovereignty had been transmitted in the family for 1,000 generations. His Majesty was a lover of learning. Men of ability came from afar to study here. The king though not a Buddhist respected accomplished *Śramana's*."

Bana at page 294, H. C., says.—महाराजसंपर्कं संश्रुतगर्भाया भगवत्या मुचो नरको नाम सूनुः । तस्यान्वये भगदत्त पुष्पदत्त वज्रदत्त प्रभृतिषु व्यतीतेषु बहुषु महीपालेषु प्रपौत्रौ भूतिवर्मणः पौत्रौ चंद्रमुखवर्मणः पुत्रौ स्थितवर्मणः सुस्थितवर्मा नाम महाराजाधिराजो जज्ञे । तत्त्वच भास्करवर्मा नाम सनयः कुमारः समभवत् । Although the name *Bhaskaravarma* sounds as that of a *Kshatriya* his being a Brahmin as mentioned by *Hiuen Tsang* may be accepted to be correct. Brahmins who followed the *Kshatriya* profession often took a *Kshatriya* name and those who followed *Vaiśya* profession took a *Vaiśya* name. The fame of *Assam* for learning continued for some centuries more down to the days of *Śaṅkara*. The legendary origin of the family is, of course, unhistorical, but that it was a long continued family may be believed in, as *Assam* being out of the way, must have remained undisturbed by the ambitions of conquering heroes. We shall have to speak of this *Kumara* again as we have spoken of him many a time before.

We now come to the three kingdoms into which *Bengal* proper was then divided, namely, *Karnasuvarna* (*Murshidabad*), *Samatata* (*Eastern Bengal*) and *Tumralipti* (*Midnapur*). These were prosperous countries even in *Hiuen Tsang's* time. The king in *Karnasuvarna* before *Hiuen Tsang* visited it was *Śaśanka* or *Narendragupta* already mentioned as the man who treacherously murdered *Rajyavardhana*.

and a persecutor of Buddhism. Probably he was pardoned by Harsha, as he is shown by a Ganjam inscription to be alive and reigning in 619 A. D. But after his death his kingdom seems to have been given to the Kumararaja of Assam. For an undated inscription of Bhaskaravarman, published in the *Dacca Review* (1913) (noted by V. Smith), was issued from Karnasuvarna. Hiuen Tsang does not mention the king ruling in Karnasuvarna when he visited it; but the above surmise is supportable also from the statement of Bāṇa, that Harsha appointed Kumararaja a king (अत्र देवेन अभिषिक्तः कुमारः H. C., p. 139). In Samatata or Eastern Bengal a Brahmin family ruled to which belonged a great Buddhist saint visited by Hiuen Tsang. No particulars of the king at Tamralipti are mentioned. All these kingdoms were, of course, subordinate to Harsha. It is to be noticed that Hiuen Tsang does not assign the name of Gauda to any of these kingdoms, though the king of Karnasuvarna Śaśanka is described by Bāṇa as the king of Gauda. Gauda is a noted name in Sanskrit literature for the learned men of Gauda have always maintained a peculiar style and school of thought of their own. Probably the name Gauda applied to all these three kingdoms, as also the name Vanga which is still more ancient and which is not noted by Hiuen Tsang.

Lastly in Northern India and in subordination to Harsha we have to mention the kingdom of Odra or Orissa and the kingdom of Kongadu or Ganjam along the coast of the Bay of Bengal. These were Indo-Aryan kingdoms on the border of the Dravidian Kalinga kingdom to the south. With Kongadu Hiuen Tsang notices the change in language. (Curiously enough their written language was the same as that of India.) With Kalinga the change in the language was complete. "In talk and manners they differed from Mid-India" (Watters, Vol. II, p. 198). The kings in these two countries are not mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, nor can we find them out with certainty. According to the palm leaf chronicles of the temple of Jagan-nath in Cuttack, Orissa was under the Kesari dynasty from the 7th to the 12th Century A.D., but it is probable that this dynasty established itself after the time of Harsha. (See Cuttack Gazetteer.)

This completes the list of important kingdoms* in Northern India which constituted the empire of Harsha. As we have already remarked contemporaneous with this northern empire of Harsha, there was at this time the southern empire of Satyaśraya Palakēśin II, of Mahārāṣṭra, which included all the kingdoms in the Deccan and South

* Nepal is omitted as at this time, it was subordinate to Tibet and it does not clearly appear that it was subordinate to Harsha.

India. These kingdoms were, most of them, visited by Hiuen Tsang, and have been described by him. They were Kalinga or Rajamahendri, Kosala or Raipur, Andhra or Warangal, Dhanakakata or Vengi, Chola or Nellore, Dravida or Kanchi, Malayakuta or Madura, Konkannapara or part of Mysore and northern western coast (the capital being probably Banavasi above the Ghats) and lastly Mahārashtra with its capital at Badami, whose king Pulakesin appears to have subdued all the other kingdoms noted above, (see Aihole and other inscriptions). The Pallavas ruled in Kanchi or Chola and Dravida, their king at this time being Narasinha Varma. In Malayakuta or Pandya country (Madura and Tinnevely) ruled the line of kings, called the Pandyas who like the kings of Assam, ruled there from of old. In Vengi was Vishnu Vardhana, brother of Satyasriya Pulakesin. Who the king of Banavasi was we cannot discover. Probably a prince of the Kadamba family ruled there. These kingdoms of the south were all tributaries of and subordinate to the empire of Pulakesin II who conquered them between about 610 and 620 A. D. By a strange coincidence this southern empire of Pulakesin which came into being at about the same time as that of Harsha in the north, also came to an end like its northern rival about the middle of the 7th century, Narasinha Varma of Kanchi conquering and devastating Badami.

NOTE.

ŚILADITYA OF MALWA.

According to the description of this king given by Hiuen Tsang he began to rule in 530 A. D. and died in 580 A. D., and thus ruled about 60 years before his visit in 630 A. D. In the Rajatarangini we have the mention of a Śiladitya of Malwa, son of Vikramaditya, who was driven out of his capital by his enemies but who was restored to his throne by Pravarasena II, of Kashmir. (Raj. Book III, 330.) Was he the same king as mentioned by Hiuen Tsang? It is conceded by Stein that while the history of Kashmir given by Kalhana is reliable from the Karkota dynasty onwards, previous to it the dates and history given by Kalhana are not so. This view is borne out also by the contemporary evidence of Hiuen Tsang. For when he was in Kashmir a Karkota King was evidently ruling there. The Records state: "Being protected by a dragon the kings crowded over their neighbours." From the date of Durlabha Vardhana given by Kalhana this king appears to be on the throne of Kashmir when Hiuen Tsang visited it. His date as given by Kalhana is 3677 of the Laukika era or 602 A. D. Now before this king, Kalhana

mentions five rulers upto Pravarasena II as follows proceeding backwards :—

	Name.	Laukika Year.	Length of reign.
1.	Balāditya	3641	36
2.	Vikramāditya	3597	42
3.	Ranāditya	3299	300
4.	Lakhana	3288	13
5.	Yudhisthira II	3246	39
6.	Pravarasena II	3186	60

Thus Pravarasena II according to Kalhana came to the throne in 3186 L. E. or 111 A. D. He took the kingdom from Matrigupta who was sent to rule Kashmir during an interregnum by Vikramaditya of Malwa, on Vikrama's death. Kalhana takes this Vikrama to be the first Vikrama who founded the era of 57 B. C. This makes Vikrama die at least after $111 + 57 = 168$ years of rule which is an obvious absurdity. There is also the absurdity of Ranaditya ruling for 300 years in this dynasty of kings. All this hopeless confusion has been caused by Kalhana's mistake in giving up the original tradition fortunately preserved by Kalhana himself that Vikramaditya Sakari or the first Vikrama was a different person from the one who sent Matrigupta to rule over Kashmir. The first Vikrama according to the tradition rejected by Kalhana was a relative and a contemporary of a previous king of Kashmir by name Pratapaditya. If we take the Vikramaditya who sent Matrigupta to Kashmir to be Yaśodharma Vishnu-Vardhana of Malwa who defeated the Huns in 528 A. D., and established an empire over the whole of Northern India as stated in his Mandore pillar inscription we get at some reliable history and dates and we are supported also by the evidence of Hiuen Tsang. For Hiuen Tsang relates that when he visited Kashmir the capital of that country was newly built and the traveller speaks of the new capital as distinct from the old. Now it is certain that Pravarasena II founded the present capital Śrinagar called also from him Pravarapura. When Hiuen Tsang visited Kashmir in 631 A. D., we may take it that this new capital was not yet a hundred years old. Thus Pravarasena's coming to the throne must be placed some time after 531 A. D.—a time which is not inconsistent with the date of Vikramaditya Yaśodharma of the Mandore pillar inscription of 533 A. D. We must give up the genealogy and history of the later Guptaditya kings given by Kalhana altogether and take two or three salient facts only as certain, namely, that Pravarasena II founded the new capital of Kashmir about 540 A. D., that Vikramaditya Yaśodharma had sent a man named Matrigupta to rule Kashmir before this Pravarasena and that Pri-

varasena assisted Vikramaditya's son Pratapasila, also called Śiladitya, to regain his kingdom lost owing to his expulsion by enemies. This Pratapasila named also Śiladitya may thus have been the Śiladitya of Malwa who is mentioned by Hiuen Tsang as ruling in Molapo.

But there is one difficulty. Hiuen Tsang states that the king of Valabhi, son-in-law of Harsha, was a nephew of the Śiladitya of Malwa. If Śiladitya of Malwa, after a rule of about 50 years, died 60 years before 640 A. D., i.e., about 580 A. D., and was a son of Vikramaditya who must be supposed to have died in 530 A. D., how can his nephew be in 630 A. D. a young man? If we suppose that nephew stands here for a sister's son, even then this relationship cannot be accepted if we bear in mind the disparity of age between a supposed sister of Śiladitya whose father died say about 535 A. D., and Dhruvabhata of Valabhi who was a young man of twenty-five or thirty in 630 A. D. Of course, if we take Hiuen Tsang's Śiladitya of Malwa to be a different person from the son of Vikramaditya it is possible to conceive that he had a sister from whom Dhruvabhata was born in the Valabhi family. The conclusion is that the identity of Śiladitya of Malwa with the Pratapasila Śiladitya, son of Vikramaditya mentioned by Kalhana in the *Rajatarangini*, is a matter of considerable doubt.

If the identity is, however, accepted^{*} the history of the western portion of Malwa becomes very easy and straight and we may believe that the line of the great Emperor who defeated the Huns did not become obscure for a hundred years at least, but ruled in Western Malwa to which country we may properly assign Mandsore where his Jayastambha was found. At the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit, the grandson of this Śiladitya must have been ruling, for Hiuen Tsang relates that Śiladitya who was a most devout Buddhist had built a temple of Buddha near his palace. "This fine work had been continued for successive generations without interruption" (*Records of the Western Regions*, Vol. II, page 242). The temple must have been added to in this way, for at least three generations, when Hiuen Tsang visited Malwa. The dynasty may be, thus, supposed to have ruled Western Malwa from before 528 to 640 A. D. for certain. Of course, the mention of successive generations of Śiladitya by Hiuen Tsang makes it impossible to believe with Dr. Hoernle that this Śiladitya could have been alive in 606 A. D. to attack Grahavarmā. As we have already said the attacker of Grahavarmā was Devagupta alone.

Dr. Hoernle's idea that Śiladitya of Molapo was a Pro-Hunic king seems also to be difficult of acceptance. I believe the only basis for

^{*} And this may be done by taking the word nephew to mean that Dhruvabhata's father and Śiladitya of Malwa were brothers in the sense that they were the sons of two full sisters.

this supposition is that he invoked the assistance of Pravarasena II of Kashmir. But Pravarasena II was not a Hunic king. Even if we believe that his father was Toramana he was not according to Kalhana a son of Mihirakula. I do not think Dr. Hoernle's reference here to the Rajatarangini bears this out. Toramana was the younger brother of Hiranya, who imprisoned him for striking coins in his own name. His pregnant wife escaped and gave birth to Pravarasena. After Hiranya's death therefore, there was an interregnum for a time during which Matrigupta was appointed ruler by Vikramaditya. Pravarasena coming of age, recovered his kingdom on Vikramaditya's death from Matrigupta. If we follow Kalhana's story, then, Pravarasena was not a Hunic King. And Pravarasena assisted Śīladitya to regain his kingdom, with the probable object of recovering the throne of Kashmir kings which Vikrama had removed to Malwa as mentioned in Raj. III, 331.

If we keep Kalhana aside we may say that there was in Kashmir an interval of foreign rule, probably under the Huns, which Vikrama broke and Matrigupta was appointed by him to rule it, there being no claimant available. Pravarasena hearing of Vikrama's death and claiming the kingdom as a scion of the old reigning family took it back from Matrigupta. In short, in either case Śīladitya could not have been a Pro-Hun. He was a devout Buddhist and could not have been a bad man also. Of course, his capital was not Ujjain. Kalhana, as we have already said, confounds Vikrama *Sakari*,^o the legendary hero of Ujjain with Yaśodharma, the conqueror of the *Huns*, who from his pillar erected at Mandsore may well be taken to have really ruled in Western Malwa, and his son Śīladitya naturally ruled there.

On one point, however, I think it is not impossible to accept Dr. Hoernle's idea. His suggestion that the coins of Harṣa, Pratapaśīla and Śīladitya found with those of Īśanavarman and Grahavarman at Bhitaura, Fyzabad District, noticed by Mr. Burn in J. R. A. S. 1909 mentioned before, should be attributed to Yaśodharma and his son Śīladitya, deserves to receive more favourable consideration than it has hitherto done. By a strange coincidence the names Harsha, Pratapaśīla and Śīladitya apply to both Harsha and Pratapaśīla of Thaneser and to Yaśodharma and his son Śīladitya. Rajatarangini (III. 125) gives Harsha as another name of Vikramaditya and his son Śīladitya had also another name Pratapaśīla. (Ditto III. 330.) The years on these coins are as Mr. Burn says regnal. Harsha of Thaneser established an era of his own and his years may be

Raj. III, 125 and 128 शकान् विनाश्य येनादौ कार्यभारो लघूकृतः।.

regnal, but his father Pratapaśila like Śśana would rather use the Gupta era or some other era. He was not an emperor nor did he claim to be one. His titles and those of Śśana are the same and hence it is not probable that he would use his regnal years on his coins. He does not appear to have reigned long and his years, even if regnal, could not have been so many as 33 or 34. Thirdly, it appears from the Harsha-Charita that the coin of Harsha was marked with a bull. At least this was so in the first year of his rule (वृषाक्षमार्भिनव वदितं हाटकमर्थं मुद्रां समुपविन्धे H. C., p. 274) and the same would be the case with the coins of his father if they did not copy the Gupta coins. These arguments should induce us to attribute these coins to Harsha Yaśodharma Vikramāditya who was an emperor of India and his son Pratapaśila *alias* Śśiladitya who would use his own or his father's regnal years. The name Śśiladitya was a favourite one with Buddhists who valued virtue (शील) more than valour (विक्रम) and who thus gave this title to many kings of Buddhist fame. Śśiladitya of Molapo was a staunch Buddhist and may have struck coins in that name also besides those issued in the name of Pratapaśila.

ART. XII.—*The Life and Times of Sri-Vēdānta-Deśika.*

By

V. RANGACHARI, M.A.,

Contributed.

In my former article on Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism from the death of Rāmānuja to the accession of Vēṅkaṭanātha or Vēdānta Dēśika, I pointed out how, in the course of the two centuries which elapsed from the one event to the other, the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas became divided into two parties, the orthodox and the popular, the traditional and the reformatory, and how the former party, more saintly than statesmanlike, withdrew from Śrīraṅgam to Conjeeveram, and made it the centre of their activities. I also pointed out how, in course of time, the danger with which Viśiṣṭādvaitism was threatened by Advaitism led to the recall of the leader of the orthodox and traditional party, the great Vēdānta Dēśika, to Śrīraṅgam and his formal assumption of universal āchāryaship. I now proceed to give an account of the events which characterised the āchāryaship of this great saint and scholar. Few Indians indeed there must be who have not heard of him and of the conspicuous position he occupies in the temple and domestic worship of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas of the South. Uninformed popular opinion holds him as a sectarian leader, as the leader of the northern school of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism as against the south; but as a matter of fact his position was one of far greater responsibilities and of far more cosmopolitan interests. From one standpoint he was the universal āchārya of all Śrī-Vaiṣṇavites, namely in the Bhāshyic side of the creed. The erudition of the prabandhic scholars, it should be understood, was necessarily narrow and their range of work and influence, from the standpoint of the historian of India, decidedly small. For they confined themselves solely to the perfection of that *aspect* of Vaiṣṇavism of which they were the leaders, and never devoted their minds to the formulation of schemes whereby Vaiṣṇavism, as a whole, could measure itself successfully against the other creeds of the land. But Śrī-Vēṅkaṭanātha had a double object in view and a double mission to perform. He was, in the first place, the champion of orthodoxy as against what he considered to be heresy. But this was his smaller work. There was a larger, a far more ambitious work, which he had always in view, namely, the declaration of the supremacy of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism, as a whole, over the other creeds of the land. In this respect he was the universal āchārya, as the triumph of Vaiṣṇavism

over other religions was a thing which even the prabandhic school had, as much in heart. In other words, Vēdāntāchārya was the champion of two movements, one smaller and one greater, one internal and the other external. Internally he was the opponent of "popular heresy," externally, the champion of Vaiṣṇavism as against Śāivīṣm and its great leader, the celebrated Vidyāranya. In a consideration of Vēṅkṭanātha's place in history, we may even go further and note a third position he occupied, a third mission he set before himself and that was to save Hinduism itself as against Mahomedanism. In this capacity he was the friend of Vidyāranya and co-operated with him in the overthrow of the Mlechcha. It is known to every student of history that in the beginning of the 14th century South India was attacked by the Mahomedans and the sovereigns of its ancient dynasties had to surrender their sceptres to their enemy or sacrifice their independence. From that time onward the whole of South India became a vast théâtre of racial and religious feuds. The superior strength and fanaticism of the Mahomedan soldiery, their crusading spirit and the iron discipline of their creed, made them irresistible.

Vēdānta Deśika's position in the religious history of India.

Torn by factions and caste quarrels, weakened by centuries of internecine wars and inefficient administrations, the Hindus were scarcely equal to the struggle, and had to look on with despair while slaughter and dismay were carried into their very homes, and pollution and blood into their temples. Consequently, thousands of afflicted people were prepared to barter their religion for their safety, and embrace the doctrines of Mahomed. Hindu Society was threatened, and it seemed that the religion which had been the life of the country from immemorial times was on the brink of forcible destruction. It was the organizing genius, the industry, the faith and the patience of Vidyāranya and Vēṅkṭanātha, the respective leaders of Śāivīṣm and Vaiṣṇavism, that restored the faith of the panic-stricken people in their religion and brought about its triumph over Islam in this part of India. What Vidyāranya did for Advaitism, Vēṅkṭanātha did for Viśiṣṭadvaitism. The former revived and continued the work of Śaṅkara, and the latter that of Rāmānuja. Both were men of extraordinary intellect and encyclopedic knowledge, and rivals worthy of each other; but while they were the leaders of different schools of Hinduism, they were at one in their hatred of Mahomedanism. Vēṅkṭanātha's position was thus a very singular one. He was, to put the whole thing in a nutshell, a Hindu in his crusade against the Mahomedan, a Vaiṣṇava as against Śāivite, a Sanskrit-tamilist as against the practically exclusive Tamilist in the holy studies. It was this many-sided activity that led to the

remarkable versatility of his writings, a versatility which is a literary marvel. More than 120 works he has left; most of these are now extant, and prove how thorough his teachings were, how fertile his intellect was, and how exalted his views of life and conduct were. Humble and modest in his deportment, profoundly learned, saintly in his habits, he was the embodiment of all that was good and great, of the divinity in man and man's devotion to the divinity. His name has been cherished and revered by posterity not only for his sterling virtues as a man, and for his deep erudition and versatile genius, but for the firm and invincible mind with which, at a time of severe calamities, he encountered the troubles that afflicted those of his religious persuasion and rescued them, by the solid and substantial nature of his services, from their paralysing effects. No saint ever lived in more critical times, and none tided over them with such success and such glory.

Vēṅkaṭanāthāchārya was born at Tūppil, a part of the historic city of Conjeeveram, in 1269 A.D. His father, Anantasūri Sōmayāji, was, as his name implies, an orthodox Vaiṣṇavite who had performed the Sōmayāga and who was a descendant of one of the 74 *Simhāsānādhipatis* established by Rāmānuja, while his mother, Tōtāramba, was the sister of Ātrēya Rāmānuja or Rāmānuja Appullār, the successor of Varadāchārya as the *Ubbayasimhāsānādhipati*. The story is that for years Anantasūri and his wife had no child; that God Vēṅkaṭanātha of Tirupati and His Consort separately appeared to them one day in a vision, and promised them a son in case they undertook a pilgrimage to their shrine. They did so, and during their sojourn in that holy place, Śrīnivāsa once again appeared before the sleeping Tōtāramba in the guise of a boy, and presented her, through her husband, with a bell, saying that she, by swallowing it, would be the mother of an illustrious son. The next day, the bell of the sanctuary was missing and the authorities, who suspected the priests were about to chastise them, when information reached them of the remarkable dream of Anantasūri and his wife. The narration of the dream only

caused the scepticism and laughter of the authorities; but at this stage, the Jeer of the great shrine, who had been, it is said, informed by God

Himself of his act, appeared on the scene, and confirmed the miraculous account which the pilgrims of Tiruttanga gave. All insinuations were then changed into applause, and all laughter into reverence. As the God's chosen devotee, Anantasūri obtained the homage of respect from all the people of Tirupati, and returned soon to Conjeeveram. Twelve years later, on Wednesday, under constellation

Śravaṇa, of the Tamil month of Puraṭṭāṣi, of year Vibhava,¹ K. 4371, S. 1190 or 1191, Tōtāramba gave birth to a son, whom the exulted parents named Vēṅkaṭanātha, after the God whose gift he was. A child of penance and prayer, of a family remarkable for scholarship, Vēṅkaṭanātha evinced, even when he was a boy, an extraordinarily precocious genius and a thirst for knowledge far beyond his years. Descended on his father's side, from one of the 74 Simhāsanādhipatis established by Rāmānuja, and on his mother's side from the chief of the Bhāṣhya Simhāsanādhipatis, Vēṅkaṭanātha was born, and brought up in a pure atmosphere of piety and learning; and therefore when, after the advent of his eighth year and the investment of the sacred thread, his studies began, he passed hours, which other boys of his tender age devoted to amusement, in study and meditation.

It was in his fifth year, that is, three years before his Upanayana, that he was evidently introduced by Ārēya Rāmānuja (Appiṭṭār), in whose charge he had been entrusted by his father, to the illustrious society of scholars at Conjeeveram. It was, as I have said, an assembly of no mean talents. There was the able, the eloquent, the erudite,

Naḍādūr² Āchārya, busy expounding, with a clearness and lucidity essentially his own, the profound works of his great predecessors. There was, in the midst of the audience, the learned Sudarśanāchārya³ who took down everything which his teacher said, and who thereby became the agent through whom the *Śrutaprakāśika* was published to the world.

It is a point of dispute among scholars whether Dēśika was born in Vibhava or Śukla. The latest edition of the V. G., for example, mentions Śukla; but the Maṇipravāla work, *Vibhavaṇṇaprakāśita*, which is the standard authority on Dēśika's life and which was written by Mahāchōṭṭa and commented on by his disciple Śrīnivāsa Mahāsūri, attributes the teacher's birth to year Vibhava (See p. 20). It further says that certain other works on the teacher—the *Āchāryadāśika*, the *Āchārya dvātrīṃśat*, and the *Āchāryaśāstaka*—which should have been recognized works of authority give Vibhava. The *Aṣṭottara-śata-nāṃavalī* which is repeated in the worship of Dēśika, moreover, calls him *Vibhavaṇḍusamutpanna* (विभवद ममुत्पन्न). The whole question was once in dispute and settled in favour of Vibhava. Śukla should have been the year of *Āḍḍapṛthi*. See *Varādhavaṇṇakīrti*, p. 119.

¹ That is, Nalāḍūr Anṇaṁ [or Venṇāḍichērya, the 4th Uthayasimhāsanādhipati. See J. A. S. Soc. B., 1914, p. 1, where I have already sketched his career.

² In a note on the Sorāṅkannur plates of Virāpāksha, dated S. 1378, Venkayya points out that the name Vijaya-Sudarśanapuram by which the village came to be known, might be in memory of Sudarśanāchārya, unless the title Vijaya-sudarśana was a surname of Virāpāksha or his father. See *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 305. As the name Sudarśana is very common among the Hindus, this interpretation seems to be far-fetched. It may be pointed out here that Prof. Aufrecht mentions, besides the *Śrutaprakāśika*, another treatise by Sudarśana-Bhūta, namely, *Āpasambagrihyasūtra-tika*. He also wrote a commentary on the daily *Saṅdhya-mūtras*, which has been published in Telugu character. See *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.*, by Prof. Rangacharya.

There was, again, the earnest Kṛiṣṇapāda (Vaḍakku-tiruvīdhi-Piḷḷai) who, unsurpassed in his knowledge of the Nāḷāyira-prābandhu, and revered as leader by the growing Prabandhic party, was supplementing it with a study of the Bhāṣhyas under the great Varadāchārya. It is said that, when Ātrēya Rāmānuja (Appiḷḷār) came to the assembly with his nephew, Kṛiṣṇapāda (Vaḍakku-tiruvīdhi-Piḷḷai) burst into open admiration at the highly intellectual air of the boy, and asked who he was. The Āchārya and his disciples then came to know of the strange history of the boy, and were speaking about it when an incident happened. The panegyrists of Vēṅkāṇātha narrate with pride how, when Varadāchārya wanted to resume his lectures, he could not get from his own disciples the place where he had stopped, but that the untutored boy of five reminded ¹ him of the topic he had been lecturing upon; and how the reverend lecturer lifted the youth in his arms and bestowed on him a blessing, accompanied by the prophecy that he would rise to a position equal to that of the great Bhāṣhyakāra himself. The miraculous birth of the young hero, the marvellous knowledge and memory he showed at an age when even the letters of the alphabet could not adequately be learnt, were enough to show to Varadāchārya that the future champion of Viśiṣṭādvaitism, the future leader of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava world, was before him. And with great earnestness, indeed, did he desire to educate him himself; but age and weakness made that honour impossible. He therefore asked Ātrēya Rāmānuja (Appiḷḷār) to continue to look after his education and to fit him to the great mission that awaited him.

Varadāchārya died, as I have already pointed ² out, soon after his meeting with Vēṅkāṇātha, that is, some time in 1278. At the point of his death, Varadāchārya appointed Ātrēya Rāmānuja (Appiḷḷār) as his successor. The latter, however, remained at Conjeeveram and therefore the Āchāryic duties at Śrī-mūḡam devolved on his brother-disciple Sundaśānāchārya. At Conjeeveram, Ātrēya Rāmānuja devoted himself as much to the education of Vēṅkāṇātha as to the expounding of the Bhāṣhya and the Prabandhu. And to impart education to Vēṅkāṇātha was indeed a pleasant task. Very soon the master found that, to his ingenious nephew, the deepest philosophy and the most emotional poetry were congenial studies. So fondly did

¹ An exceedingly garbled version of this is given in the Teṅḡalai work *Palamkāṇṭakāṭam*. It says that Appiḷḷār took Deśika when he was a child to the lecture hall; that the child went to the Āchārya and touched his feet; and then asked the child, in play, whether he, like his ancestor Viśvāmītra, was going to create a phantom world. The story is characteristically silly and childish.

² *J. R. A. S., Ho. Br., 1913-5, p. 111.*

Vēṅkaṭanātha take to his studies that in a short time his mind was saturated with all the knowledge and business of his age. In the Vēdas and Vēdic lore he became, as one of his admirers says, the equal of Vyāsa himself! In the sciences of Vyākaraṇa (grammar), Tarka (logic) and Mimāṃsa, in the Itihāsa and Purāṇas, in astronomy and the art of poetry, in the literature of rituals, in the various creeds¹ of Sāṅkhya, Yōga, the Buddhistic, the Charvaka, the Jain, Śaivite, &c., in the Smritis of Bharadvāja, of Śaṅḍilya, of Hārta and others, he attained an admirable and unrivalled mastery. In the purely spiritual field of Mantrārtha, again, he became an equal of Nātha Muni and Yāmunāchārya, while in the mastery of the Tamil Prabandhas he equalled his talented teacher. Never in the religious history of the world do we find such a deliberate, sound, and versatile equipment designed solely with the view to future leadership. Never has there been a grander preparation for spiritual sovereignty in history, and in no case, has the result been so dazzling, so penetrating and so momentous. In every branch of knowledge the great teacher has left gigantic monuments of his gigantic intellect, and the cult of Rāmānuja, the spreading of which was the sole object of this training and the sole mission of Vēṅkaṭanātha, was placed on an unassailable basis in the land. Our admiration for the marvellous ability of Vēṅkaṭanātha is all the greater when we realise that all these wide and intense studies were completed by the twentieth year of his² age.

Soon after the completion of his education Ātrēya Rāmānuja (Appiḷḷār) celebrated Vēṅkaṭanātha's marriage with one Tirumaṅgai, a lady of a highly orthodox family. This was the last service that the great teacher rendered to his pupil and nephew; for not long after he settled Vēṅkaṭanātha in the Ġṛhasaṅgrama, he departed this world, appointing his nephew to the Āchāryic dignity and bequeathing to him the sandals of Rāmānuja, as well as the Śaṅkha and Chakra he had been using. At the point of his death, we are informed, Appiḷḷār impressed on his talented pupil the greatness of the mission that awaited him,—the firm establishment of Rāmānujism throughout the land, and bestowed on him, with a view to enable him to successfully accomplish this, a Mantra to be

¹ Vide Śloka 26-29 of the *Saptatīrtuamahikā* by Prativādi Bhayāṅkara.

² That Dēśika completed his education by his 20th year is proved by a passage in his own drama *Sankalpasūryodaya*. (विशल्यन्दे विधुत नाना विध विद्यः).

addressed to Garuḍa for his gracious co-operation.¹ Never for a moment did Vēṅkaṭanātha forget this. From the moment of his master's demise, he began those stirring and soul-thrilling expoundations which were to make Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism philosophically one of the richest religions in the land. Ever hungry for the propagation of true spiritual knowledge, he felt that it was necessary to avail himself of the Vaimatēyamantṛa to propitiate Garuḍa and get his grace. He therefore left Conjeevaram—he must have been at least twenty-two then—and fixed his residence at Tiruvahindrapuram,² a picturesque village on the banks of the Gaḍilam, about five miles to the west of Cuddalore. Tiruvahindrapuram had already become, thanks to tradition and legend, a prominent stronghold of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism. The local legend says that once Dēvanāyaka-Perumāl, the god of the village temple, was thirsty and asked his servant and vehicle, Garuḍa, to bring water, and that the latter traced with his beak the channel in which the river flows at present. This is the reason, says the Purāṇa, of the river running at the very foot of the temple. Situated on the very brink of the Gaḍilam (Garuḍanadi), and on a terrace close under the high and picturesque plateau of Mount Capper, the temple of Dēvanāyaka attracts thousands of pilgrims every year, as much for the beauty of its situation as for its holy associations and festivals. For the antiquarian also it possesses a singular interest in the fact that, besides containing numerous inscriptions of the Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya kings, it figures in the Nūḷayirappambhalu, a circumstance which makes us infer that the temple must have been considerably prior to the ninth century.

It is not known how long Vēṅkaṭanātha stayed in Tiruvahindrapuram. According to a tradition³ he lived there for 15 years. The Guruparampara, however, and every other authority, is silent on the question. One thing is certain,—that it was in this place that Vēṅkaṭanātha laid the foundations of that renown for expoundation and original composition which made his name so unique in the annals of Vaiṣṇavism. So splendidly did he distinguish himself in both these aspects of his work, that miracles became necessary to explain it. We are told how he sat at the foot of an Asvattha tree in the vicinity of the Nannasimha shrine on the Aushadhādri hills, and invoked and obtained personal communion with Garuḍa, and received from him a Mantra to be

¹ According to tradition Appāḷa was himself the avatar of Garuḍa. For a panegyric on him by Gopālasūri called *Vādīhamstambuktebhāryastōtram*, see *Des. cat.*, Sansk. MSS. Vol. XIX, p. 7145.

² See *S. Arcot Gaz.*, p. 98, and 3204. The place is generally called Tiruvēndipuram. An *Sihalanāthāṣṭakya* of the place has been printed and published.

³ *S. Arcot Gaz.*, p. 321.

addressed to Hayagrīva,¹ the Lord of knowledge; and how with the aid of this Mantra he obtained the generous audience of Hayagrīva, and became, thanks to the nectar he gave him, the most learned man in the world and the authorised expounder of the Vēdānta. The result was seen in the fact that, throughout the period of his stay there, the rising philosopher won steadily increasing attention, and delivered himself vigorously to a large and growing audience on the doctrines of Vaiṣṇavism and (as he declared) its superiority to other religions. The magnetic personality of the preacher, the marvellous store of knowledge which he brought to bear in refuting the beliefs and principles of other creeds, especially those of the advaitic school, and the sincerity which cast a glow of beauty even over his controversial efforts, made him an ideal teacher who commanded the admiration of his followers and the respect of his opponents. It was at this period, probably, that his unrivalled Vēdāntic lore and literary skill gained for him the titles of Vēdāntāchārya, Kavītārkkikasimha and Sarvatantrasaṁmantra.²

One fact must be remembered in regard to Vēdāntāchārya's career as an Āchārya, namely, his preference of a *Grhastha's* life. He did not believe that his mission could not be a success unless he took to monastic life and immured himself in a cloister. He delivered his instructions not in secluded places far away from the busy world, but in the very homes of his disciples, thereby raising the dignity of a householder's life. This consecration of the daily resorts of men to the study of religion had the natural effect of making the communication of knowledge easy and rapid. An ever increasing number of scholars heard his lessons, and the schools of Viśiṣṭādvaitism became much more thronged than they had ever been. A rapid succession of followers, who came from different quarters of the country, diffused the name of their teacher till it reached the utmost limits of the Sanskrit and Tamil languages. Vēṅkaṭanātha's labours were not confined to preaching alone. He wrote many original works. He first composed the panegyric poems, *Hayagrīva Stotra*³ and *Garudapanchā-*

¹ Hayagrīva was the incarnation of Viṣṇu on the occasion of his rescuing the Vēda from the Daityas. "The adorable, the Sacrificial Male (*Purnaka*) in the sacrifice inaugurated by Brahmā, incarnate Hayagrīva, of golden complexion, full of vēdic inspiration, full of sacrifices, the *eli* (litman) of the deities who are adored by their performance. The sublime words (*i.e.*, the Vēda) were created from the nostrils of this breathing one." (Quoted from Śrīdhara by Dr. Grierson in his article *Gleanings from the Bhaktamāla*, J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 631-22.)

² Tradition, however, says that these titles were conferred by God Rāṅganātha Himself at Śrīraṅgam in recognition of his splendid services there.

³ It consists of 32 stanzas mostly in Upajāti metre. All these works have been printed and are eagerly read by all Śrī-Vaiṣṇavites.

fat to the gracious authors of his greatness. The local God Dēva-māyaka he then addressed in his *Dēvanāyakaṇṇāṭal*,² which he followed up with his *Achyuta-tataka*, a work of 100 verses in the Ārya metre, in prakṛit, "whose affinity with the spoken dialects of the time remains to be investigated. A Tamil³ work of his, *Paramatabhanga*, is an able and exhaustive review of all known philosophies and systems, about sixteen in number, somewhat on the plan of Mādha-vācāhārya's *Sarvadarśanasangraha*. Unlike that work, however, it is not a mere statement of the doctrines, but a condensed and learned refutation of every system other than the Viśiṣṭhādvaitha. It is practically a summary in Tamil of the vast learning contained in the author's Sanskrit works, and is useful for those who are not special students of the latter. The *Gōpāla-Vimśati* is a popular Sanskrit hymn of twenty stanzas, in perhaps the sweetest language that this learned writer ever employed, on Śrī Kṛishṇa and his early exploits." The *Raghuviragadyam* is another important work of this period, and is, as its very name implies, a panegyrical address on Rāma as the God of Might and Mercy, and is at the same time a digest of the Rāmāyaṇam. Besides these Sanskrit writings, Vēṅkaṭanātha composed nine small works in pure Tamil. These were, unlike those we have already mentioned, on apparently less serious topics, but really on the divine couple, on "the sportlike workings of the Divine Pair in their rule over the universe." One was, for example, on playing with ball; another on swinging; a third on wit, and so on. Almost all these have been lost, but they prove that Vēṅkaṭanātha wanted to inculcate spiritual truths even through the usual channels of amusement.

After a few years' stay at Tiruvahindrapuram, Vēṅkaṭanātha returned to Conjeeveram, where he seems to have lived for the next few years,—years devoted to instruction and composition. "With his usual facility he composed various hymns on the deities of that place, the most important of which is the *Taradaraṇa Panchiṣat* on the God at Kanchi, which is a work of considerable merit. Every stanza, as may be expected, bears the impress of

Dēśika's return to Conjeeveram and his works there.

his deep learning and vast piety. He also composed here *Nyāsa tataka*, a short work on

Prapatti, the doctrine of surrender, which Vēdānta Dēśika elaborated in numerous later works. He also composed

¹ It consists of 51 stanzas in Śrīgāhara metre. It should be remembered that Gaṇḍa is unrhymed vēda.

² A poem in 53 verses. It celebrates the glory of the God of Tiruvahindrapuram, as the God of Gods.

In *Maṇipravāla*, as a matter of fact. The creeds to which Dēśika refers are:—

Lokāyitika, Mūlhyamika, Yōgichara, Sautrāntika, Vaiśhiṣhika, Prachehanahauddha (Māyāvāda Advaita), Jaina, Bhaskara, Vaiśeṣhika, Vaiśākaraṇa, Naiyāyika, Nirvāramimāmsaka, Nirvārasāhikya, Yōgasiddhānta and Pāsupata.

various works in Tamil, verse and prose, embodying in easy language, the substance of his teachings for the edification of those devoid of sanskrit learning; namely, ¹ the *Adaikkalappattu*, the *Arthapāṇchikam*, the *Sri-Vaiṣṇava-dinachari*, the *Tiruchinnamalai*, and *Pannirūnamam*. Vēṅkaṇātha then wrote his famous *Haṭṭigiri-Mūhātmya* in Maṇipravāla style on the paurāṇic history of Conjeeveram, which he followed up with *Śaraṇāgati-dīpikā*,² *Aṣṭabhujāṣṭakam*,³ *Yathukṛtā-kūristōtram*,⁴ and *Kāmāsikāṣṭakam*.⁵ Subsequently, on the occasion of his worship of Vijaya Rāghava in the suburb of Tirupputkuli, he sang the celebrated *Paramārthastuti*,⁶ which was soon followed by certain panegyric works on the Lord's Sudarśana. Never had Conjeeveram been such a seat of intellectual activity as in the days of Vēdānta Dēśika and never was it to be so in future.

When Vēṅkaṇātha was about thirty-five he seems to have been led by the same missionary zeal as distinguished His northern some of his predecessors to undertake a proselytising tour. His northern some of his predecessors to undertake a proselytising tour into Northern India. Starting from Conjeeveram, he first visited Ghaṭikāchalam and Tiruchchānūr, and came to Tirupati, where he worshipped his tutelary deity, in whose praise he wrote the *Dayā-Śataka*, a poem with a melodious style and profound thoughts. As its very name implies, it is a poem with 100 stanzas. The first decade demonstrates the sole right of the Lord to give Mōksha. The second dwells on the all-knowingness and other attributes of God, the third on His grace in the removal of His devotee's enemies, the fourth on His accessibility, the fifth on His guidance to Mōksha, the sixth on the absolute necessity of Prapatti or self-surrender for purpose of salvation. The last four decades dwell respectively on the tender grace of God, His omnipotence, His incarnations, and lastly the nature of Mōksha, the aim of all life. The

¹ The *Adaikkalappattu* is "a Śaraṇāgati hymn in 11 stanzas." The *Tiruchchinnamalai* is "a bugle song in 11 stanzas, in honour of the Lord's festive procession," in the Brahmotsava festival at Conjeeveram, celebrated every May. The *Pannirūnamam* consists of 13 stanzas "on the method of meditation during the process, daily, of wearing the 12 *pūṇḍra* marks on one's person." The *Sri-Vaiṣṇava-dinacharya* contains 10 stanzas and summarises the life of a true Śrīvaiṣṇavite as enjoined in the *Pāṇcharātra*. The *Arthapāṇchikam* contains 11 verses on "the five points to be mastered by a devotee, viz., (1) the nature of the Supreme Being who is the goal of the aspirant; (2) the nature of the soul (who attains); (3) the means of such attainment; (4) the fruits or consequences accompanying such attainment; and (5) the impediments in the soul's way of such attainment." See M. K. Tatacharya's *Life of Vēdānta Dēśika*, 75-6, which contains, at the end, valuable list and summary of Dēśika's works.

² This was composed as a panegyric of Dipaprakāśa at Tōppil in elucidation of Śaraṇāgati. It consists of 60 verses in Sanskrit.

³ 8 verses on the Saramed Gaṇḍaravara, who saved Gaṇḍera.

⁴ 10 verses. The story refers to the exploits of Tironakkaḷ Ālvār.

⁵ This poem is on Kāmāsika Nrisimha on the banks of the Vēgavai (*Kāmāsika*, dramatic tale of assuming any shape at will and pleasure).

⁶ "A hymn in 10 stanzas on the manly Hero who is the Refuge of the humble." *Ibid.*

whole poem is considered by the orthodox to be an expansion of the sacred Mantra known as *Dvaya*, which is the root of *Prapatti*. Vēṅkaṭanātha then proceeded northward, met his old acquaintance and co-disciple, Vidyāraṇya, on the banks of the Tungabhadra,¹ which he was soon to make immortal by the foundation of Vidyānagar, and no doubt, had a discussion with him in regard to the relative merits of Advaitism and Viśiṣṭhādvaitism. We have no materials from which we can gather the real substance of the discussion between these two intellectual giants; we are told however that the two friends soon had to part owing to an incident which took place soon after. The daughter of the king of the adjoining region, we are told, became possessed, and as none could cure the malady, the king came to the two saints and prayed to them to take pity on his child. Vēṅkaṭanātha, had no desire to place himself under obligation to an earthly potentate; but Vidyāraṇya, always statesmanlike and always in touch with the world, responded to the royal invitation and parted with his friend. It is difficult to say who this king was. The *Pañchavakya-prakāśika* calls him Bukka Rāya of Vijaynagar; but it could not have been he for the simple reason that Vidyānagar itself was not founded till 1336. It might have been the ruler of Ānagundi; but no other history mentions any incident in connection with him. Most probably it was a local chieftain whose name is yet to be ascertained, not improbably a vassal of the Hoysala Empire. From Vijaynagar the philosopher went, by what route we do not know, to Brindavan and Mathura, the soil which had been hallowed by the feet of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, and thence to Ayōdhya and Benares. He then commenced his return journey; and after visiting Pūrī, Śrīkūrmam, Ahōhilam, Tirupatī, Tiruvallūr, Tirunīravūr, Triplicane, Tirukkondaimalli and Śrīperumbūdūr, he reached his native place. An exact pronouncement on the chronology of this tour is impossible; but it can be surmised that it must have ended by the first decade of the 14th century.

After Vēṅkaṭanātha's return from his tour he stayed for a few years at Conjeeveram. The *Guruparampara* gives a graphic description of the simplicity, the knowledge, and the love of poverty which he displayed during his stay here. A magician, it says, came

As anecdotes of his Conjeeveram life.

¹ For short accounts of the Life of Vidyāraṇya, see *Mys. Mus.* I, p. 345. For his place in the impression list see *ibid.* p. 371 and Buchanan, II, p. 281. He was at the head of the Śaivācārya-matru from 1331 to 1386. Vide Dele's *Panchadasi* for an account of his works; also *Mys. Ed. Arch.* 1908, p. 13, and 1909, p. 29 for a list of a discussion of Vidyāraṇya's parentage. Mr. Narasimhaiah's discussion is very interesting though perhaps speculative; but it is obvious that it need not be reproduced here. As regards Vidyāraṇya's co-disciple-ship with Dēśika, no information is available. We are told that Vidyāraṇya's *Guru* was one Narayana Viśiṣṭa. Was he a friend with Dēśika also?

to the philosopher and invited him for controversy, and failing therein, resorted to magic. Entering into a tank, he drank water, and made it fill his adversary's stomach, and cause pain. Vēṅkaṭanātha knew at once the cause of the complaint, and took prompt means to remove it. By scratching a pillar, he made the water flow out in a miraculous manner from there. The magician found that in Vēṅkaṭanātha he met a better magician, and in subject submission, prayed for forgiveness and took his leave. On another occasion ² a bachelor came to Vēṅkaṭanātha and, incited by his adversaries, asked him to give him money for his marriage. Vēṅkaṭanātha himself was living, as every orthodox Brahmin should, on the charities of the charitable; but wedded as he was to poverty, he wanted to prove that his poverty was a thing of his own making. He therefore prayed to Lakshmi, the Goddess of wealth, to satisfy the poor but deluded suppliant. The prayer of the saint was immediately heard, the bachelor became a millionaire, and Vēṅkaṭanātha's enemies were disappointed in the achievement of a triumph.

The time soon came for Vēṅkaṭanātha's leaving Conjeevaram for a larger sphere of activity, for his formal assumption of the headship of the Vaiṣṇava world at Śrīraṅgam. Sudarśana Bhaṭṭa, the great grandson of Kurēṣa and the author of the Śrutaprakāśikā, was, as has been already mentioned, then the Āchārya there; but he had already reached the evening of his life; and felt too weak to bear the onerous duties of his position. He had indeed a number of able disciples, including the prabandhic leaders Peria-Āchchān-Piṭṭai, Piṭṭai Lōkāchārya, etc.; but these were wanting in that versatility of scholarship, that consecration on the Bhāṣhyic throne, which was the essential requisite of the universal Āchārya. The enemies of Viśiṣṭādvaitism, the Advaitins, took advantage of this state of things, and coming to Śrīraṅgam, challenged the leaders either to defeat them in controversy or embrace Advaitism. A panic seized the leaders, and they were at a loss as to what they were to do. After mutual consultation, however, they resolved to invite Vēṅkaṭanātha from Conjeevaram to Śrīraṅgam and formally assume the championship of Vaiṣṇavism. They seem to have thought that Vēṅkaṭanātha might perhaps be reluctant to leave the place where his ancestors had lived, and where he had spent his youth and

¹ It is to this period that the Gopaparāmpara assigns Vidyāranya's invitation to Vēṅkaṭanātha, to come to Vidyānagar. This is wrong. For Vidyānagar was founded as late as 1336, after Vēṅkaṭanātha's flight from Śrīraṅgam and the capture and sack of it by the Mahomedans in 1327. The invitation must have really taken place during Vēṅkaṭanātha's exile at Śat'namahāgalam.

² At Śrīraṅgam, very late in his life.

early life. They therefore proceeded to the shrine of Rāṅganātha and impressed on the priests and authorities the necessity of a special invitation of the great man in the name of the Lord, in order to save His religion. Thus it was that a divine mandate¹ summoned Vēṅkaṭanātha to instantly proceed to Śrīraṅgam and free it from the threatened dominance of the Advaitins. Vēṅkaṭanātha promptly obeyed the divine call. Personally the embodiment of resignation and humility, he however felt the necessity to formally become the spiritual king of the Vaiṣṇava world. Accompanied by his disciples, he came to the great stronghold of his creed on the banks of the Kāvēri, and welcomed by the temple authorities as well as all parties in the city in great pomp and honour, he formally undertook, in the presence of the Goddess and God, the defence and the expoundation, the preservation and extension, of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism.

It is not known for certain when this formal election took place.

It seems however safe to assert that Vēṅkaṭanātha must have reached the prime of his age when he was elected; for the first fifteen years of his life, the period of childhood and youth, were spent at Toppil, and the next 15 years at Tiruvahindrapuram. He must have been at least thirty-five when he set out on his extensive journey into North India; and as, in those days, roads were exceedingly bad, and travelling difficult and precarious, we shall not be far from the truth if we assign a period of seven or eight years for his tour, which, it should be remembered, extended over a distance of 2,000 miles. Vēṅkaṭanātha must have been therefore more than forty years old, when he was anointed as the head of the Vaiṣṇavite community at Śrīraṅgam. And as he was born about 1270, it is plain that his nomination cannot have taken place before 1310. This date introduces us to an important controversy. We know that in 1310 the tranquillity of South India, disturbed for centuries by internecine wars among its various dynasties, was finally destroyed by the Mahomedans. We know that, in his advance to Rāmēśvaram, Malik Kafur gave in free rein to slaughter and rapine, levelled to the ground hundreds of temples which had been reared at an almost incalculable expenditure of time, skill, and energy, demolished the idols, and thus inaugurated the policy of licence iconoclasm pursued by his Mussalman successors. The question now arises whether Śrīraṅgam shared this general disaster of 1310. According to some writers it did suffer, but according to others it escaped the vandalism of Kafur and succumbed only seventeen years later, in

¹ It was in the form of a communication (written in a palm leaf) sent by the priests in the name of the Lord, and in accordance with the popular demand. It was of course a unique tribute to Dēśika's scholarship.

1327, to another¹ Mahomedan irruption and attack. The latter view seems to be the more probable. It may indeed be argued in support of the former opinion that such a prominent centre as Śrīraṅgam could not have escaped at a time of such universal destruction. Yet is it not likely that, in the hurry of his movements and his anxiety to return home, Malik Kafur would not have cared to waste his time and resources in a contest, which he expected to be deadly, with the people of Śrīraṅgam? Moreover, there is another important reason. It is a known fact that among those who suffered during its capture Vēdāntāchārya was one, and that he had been for years before the invasion the leader of the Vaiṣṇavite community. If the Mahomedan attack on Śrīraṅgam had taken place in 1310, it is obvious that Dēśika must have become the Āchārya at about 1300, that is, when he was little more than thirty. But we have already seen that he stayed till his 30th year at Tiruvahindrapuram and Conjeeveram and that he undertook his long northern tour after it, and that he could not in consequence have come to Śrīraṅgam before forty. A number of manuscript chronicles in the Mackenzie collection, besides the *Kōlōlugu*, above all, clearly say that the Mahomedan conquest of the south took place after S. 1246. We may therefore conclude that, at the time of Malik Kafur's invasion, Vēdānta Dēśika had not yet returned from his tour, and that he was invested with the pontifical robes sometime after the invasion of 1310-11.

The period of the apostolic labours of Vēṅkaṭanātha at Śrīraṅgam was perhaps the most glorious in his life, certainly His career at one of the most important epochs in the history of Śrīraṅgam. of Vaiṣṇavism. His first task after the acceptance of the apostolic throne was to engage the Advaitins, who had challenged the leaders at Śrīraṅgam, in controversy, and to vanquish them, after a tough intellectual fight which lasted for eight days. The substance of Vēṅkaṭanātha's arguments is given in that monumental work known as the *Śatatlāshani*² and in the judgment of the orthodox, no more powerful polemical treatise exists in Vaiṣṇava literature. The immediate result of this victory was, we are told, the desire on the part of Śrīmad Rāṅganātha that Vēṅkaṭanātha should stay there permanently as the expounder of his rule. And Vēṅkaṭanātha obeyed the mandate. With the fiery ardour of a preacher, he combined the

¹ The *Mack. MSS., Kōlōlugu*, &c., clearly attribute it to 1327. For a discussion of the whole question, see my *History of the Nayak Kingdom of Madurai, Ind. Antq.*, 1914, pp. 2-4 (January).

² A portion of this work is lost. The most celebrated commentary on this is the *Chandamārutam* of Mahāchārya of Sholāpur.

laborious tasks of an expounder, commentator and original writer. Besides expounding the Śrī-Bhāṣya, the great commentary of Rāmānuja, thirty times, he found leisure to write numerous works of great merit in connection with it,—the *Tatvaṭika*, an extensive gloss on the Śrī-Bhāṣya; the *Tatparihāṇḍika*, an elaborate commentary on the *Gitā-Bhāṣya*; the *Nyāyasiddhānta*, a text-book of Viśiṣṭādvaitic logic; the *Sūtrāṇi Mīmāṃsa*, a commentary on Jai Muni's work with a view to trace the relationship between the Pūrva and Uttara Mīmāṃsas and to demolish the common theory that the former system is atheistic; the *Adhikaraṇa Sārāṅgi*, "a series of Sanskrit verses summarising the discussions of the various types of the Vedānta Sūtras; and the *Tatva-muktī-kalpa*,¹ an elaborate and critical discussion of the nature of the Universe in the light of the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy, together with an explanatory gloss on it called *Sarvārthasiddhi*. He further wrote certain soul-stirring hymns on the Goddesses Śrī and Bhū, on the ten avatāra, and on Rāmānuja (यनिराज-समन्ति). In response to the requests of his followers he delivered a series of lectures on the ideals of Śrī Vaiṣṇāvism and the daily habits which a true Śrī Vaiṣṇava should adopt, and these lectures were embodied into the allied treatises of *Saccharitra-rakṣā*, *Rahasya-rakṣā*, *Pāñcharātra-rakṣā*, *Nikṣhāpa-rakṣā*, *Gītārthasaṅgraha-rakṣā*, &c., which remain, even to-day, the most classical and authoritative treatises on the subject. In explanation of the Mantras which together with the Bhāṣyas and the Prabandhas formed the triple basis of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism he wrote, in the Maṇipravāḷa style, the *Tatva-pāṭavi*, the *Kṛṣṇa-pāṭavi*, the *Tatvanivāṇitam*, the *Rahasyanivāṇitam*, the

¹ A verse from this is quoted by Vidyāranya in his *sarvadarśana-saṅgraha*, see *Mys. Ep. Rev.*, 1901, p. 24. The term *Tatvamuktī-kalpa* means "the pearl necklace of ultimate realities in the Vedānta." A gloss on it called the *Gūḍhāprakāśika* by Śrīnivāsa Gururāṣas Tāṇjāvī-Deśika is in the Govt. Mus. Library, Madras. For a notice of it, see *Triena. Catal. Sanskrit. Mys.*, 1910-3, Vol. I, p. 6, by Prof. Rangacharya. The Bhāṣya on the *Isāvāsyaopaniṣad* was also written at this time. (*Ibid.*, Vol. I., 308-9.)

The first of these is in defence of the orthodox regulations regarding the puṇḍra or caste marks, the dīṭa and cooch-marks, and food which had first to be offered to the deity. (*Kaṭa-catal.*, I, 183.) The *Pāñcharātra rakṣā* upheld the Vaidic authenticity of Pāñcharātra system. (See *Des. Catal.*, xi, p. 4074.) *Nikṣhāparakṣā* was a defence of the doctrine of *svamārgatā* (*Des. Catal. Sanskrit. Mys.*, Vol. xi, 308-60). The *Gītārthasaṅgraharakṣā* was a commentary on Yāmuna's *Gītārthasaṅgraha*. It may be mentioned that in addition to these treatises, Deśika wrote at this time, in response to Prītiśekhara Pīḷḷai's request, the *Nyāsatilaka*, *Nṛpasaviśānti* and *Nyāsandhānam* on Prapatti. For a commentary on *Nikṣhāparakṣā* see *Des. Cat. Sanskrit. Mys.*, Vol. xi, 4160-2. The *Sajjanavibhava*, a treatise of Deśika on the greatness of the followers of the Vaiṣṇāva school of Vaiṣṇāgama, belongs evidently to this period. (See *Ibid.*, p. 4192.) The *Mīmāṃsāpāṭuka* is another metrical treatise of the period. (See *Ibid.*, Vol. ix, p. 3324-7). *Haridraṇṭilaka*, a work on the greatness of the Īkādasi feast. (See *Ibid.*, Vol. vi, p. 2368; Vol. v, p. 2195) is not his work.

Tatva-Ratnāvali, the *Paramapada-sūpānam*, and 25 other similar works, thereby clearly analysing, elaborating and strengthening the views of Rāmānuja.

A word may here be said of the nature of Vēdāntāchārya's writings and his position among the literary luminaries of India. His writings have not attracted from oriental scholars that amount of attention which they deserve for the reason that they are mostly sectarian—not that Dēśika was narrow in his views or fanatical in his tone, but the times in which he lived needed a writer whose mental energy and critical acumen should be devoted to polemical uses. But for him and his writings the Viśiṣṭādvaitic school would have lost half its strength, especially as the gigantic intellect of Vidyāranya was working on behalf of the Advaitic system. He was, therefore, as much an advocate as a religious leader. He was by necessity an ardent partisan. But what Hinduism in general lost, Vaishnavism in its most important aspect gained. In spite of his extensive lore, his genius had to be intensive. Yet it must be said to his eternal credit that his writings bewilder the reader by their versatility, their deep thought, their beauty of style, their moral fervour, and the spiritual insight which inspires them. As a poet he is widely appreciated, while as a philosopher he belongs to the first rank. While the Ālvār was the *seer*, the actual realiser, of Īśvara as Śrīpati and as Sārāṇya, to be won by Prapatti, while the Bhāṣhyakāra was the *thinker*, the enunciator of that God-idea, Vēdānta Dēśika was the *teacher*, the artistic elaborator of the same; and in this work of teaching he pursued the versatile career of the poet, the philosopher and controversialist, and the populariser. His poems, Sanskrit as well as Tamil, represent his first function; his Śāstraic works like the *Tātvamuktakalāpa*, the *Satadhūshani* and commentaries like *Tātparyāchandrika*, etc., shew the philosopher and controversialist; while the Mañiripravāha lectures as in the *Rahasyatrayasāra* are the monuments of his popularising efforts. No wonder his own age hailed him as the *Kavitarikikasimha*, the lion of poets and philosophers, and no wonder that posterity has known him more by his title than by his name.

The efforts of Vēdāntamātha were not confined to the work of explanation and expoundation of his religion. He never forgot the higher task for which he had been summoned to Śrīraṅgami, the subjugation of the Advaitins. No opportunity he allowed, therefore, to pass, without doing something to attack that school. The Guruparampara says how

at this time,¹ there arose a great dispute at Vijayanagar between Akshōbhyaṃmuni and Vidyāranya regarding the respective doctrines of the reality (तत्त्व) and illusion (Māya); how both sent their contentions, through the king, to Vēṅkaṭanātha for arbitration; and how the latter pronounced, as may be expected, in favour of the defender of the doctrine of reality; how Vidyāranya thereupon, in anger, resolved to criticise the *Satadūshani*, but finding no doctrines there assailable, printed out a single mistake in the presence of a letter च; and how Vēṅkaṭanātha put his rival to shame and effectual subordination by defending it in a work चकार समर्थन. The story is not, in the main, an invention of partisans. For it is more or less certain that Akshōbhyaṃmuni, the last of the four chief disciples of Madhvāchārya and the fourth in apostolic succession from him, belonged to the 14th century though it is chronologically incorrect to say that Vidyāranya was at this time the Minister at Vidyānagar. The great city was to be founded years after, i.e., in 1336; and Akshōbhyaṃmuni was to become the head of the Mādhyva sect about 1350; and to say therefore that Vidyāranya sent a communication through the king to Vēṅkaṭanātha at this early stage of his career, is clearly an anachronism. But the story, mistaken as it is in detail, sufficiently illustrates the state of conflict between the two schools of philosophy and the wider range of Vēṅkaṭa-Deśika's activities.

¹ The whole question of Akshōbhyaṃmuni's interview with Vidyāranya depends on the date of Madhvāchārya. For Akshōbhya was the disciple of the latter. Now, according to tradition, Madhva was born or became a Sanyāsi in a certain Vijambi and died in a certain Pingala in his 70th year. The three Vijambi dates possible are A.D. 1118, 1178, and 1238 and the three Pingala dates 1197, 1258 and 1317. The Uttarādi and other Maitis attribute the teacher to 1118-1198. Mr. Subba Rao takes this view, and believes that 1199 is probably the first anniversary of the Guru's departure and that by some confusion, it was mistaken for the date of birth. Mr. C. M. Padmanabhaiah, the author of *The Life and Teachings of Sri Madhvechārya* (Coimbatore, 1909) points out that recent archaeological discoveries show that this view is untenable. Sri Madhva had four disciples who followed him, one after the other, to the headship of the sect. These were Padmanābhin Tirta, Narahari Tirta, Mādhyva Tirta and Akshōbhya Tirta. Of these the first came seven years after Madhva's departure and was head for seven years, the second for 9 years, the 3rd for 17 years, and the 4th for 17 years. Now Narahari's date is determined by epigraphy to be after S. 1215 or A.D. 1293, because till that year he was minister of the Kālīnga king. So he must have become a disciple of Madhva after 1293. If Madhva continued to live after 1293, the Pingala of his death should have been according to Mr. Padmanabhaiah, A.D. 1317. It can be inferred from this that Padmanābhin became the Guru in 1319, Narahari in 1331, Mādhyva in 1348 and Akshōbhya in 1357. The accession of Akshōbhya would in other words, be 21 years after the foundation of Vidyānagar, and this agrees with the statement in the *Vaibhava-prakāśika* that there was a controversy between the Hindu and Advaitic leaders. Mr. Padmanabhaiah considers it to be a genuine and authentic record and should be taken as a good chronological basis. Dr. Bhandarkar is not unaware of epigraphical references to Narahari Tirta, but he attributes Madhva to S. 1111-S. 1198 (i.e., 1118-A. D. 1276). See his *Vaishnavism, Saivism, etc.*, p. 99. But, I believe, Mr. Padmanabhaiah's conclusion to be more satisfactory.

The same thing is further proved by the account which the Guruparampara gives of a meeting of Vēṅkaṭanātha with another Advaitin and writer, Kṛiṣṇa Miśra. This great scholar invited and engaged Vēṅkaṭanātha in controversy for three days, and finding himself defeated, passed from philosophy to literature, and offered, in a proud and unbending spirit, his Advaitic drama *Prabōdha-Chandrodāyam* for Vēṅkaṭanātha's perusal. The latter, we are told, surprised his adversary not only by a miraculous knowledge of the contents of his work, but by composing, in one night, the celebrated drama *Sankalpastūryodaya*,¹ in criticism. No drama is more keenly read by the orthodox Vaiṣṇavas than this remarkable production. It is a moral and allegorical work in ten acts, in which the revered author describes the trials and troubles which the soul encounters in order to obtain Godhood, i.e., to become part and parcel of the Lord. The good as well as the evil dispositions of man are personified and introduced on the stage, and throughout the work there is such an innate and mysterious grandeur that it is hardly possible to find a more brilliant and intellectual production in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. After the defeat and disgrace of Kṛiṣṇa Miśra, another poet, Dīpdīpa Kavi by name, the author of the *Kāvya Rāmabhyudaya*, invited Vēdānta Dēśika for a literary contest. The latter promptly composed, in order to silence him, the two poems of *Hamsasandēśa* and *Yādavābhyudaya* and made him acknowledge his defeat in a panegyric verse addressed to the victor.

¹ For an analysis of the play, see Rajagopalacharya's valuable book on Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism. For a detailed criticism of the *Hamsasandēśa* and its comparison with Kālidāsa's *Mēghasandēśa* on which it was modelled, see Tatnacharya's *Life of Vēdānta Dēśika*. A good edition of the early cantos of the *Yādavābhyudaya* on the birth and adventures of Śrī Kṛiṣṇa, has been issued by the Vāni-Vasini Press, Srirangam. The *Yādavābhyudaya* is a very fine and elegant poem, and was so much admired by the great Advaitic scholar of the 16th century, Appiah Dikṣita, that he wrote a highly valuable eulogium on it. No greater homage is possible to the poetic genius of our saint than this genuinely appreciative gloss of the leader of a rival creed. Even in the name of the poem the orthodox scholarship of Dēśika is seen. The *Hamsa* was the form in which Viṣṇu undertook to teach the Sātvata or Pīṇcharitra doctrine. The *Hamsa* is thus Isvara. (J. R. A. S., 1901, p. 632); hence the name *Hamsasandēśa* for the poem. With regard to *Rāmabhyudaya* which Dīpdīpa Kavi is said to have composed, I have not been able to find out how far it is a fact. Aufrecht's *Catal.* gives two works of that name, one by Vasuvarman quoted by Anandavardhana in *Dhvanyāloka* and *Sahityadarpaṇa* by Śrī-Rāmānātha; and the other by Vīrakṭva, given by Barnell in his *Tanjore Catalogue* (161 b). I don't believe that Dīpdīpa's *Rāmabhyudaya* refers to either of these. Nor can it be the same as the work of that name written by Ayyalavaju Rāmabhadra Kavi, who lived in a later period, about 1520, in Kṛiṣṇadēva Rāya's times. See *Reis's Catal.*, III, 211. I understand, however, that in the possession of Dīpdīpa's descendants at the village of Mullayādrum near Ārpi (N. Arcot Dt.) there is a work called *Rāmabhyudaya* by one of the family. The chronicles of this family are in the possession of my friend Mr. Rangasami Saraswathi and they, he says, mention a Dīpdīpa, who was the contemporary of Bṛhka and Vākyapada, and who received the village of Attiyūr from Bṛhka. The family chronicle is called *Vībhagavata-mūlaka*.

The story of Krishṇamiśra's¹ challenge is incredible not only for the reason that it is of an absurd and miraculous character, but for the chronological inconsistency it involves in saying that a writer of the 12th century—for Goldstucker attributes Krishṇamiśra to that period—met and held a disputation with Deśika who lived in the 13th and 14th. The story can only mean that Deśika composed his celebrated drama after a perusal of, and as a reply to, the Advaitic treatise. The tradition regarding Deśika and Diṇḍima Kavi, however, is not impossible. It is true that the name Diṇḍima denotes a family of poets rather than an individual poet; but it is not difficult to show that there *was* a Diṇḍima Kavi who was the contemporary and, as the *Vaibhavaṇḍa* informs us, a rival of Vēṅkatanātha. Four Diṇḍimas, so far as our present literary and historical knowledge goes, we hear of in the literary history of South India. These were, in the first place, that Rājanātha Diṇḍima who composed the *Achyuta Rāyaḥhyudaya* in honour of Achyuta Rāya (1530-42) and who lived in the 16th century; secondly, that Rājanātha Diṇḍima who composed the *Sāluvaḥhyudaya* in honour of Sāluva Naraṅga, the celebrated founder of the Sāluva dynasty of Vijayanagar; thirdly, the Diṇḍima who, was the author of the *Prahasana Somaṇḍali yogananda*, who was known as Aruṇagiri-nātha, who was the contemporary of Dēva Rāya II, and who boasts of having conquered all South Indian poets, and obtained, as a mark of his unique triumph, the privilege of a bell-metal drum; and fourthly, the Diṇḍima who, according to the *Vaibhavaṇḍa*, was met and vanquished by Vēdānta Deśika. It is certain that the Diṇḍima Kavi, who met Vēdānta Deśika and who was defeated by him, was the ancestor of the other three.

It is not surprising that, as the admirers of Vēdānta Deśika say, his greatness was openly recognized and proclaimed. His new titles, *Śrī* and *acharya*, were conferred by Rājanātha himself. Through the instrumentality of an inspired priest, he is said to have broken into a panegyric on Vēṅkatanātha's twofold efforts of the elaboration of Viśiṣṭhādvaitism and the overthrow of Advaitism, and graciously bestowed on him, in grateful return, his own name and title "Vēdāntācharya," while his consort, equally overflowing in kindness, followed it up with the unique and remarkable designation *Survaṇṭrasvaṇṭra*, "the master of universal lore of all possible branches of knowledge." The historian can hardly give credence to the theory of divine inspiration and reward; but it is not difficult to believe

¹ See Weber's *Sanskrit Lit.*, *Rais Catal.* II gives ample notices of the work.

that the whole Vaiṣṇava world was dazzled by the intellectual brilliance of its king, its remarkable versatility, its deep intensity.

The reputation of Vēdāntāchārya as the greatest teacher of Vaiṣṇavism after Rāmānuja soon became universal. The opposition of jealousy. A large number of men, in the first place, from various parts of the country, came to Śrīraṅgam, and carried the lessons of his lectures and the tale of his greatness back to their places. Vēdāntāchārya, at the same time, constantly went on tour and impressed the people everywhere with his marvellous genius in expoundation and original composition. In one of these minor tours, he composed a hymn on *Gōda* during his stay at Śrīvilliputtur. While temporarily staying at Conjeevaram, again, he is said to have vanquished a snake-charmer who, at the instance of a few jealous men, questioned the eligibility of the Āchārya's title *Sarva-lantrasvatāntṛa*, and said that he could fitly bear it only if he vanquished him. Unwilling to engage in controversy with one unworthy of his attention, Dēśika, we are told, simply drew seven lines on the ground, and challenged the snake-charmer to do anything he liked. The latter thereupon despatched a number of serpents against him, but none could cross the mystic lines. A single cobra, Śaṅkha-pāla by name, was able, owing to its vigour, to overcome the obstacle and approach Dēśika; but at this stage a panegyric hymn addressed by the teacher to Garuḍa (गर्ह दण्डक) resulted in his arrival and his taking away the serpent! The magician acknowledged defeat, and prayed, in a spirit of humility, for the recovery of Śaṅkha-pāla, and Vēdānta Dēśika, we are told, secured its return by Garuḍa by invoking his grace once again! More obstinate than wise, the magician once again tried his powers and caused a stomachic complaint to Dēśika by the same means which a magician had once adopted at Tiruvahindrapuram, but Dēśika vanquished him by the same means, and silenced him for ever. A similar tale represents him as having asserted, in an equally unmistakable manner, his right to the title, at Tiruvahindrapuram. An artisan was the challenger this time. Instigated by Dēśika's enemies, the artisan taunted him with vanity in assuming the title, and challenged him to sink a well, under the impression that a Brahmin of such a high birth and breeding could never subject himself to the lordship of so menial a task. Dēśika however applied himself to it, and lo! in a few days there was as fine a well as there was in the country! The pious traveller who is in search of ancient monuments and interesting relics can see it even to-day.

Vēṅkaṭanātha's career, however, was an object of envy, we are told, not only to stray individuals who questioned his

The opposition of Teṅgalaism under Pīṭṭai Lōkāchārya and his brother, right to the title *Sarvatantrasvatanttra*, but to the definite formidable movement known as Teṅgalaism which was now, as I have already pointed out, organized and led by the two brothers Pīṭṭai Lōkāchārya and Aṅgia Maṇavāḷa Perumāḷ Nainār, and which, based as it was on a radically different principle from the traditional ideal represented by Vēdānta Dēśika, made no secret of its hatred for him. An impersonation of orthodoxy and a doughty champion of Brahminical supremacy, the sole authority in the Bhāṣhyas and the most profound living scholar and writer in Sanskrit, he represented all that was traditional and conservative in Vaiṣṇavism, and all that was obnoxious in the eyes of the new party. They looked upon him, therefore, with a sullen and grim hatred. They considered him narrow and fanatical, reactionary and unsympathetic. They disliked his imagined assertion of Bhāṣhyic superiority, they denounced his caste stringency and his doctrine of Prapatti, they resented the restrictions he imposed on life. It is hard to believe how they could have reasons to denounce him heart and soul, inasmuch as he was not wanting in Prabandhī lore. Indeed, in this respect, he was even superior to the specialised leaders of the other school itself. For, the Tamil poems he wrote collectively known as the *Dēśikaprabandha* surpass in their style and thought, anything that the writers of the southern school ever wrote. Nevertheless, the party of Aṅgia Maṇavāḷa Perumāḷ Nainār hated him. They saw what he was in other respects, and they ignored the points in which they agreed with him.

The Gurupatimpurā mentions a number of incidents which go to prove how ardently the Āchārya was hated by them. The activities of the Prabandhī party. Aṅgia Maṇavāḷa Perumāḷ Nainār and his admirers, we are told, once invited Dēśika for controversy with them; but Dēśika who refused to see an opponent in a Vaiṣṇava, refused to answer. He felt that a disunion among the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas was a curse, that he would not be author of it. He refused to believe that the texts and commentaries of his predecessors were capable of different and antagonistic interpretations. He attributed such differences to "weak intellects," intellects that could not properly grasp the ideas. He therefore always made it a point not to allow himself to be driven by party passions, and change his position of Āchārya for that of a partisan. Both by nature and by principle he was against such a degeneracy. By nature meek, humble and respectful to all, he would not, even if he could, entertain the idea of engaging his brother religionists in disputation. By principle, he

was against it, as he knew it would weaken the religion of which he was the head and give a handle and an opportunity to people who belonged to other creeds and who were interested in seeing its downfall. His opponents, however, attributed his refusal to incapacity, and with a view to put him to shame, hung up a number of shoes on the threshold of his house. When the Āchārya was going out, in consequence, his head came into contact with them; but he reviled none. Too noble to descend to condemnation, he exclaimed, in the spirit of a true saint, that some were dependents on Karma, some on knowledge for salvation, but he on the shoes of the worshippers of the Lord. On another occasion, his enemies caused, by the power of magic, we are informed, such a delusion in the mind and affections of his followers that none was able to attend the anniversary Śrāddha of his father. Undaunted and undismayed, the Āchārya carried out the ceremony as usual, placing the idol of his deity Hayagrīva in the place of the representatives of his ancestors, the Dēvas and the Lord. At the nick of moment, three mysterious Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas arrived, and after taking part in the ceremony, passed away in the very presence of the men who had been the authors of the mischief. To the curious and surprised questioners, the teacher gave reply that, if men deserted him, the Lord of Śrīraṅgaṁ, Conjeeveram and Tirupati, could protect him, and an astonished and repentant flock paid homage to the sage.

Aḷaṅkāra Maṇayāla Perumāḷ Nainār, however, was too obstinate a man to be abashed by these miracles. His object was to bring about Vēdāntāchārya's downfall in some way or other. He therefore proposed that the Āchārya could be entitled to the term Kavīrṅkika-simha only in case he undertook, like himself, to compose a poem of 1,000 stanzas on the Lord, in the space of a single night. The brother of Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya was no mean scholar. By close application he wrote 300 verses instead of the 1,000 he wanted to complete by dawn, on the lotus feet of the Lord ¹ (பட கயல சதல). Deśika made no special preparations. The first and last quarters of the night he spent as usual in devotions, and the third in sleep. The second quarter alone he devoted to the composition of the poem. Within that short space, we are informed, he completed a stupendous work of 1,000 verses, the celebrated *Pūdukō sahasra*, ² on the sandals of God, their formation,

¹ The work seems to be extinct.

² Printed by the Kāvyaṁūla series and in Grantha character. In his *Rasikatāl*, I, p. 100, Taylor says in connection with this work that "it is difficult to think of purity going so far in recent idolatry." It has been commented on by various writers, e.g., Śāṅkaraśāstrī, son of Dēva Rāja, and Nāṇa of Hārīta gōtra. *Des. Catal. Sans. Mss.*, XI, p. 7255-6.

their *abhishēka*, their flowers, their ornaments and so on. Even in the name of the poem we find the spirit of competition under the influence of which it saw the light. His young but deluded rival had promised to celebrate the glory of the Lord's Lotus-feet, and Dēśika devoted himself to the celebration of his sandals! When the next day, the learned assembly of scholars met in the temple, and the inspired priest asked the two to produce their respective works, the difference was found to be so transparent and the applause on Vēdānta Dēśika's name was so genuine, that Nainār and his men expressed repentance for their rebellious egotism and adopted a more conciliatory and respectful behaviour.

In one sense we may say that the dispute into which Vēṅkaṇātha was dragged was a blessing. It convinced him that, if he was to bend the stubborn will of the other party, he must do so by producing works in the very sphere in which they considered themselves to be masters. He wanted to prove, in other words, that in prabandhic lore he was not inferior to anybody amongst them; that, if he chose, he could heat the neglected but talented author of the 24,000 itself; that his genius was, like his own life, deliberately fettered; that in reality it knew no limits, intensive or extensive. This must explain that strange ebullition of Prabandhic spirit in him which we find at this period, that deluge of works on the Nāṭayiraprabandha with which he furnished and dazzled the Sri-Vaiṣṇava world. Based on the lectures of his uncle and preceptor, he composed a commentary on the works of the Ālvārs, known as the 74,000,—a designation which gives us an idea of its gigantic scope and its scholarly elaboration. It was in reality an amplification of the 6,000 of Tirukkuruhaipirān-piḷḷan and a counterblast to the series of allied commentaries known as the 9,000, the 24,000, and the 36,000 of the Prabandhic school. It must have been of singular value to the student of religion; but unfortunately it has been lost, and the most monumental work on which the admirers of the Āchārya fastened his claim to his reputation as the exemplar of Prabandhic scholarship, has been lost to the world. Dēśika also wrote 1 commentaries on Tiruppāṇḍī's *Amalanāḍippirān* and *Madhuraḱaṇḍi's Kuvaiṇun-Siruttāmbu*, besides summarising the teachings of Prabandhas in two Sanskrit works, *Dramiḍōpanishadsāra* and *Dramiḍōpanishad-Tātparyaratnāvali*. Over and above these, his prolific genius produced short treatises on the *Mantra*, the *dvaya*, the

1 The commentary was called *Munivēṅkanabhiga*, i.e., the experience of Munivēṅkaṇa on Tiruppāṇḍī's. The next work, the *Madhuraḱaṇḍi-hridaya* is lost. The two Sanskrit works are extant and in print, and so popular that they are printed even by the Teṅgalai editors of the 36,000. No greater tribute is possible.

Charama śloka and the Gīta, which those who were ignorant of the holy tongue could study. It seemed as though Dēśika was inspired by the desire to disprove the accusation of his opponents that his intellect was bound by the shackles of classicism and to prove that he could adapt his spirit to the needs of a prabandhic age.

It was while Dēśika was at Śrīraṅgam that men came to him from Sarvagna Śingappa,¹ a ruler of the north, with the request that he should favour him with his teachings. The orthodox treatises do not say who this chief was; but it is plain from his dynastic name that he was the prince of the dynasty of Veṅkaṭagiri. Śingappa belonged to a line of chiefs who took pride in patronising literature and encouraging learning. The term Sarvagna, all-knowing, attached to the contemporary of Dēśika is eloquently indicative of the high regard in which his scholarship was regarded by his contemporaries. We are not told when Śingappa first made the acquaintance of the teacher. Perhaps he did so in the course of his tour to the north before his assumption of the Āchāryaship at Śrīraṅgam. However it might have been, he seems to have been held in high regard by the Āchārya. For, unable to proceed himself to the chief, Dēśika had the grace to readily despatch a few of his disciples with the gist of his teachings in four treatises specially written for the edification of the royal suppliant,—the *Subhāshitanirī*, the *Tatvasandēsa*, the *Rahasyasandēsa* and the *Rahasya sandēsavivaraṇa*. Śingappa welcomed the messengers and their literary treasure with as much pomp and warmth as he would have displayed in welcoming the Āchārya himself, and escorting them

¹ The *Uṭṭhāraṇaprakāśika* (p. 106) says that he was the son of Mādhava Nāyaka and the ruler of Ekkaśilānagarī-Rājanama-hēndrapattana. Ekkaśilānagarī is identified by some with Ventiṁṭa in Cuddāpah and is said to have formed part of Veṅkaṭagiri Samāśihāṇa of which Sarvagna Śingama was the chief. Virēśalingam Pantulu says that he was the 10th in descent from Cheri Reddī alias Bhelā Nāṭlu, the founder. (See pp. 123-4.) Śingama is further said to have been the author of a treatise on rhetoric called चमत्कार चन्द्रिका or *Śiṅgabhūṣaṇam*. Mr. Krishna Sastri does not believe that the Śingama of Veṅkaṭanātha's acquaintance was the Veṅkaṭagiri chief, "since the Zamindars of Veṅkaṭagiri could hardly have extended their powers so far north as Rajahmundry," and so surmises that "Śingama the pupil for whom Vēdānta Dēśika wrote his works is to be identified with Śingaya Nāyaka, brother of Minnamudi Nāyaka of Kuruṇḍ (*Modr. Ep. Rep.* 1913, pp. 129-30, para. 71)." But Virēśalingam Pantulu points out that the houses of Rajahmundry, Kondaṭṭu and Veṅkaṭagiri were closely connected by intermarriage and that Veṅkaṭagiri was an offshoot of Rajahmundry. On the contrary it is also held by some that Sarvagna Śingama was a feudatory of Warangal (Ekkaśilānagarī Kākaiyas); that his capital was not Ventiṁṭa but somewhere near Warangal; that Virēśalingam Pantulu is wrong in saying that Veṅkaṭagiri was the capital for the simple reason that it came into the hands of Śingama's descendants much later on and that he is equally wrong in his view that the Velama family of Veṅkaṭagiri was related by blood with the Kondaṭṭu Reddīs.

. All these have been printed.

to his capital, proved his enlightenment and his earnestness by a study of his idol's teachings.

One interesting event in the private and domestic life of Vēdānta-Deśika is to be noticed now, and that is the birth of a son, the celebrated Varadāchārya. Under the constellation Rōhini of the month of Āvani, year Nāḷa, K. 4418, corresponding to Wednesday, 11th August, 1316, A. D., Varadāchārya¹ was born. And no father had a worthier son to be proud of. Born and brought up in a spiritual and scholarly atmosphere, Varadāchārya distinguished himself, even in his youth, as an intellectual prodigy and began to study the Bhāshya at a very early age. A capacity, so unique and so marvellous, could not but ensure the homage of men, and even aged scholars were not unwilling, we are informed, to sit at his feet and study the holy truths.

The transcendent brilliance of Srī Vēdānta Deśika eventually led to the resort of desperate measures against him by his unscrupulous enemies, measures which resulted in the great Āchārya's self-exile from Śrīrangam. Tradition says that when Deśika was once sitting in the verandah of his house, busy with some studies, the disciples of Kandaḍai Lakshmanāchārya, a scion of an Āchāryic family, mistook the absent-mindedness of Deśika for indifference to their preceptor and, with more energy than intelligence, dragged the Āchārya by his feet. Surprised and pained at the treatment, Deśika was perplexed at this strange and unfortunate experience, when he saw the arrival of Lakshmanāchārya, and learnt the cause of the heroism of his disciples. With characteristic humility he saluted that leader, while regretting the wanton brutality of his followers. The immediate result of this incident was the resolution of Deśika to give up a place where he had such a sad experience of the strength and number of his adversaries. Pained by the discord among Viṣṇu's worshippers but unable to remove it, Deśika felt that Śrīrangam was no longer a fit place for him; that he would not only consult his safety, but ensure the cause of spirituality, by a timely and honourable retreat from it. It was a step which he must have been very reluctant to take. To part with Raṅganātha, to leave the place where he was the rightful king for years, and where he won glory as the champion and saviour of Viśiṣṭādvaitism, was no welcome thing; but the Āchārya could not eternally expose himself without defence, to the fury of the unscrupulous men who surrounded him. His gentle nature could not brook to be daily confounded with their stern spirits. He felt moreover that, after all, his exile might be made the

¹ I am indebted to Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai for this date.

means of further conquests and a source of further propaganda, that his personal misfortune might, in other words, lead us in the case of Rāmānuja, to public good. Realising that he should follow the example of Rāmānuja, Deśika resolved to find refuge in the province of Mysore. There after a visit to Tirunārāyaṇapuram and other scenes of Rāmānuja's labours, he fixed his abode at the important and strategic place of Satyamaṅgalam.¹ Here in the precincts of the temple of Varadarāja, equally sanctified by the Bhavāni, he spent his days, in the company of his devoted followers and in his lectures on the Bhāṣiyās as well as the Prabandhas.

It is difficult to say when exactly these events took place. I have already pointed out that Deśika should have come to Śrīraṅgam about 1310. It is not known how long he was lecturing there. He was, at all events, there when his son Varadāchārya was born in 1316 A. D. His exile to Satyamaṅgalam must have taken place, I believe, about 1320. And for the next forty years he evidently remained there. It is not meant by this that he permanently attached himself to this place. It was consistent neither with his religious spirit nor his calling to confine his activities to a particular spot. But it was there that the members of his family lived. It was there that he gained the homage of men who saw in him a deity, and who were afterwards to make his name the source of a cult in the land. It was there that his son Vinādāchārya grew into a youth, into a man, into a scholar, and lastly into a religious leader. It was there that even his enemies like Kaṇḍaḍai Lakṣhmaṇāchārya yielded to him and hastened to celebrate his glory. It was there that scholars like Brahmaṭantra-Śvatantra Jīyar became his disciples, overthrew scholars of other creeds, and paved the way for the extension of the Deśika cult in Mysore² and elsewhere. A few years after his settlement at Satyamaṅgalam, Deśika had to repeat his visit to Śrīraṅgam and rescue it from the threatened dominance of another Advaitin. The Guruparampara tells us how, through his disciple Brahmaṭantra-Śvatantra, he subdued the controversialist and thus earned fresh laurels, and fresh reasons for the gratitude of all parties.

It was at this time that the capture and sack of Śrīraṅgam by the Muhammedans, whose arms had already overthrown the glory and great-

¹ "Though apparently never strongly fortified it derived some strategical importance from the fact that it lies near the southern end of the Guzhatli pass, which was the ordinary route from Mysore to this District (Coimbatore)." *Imp. Gazet.*, Madras, II, p. 95; Sewall's *Antiquities*, I, p. 216; Buchanan, I, p. 455, where he calls the place Satimangalam. The *Paibhavaṇaprakṛiti* calls it Śaktimaṅgalam.

² It should be remembered that the Parakālamathā which was founded a few years after Deśika's death and the head of which is the Guru of the Mysore royal family is a Vadagalai institution. There have been 30 Jīyars up till now.

ness of the South Indian powers and whose bigotry accomplished the ruin of the South Indian religions, took place, in 1327. The dreadful news of their march reached the shrine, while they were still in the distant¹ region of Tondā maṇḍalam; and the temple authorities headed by the manager, Śrī-Raṅga-Rāja-Nātha-Vāthūla-Dēśika, cast a lot as to whether the image of Raṅganātha was to be carried to a safer place or not. Providence favoured the retention, and so they celebrated, as usual, a festival of the season. Soon, however, while the festival idol was in a Maṇḍapa on the Kāvēri bank, the news reached the people of the arrival of

The Mahomedan capture and sack of Srirāgam 1327.

the Mahomedans at Samayāvaram. In great alarm, the *Kōilolugu* informs us, Vāthūla Dēśika placed a curtain before the image so as to give the idea that the puja was being conducted. Ordering the 12,000 Brahmins who were assembled there to resist the invaders, or perish in the attempt, sent away, in secret, the image of Raṅganātha in a small palanquin, defended by a train of one priest, two servants and a few people, to the south. The indefatigable manager then proceeded to the temple, and speedily sent the image of the Goddess also, with the jewels of the shrine, to join the previous party. He further erected partition walls of stone at the entrance of the sanctuaries of the God and Goddess, in order to protect them from profane eyes, and placed pseudo-images in front of them. The Mahomedans soon came to the river and a fierce battle ensued between them and the 12,000 men who, as we have already seen, had awaited, with animated faith, the attack of the invaders. The former were defeated and massacred, and the victorious Islamites entered the precincts of the great shrine. Then began a system of remorseless pillage which the Mahomedan disbelief or disregard of other churches always excited in a hostile territory. Maṇḍapams and images of the sub-shrines were destroyed and mutilated, and the cries and prayers of the people were treated with scorn. An end was made of free religious worship, and where there had been a most busy religious activity the previous day there was now a widespread destruction and an irreparable gloom.

The immediate effect of the Mahomedan conquest and occupation was not only the end of free religious worship, but the disorganisation of the religious establishments of Vaishnavism. We have already seen how God Raṅganātha himself was flying as a refugee, towards Madura. A number of prominent men naturally followed the image with the resolve of seeing its safety at any cost. Vēdāntāchārya prepared himself, with the others, to do the same. It seems that the chief men of Srirāgam were not for this proposal. They seem to have thought

¹ For an account of the Musalman invasion and its effects on the fortunes of Srirāgam, see the *T. C. Yatindraśastrya-prabhāva, Kōilolugu and Vaishnavaprakāśika*.

that Dēśika should devote himself to a greater task. They seem to have thought that the Lord would take care of Himself; that it was better for the world if Dēśika returned to Satyamaṅgalam with the Śrutaprakāśika and other Mss. of the Bhāṣyas.

Dēśika's saving
the Śrutaprakā-
śika by flight.

To follow the image of Ranganātha, especially as there were so many others to do it was no advantage; while the successful return of Vēdāntāchārya to Satyamaṅgalam would save the Bhāṣyas or their traditional interpretations from oblivion. The great Sudarśanāchārya, the author of the Śrutaprakāśika, was the leader of this movement. He handed over the Śrutaprakāśika to Vēṅkaṭanātha, imploring him to examine it and publish it. He further entrusted the safety of his two boys¹ with Vēṅkaṭanātha. To the mind of Dēśika the appeal of Sudarśanāchārya went home. He anticipated the passing away of the misfortunes of Śrīraṅgam and the return, in course of time, of the Lord to his great shrine. He saw that no advantage was gained by his joining the party of refugees. He felt, on the other hand, that the true Bhāṣyic interpretations were in the danger of being lost in case he did not take his admirers' advice. He therefore gave up his original intention and made up his mind to go, with his disciples to Satyamaṅgalam, and labour as of old in the philosophic field and await better times. He promptly hid the Śrutaprakāśika amidst the sands of the Kāvēri, and himself passed, in company with the boys who were placed under his guardianship and protection, a day of panic and suspense amidst a heap of corpses. At sunset, he emerged out of his uncomfortable refuge, and joined by Brahmatantra-Svatantra Jiyar and other disciples who had missed him sorely and who had been looking for him in great grief and suspense in every corner of the unfortunate city, reached Satyamaṅgalam. His departure was immediately followed by the martyrdom of Sudarśanāchārya, Alagū Mapavāḍa Nainār and others. The distinctions of party vanished before common disaster, and men who had hitherto belonged to opposite doctrines, competed with each other in embracing this opportunity of obtaining the crown of martyrdom. The Musalman General was incapable of feeling mercy. Both his nature and his training were against toleration; but at this crisis an incident happened, says the *Kollōḷuḡu*, which led to a comparatively better state of things. The charms of a courtesan of the temple allured the Mahomedan to comparative mildness, and induced him to suffer the people, the remnants of an once teeming population, to enjoy or rather practise a precarious exercise of religious worship; and though, some time later the sudden experience of a

Cessation of
worship at
Śrīraṅgam.

comparatively better state of things. The charms of a courtesan of the temple allured the Mahomedan to comparative mildness, and induced him to suffer the people, the remnants of an once teeming population, to enjoy or rather practise a precarious exercise of religious worship; and though, some time later the sudden experience of a

¹ Their names were Vēdāchārya Bhaṭṭa and Parakkōṣa Bhaṭṭa. See *Vaiṣṇavaṇṇaśāstra*, p. 112.

disease excited the Mahomedan's superstitious fear, and disposed him, on account of his attribution of it to Brahminical magic, to repeat the policy of vandalism, the influence of his mistress moderated his insolence, and made him satisfied with the mutilation of the Maṅṭapams and the minor sculptures, like the Dvārapāṅktas, instead of a wholesale destruction of the temple. The disease of the conqueror and his suspicion of Brahminical incantations, however, did not abate. He therefore demolished the walls of the temple, built with their materials the fortress of Kaṅṇanūr,¹ and proceeded to live there. His absence from Śrīraṅgam as well as the noble and timely services of a Brahmin, Singapurāṇi, by name, who was in the service of the Islamic governor, alleviated the horrors of the conquest, and preserved the temple from further vandalism and the people from further tyranny.

Meanwhile the party which carried the images of Rāṅganātha and His Consort had no small difficulty to surmount. The most important among them was Pīḷai Lōkachārya, the leader of the southern school. Nothing more disastrous could have happened to cause him grief and anxiety. But while his love of Rāṅganātha caused him so much grief, the same feeling inflamed his devotion, and imparted a new vigour and a new strength to him. With sleepless vigilance the small party travelled in haste and in danger in the midst of woods and forests. Before the party proceeded a few miles to the south of Trichinopoly, they were deprived of the jewels and valuables by a set of Kāḷa marauders, who thanks evidently to the downfall of the Paḍḍyan monarchy and the confusion of war, took leave of the peaceful and honourable occupations of life and engaged in the more lucrative trade of highway-men. The story is that, at the time when the robbery was perpetrated, Pīḷai Lōkachārya was gone some distance in front, and that, when he heard of the loss of his Lord's jewels, he voluntarily sacrificed those that were in his possession also.

The refugees at length reached the village of Jyōtishapura. The safety of Rāṅganātha was, if we are to believe the *Koṭṭolugu* (as well as the *Vaiḍhavanaprakāśika*), not a little due to the sleepless labours of Pīḷai Lōkachārya, and the effect was seen in his thorough exhaustion and breakdown. Bodily labour as well as mental anxiety acted fatally on his constitution, and after an illness which lasted for about a fortnight, during which the images were at Jyōtishkudī, he died. In the history of Teṅṅdāism he is undoubtedly the greatest

¹ In the 13th century this place played an important part as the capital of the Hoysala conquerors.

² See the *Koṭṭolugu*; *Vaṭṭuvireṅṅavanaprakāśam*, and *Vaiḍhavanaprakāśika*.

figure; for it was he that gave it a literary tradition and literary support.

As for the images of Raṅganātha and His Consort it is unnecessary to dwell in detail upon their fortunes. It is enough to point out that they were first taken to Alagunmalai, then to Madurai, and then, for safety's sake, to various places in the west. At Calicut, it is said, the images of Nammālvār and many other local deities also joined the mournful procession. They were however left in the hands of their respective guardians; and the image of Raṅganātha was soon at Puṅganūr, then at the great shrine of Tirunārāyaṇapuram, and eventually at Tirupath, where it was daily worshipped with the image of Śrīnivāsa, and where it was destined to be for the course of a generation.

Meanwhile Vedānta Deśika proceeded, in company with his disciples, to Tirunārāyaṇapuram in Mysore, where he spent a few years in the service of the deity of the place and in the continuation of his lectures. The activity of the Āchārya revived the drooping spirits of Vaiṣṇavism and the loss in the Chōḷa realm was more than made up by what was gained in the Hoysala. It is true that even Vīra Ballala III had a precarious tenure of power and had to give up his capital and lead an obscure life at Tonnur¹; but the calamities which afflicted the royal house did not interfere with Deśika's activities among the people, or diminish his triumph among them. Once again Mysore thus proved the saviour of the Bhāṣhyic lore, and the authorities of the Tirunārāyaṇapuram temple itself shewed a true grasp of the situation by paying Deśika the special honours of the saviour and the God's apostle. In the ardour of their gratitude, the disciples of the saint resolved to perpetuate his services by the composition of certain verses which, they declared, were to be recited as a preliminary to all religious studies. Thus it was that the celebrated verses² beginning with *Ramanujadvāpatram* and with

¹ It was this obscurity that made Tonnur so poor epigraphically after Ballala II. "It is perhaps worthy of note that there are no Hoysala inscriptions at Tonnur of a later period than that of Ballala II, nor are there any of the Vijayanagar period though many of them are found at Melkote, only ten miles distant from the place." (*Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1908, p. 11.)

² These are:

रामानुज दयारात्रं ज्ञानवैराग्य भूषणं ।

श्रीमद्वेङ्कट नाथाय वन्दे वेदान्त देशिकं ॥

(by Brahmatantra Svatantra)

श्रीमान् वेङ्कट नाथार्यः कवितार्किक केसरी ।

वेदान्ताचार्य वयमे सन्निधत्तां सदाहृदि ॥

(by Nainār)

The date of their first utterance together was K. 4140. Babudhānya, Ācapi Śukladvīṭṭya, Hasta, corresponding to Tuesday, Aug. 18, A. D. 1338, i.e., 11 years after Deśika's departure from Srīraṅgam.

Śrīraṅga-Veṅkaṭanātha came into existence; and even to-day every Śrī-Viṣṇu student of the Bhāṣiyas, whether he is a professor of the traditional or the Prabandhic school, has to repeat the latter verse and then only begin his studies, while every reader of the Bhagavadviśaya, who belongs to the orthodox school, utters the first and then proceeds with his work.

After staying for a few years at Tirunārāyaṇapuram, Veṅkaṭanātha returned to Satyamaṅgalam—say about 1335. Here he appears to have lived for more than 20 years, brooding over the loss of the religious freedom of his countrymen, but never losing his confidence either in the strength of the faith to which he had consecrated his life or the sympathy of his flock. It is highly probable that it is to this period we should assign the generous and noble invitation which Vidyāranya, the great Advaitic sage, who founded the city of Vidyānagar in 1336 and laid the basis of its greatness, is said to have extended to his Vaiṣṇavite rival. But Deśika refused to avail himself of the invitation on the ground that his sacred calling should not be disturbed by too much contact with the world, its charms and temptations, its pomps and vanities. To the active and ambitious mind of Vidyāranya, work in the field of religion alone was not enough to satisfy. He therefore added to his religious undertakings others of a political nature, and boldly played the part of a statesman¹ and empire-builder. But to the calm and meek temperament of Veṅkaṭanātha, the din and strife of political life was an object of contempt and repulsion. Accordingly he did not identify himself with the interest of any kings or dynasties. He shunned politics and the intrigues and puerility of court life. That is the reason why his name has not commanded so much attention and admiration from the world as that of Vidyāranya.

Veṅkaṭanātha's heart more and more yearned for his Rāṅganātha. His long exile at Satyamaṅgalam was never free from the shadow of his sorrow at the desolation of Śrīraṅgam and the cessation of worship there. To see himself an exile, his followers scattered and persecuted, as all other Hindus were, by the Mussalman chieftains; and the image of Rāṅganātha compelled to find refuge in the north,—all this made those years of his long career which Veṅkaṭanātha spent here perhaps more full than any others of recurring grief. It was on one of these occasions of sorrow that he wrote the *Abhīlāṣṭava* in which he prays to the God, of his heart to put an end to the sufferings of the people, and restore the prosperity and greatness of Śrīraṅgam.

¹ For an excellent epitaph showing the teacher's combination of political and literary activities, see *Mys. H. A. Rep.*, 1928, p. 18-19.

Dēśika's voice, as his followers are proud to relate, was heard.

Goppaṇṇya's
restoration of po-
litical and religi-
ous freedom.

The persecution of the Mahomedans was soon punished by Bukka, the capable king of Vidyānagar. Two lieutenants of his, Kampāṇa Uḍayār¹ and Goppaṇṇya, deprived the Mahomedan chieftains of their chieftdom, and replaced their doubtful and precarious rule by the comparatively efficient and regular government of Vidyānagar (1361-5). The period of bloodshed and oppression ceased, and the people, victims of bigotry for half a century, enjoyed once again the benefits of political and religious freedom. Many hundreds of temples were rebuilt, and Hinduism received from the Emperor of Vidyānagar a powerful support. Goppaṇṇya was, as his name implies, an orthodox champion of Vaiṣṇavism, and his zeal resulted in the restoration of the idol of Raṅganātha from Tirupati to Śrīraṅgam. The actual date of the restoration is unknown; but it can be inferred that, as the conquest of the South was complete by the year 1365², the event must have taken place about that year.

When Vēdānta Dēśika received this news, he returned to the scene of his past labours and once again resumed his teaching and disputations. Already more than ninety years of age, he spent the remaining few

Dēśika's return
and services.

¹ See *Epig. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 324. Kampāṇa Uḍayār was accompanied by Virupākṣa. They established the authority of Vidyānagar in South Arcot, Madurai and Trichinopoly about 1365. See Sewall's *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 2, 7; the *Trichinopoly Gazetteer*, p. 48; *Ind. Antq.* 1914 (January); and authorities given there.

² The restoration of the image to the temple is recorded in an inscription on the eastern wall, in two ślokaś. According to this the date is 1371-2. It has been maintained that Vēdānta Dēśika composed the verses. If this were the case, he must have died after 1371-2. But the *Guruparampara* says that he died in the month of Kārtikāi of the year, Saumya, corresponding to November 1369. All other traditions also agree in that Dēśika died in 1369. We have therefore to take it that the restoration must have taken place before 1369, and that the date 1371-2 is not anachronism. It is not improbable that the inscription was carved years after the actual consecration of the image. Mr. T. Rajasekaraiahya rejects the date 1371-2 on the following grounds: (1) that it is inconsistent with the date, Saumya and Kṛtiṅka, mentioned in the *Guruparampara*; (2) that the inscription itself is suspicious, as it contains only two verses of identical meaning with a date in chronogram prefixed to them—a purposeless repetition—and does not contain the full commentarial, usual in inscriptions, expressing the cyclic year, month and day; (3) that the date, Saka 1291, given by *Kūṭhūḍa* is only a reproduction of the purport of those inscriptions, and therefore is not quite authoritative; (4) that there is an inconsistency in the account of the Kāṭṭiṅga itself in calling Saka 1293 by the name of Parikṣit, which really corresponds to Saka 1294 expired; and that (5) the *Vidyānagarasamgraha* says that the restoration took place in the year *Bhadrāśvina*—a chronogram for Saka 1283, i.e., 1260—and not *Bhadrapada* or Saka 1293. The latter however commits an inconsistency in saying that that year is Parikṣit. We see thus a most confused medley of dates, all of which are inconsistent. The only conclusion, necessarily tentative, we can arrive at is that the restoration took place between 1361 and 1369, and that Dēśika died about 1369. V. G. 1913 gives K. 4301, Sarradhārī (1349 A. D.) as the date, but it is too early. See p. 152. The 1871 Edn. does not give this date.

years of his life in unclouded felicity. He had the satisfaction of seeing his labours attended with success, the members of his flock increasing in thousands, and the principles of Viśiṣṭādvaitism spreading with rapidity into every nook and corner of the country. Active and industrious to the last, he composed at this advanced age the well-known *Rahasyatrayasāra*,¹ one of the most famous of his writings, in which he elaborated the doctrine of self-surrender. An idea of the extraordinary energy of this remarkable saint can be gained from the fact that, besides writing the above and teaching his followers, he found time to repair, with the aid of Goppanārya, the Gōvīndarāja temple of Chidambaram² which must have also had a share in the calamities of Mussalman domination. The jealous and exasperated Advaitins retaliated by raising a new controversy at Śrīraṅgam and by challenging the right of the Ālvārs to the position of spiritual leaders and of the inclusion of their prathodams in the holy recitations before the deity. They asserted, with the support of the Śaivite General³ who, we are informed, succeeded Goppana, that the Tiruvadhynyana festival could not be performed at Śrīraṅgam unless and until the divinity of the Ālvārs was rationally proved. A disputation in the presence of the chief was accordingly held and Deśika proved victorious over his opponents. The latter had taken refuge under black art; but the erudite faith of the saint was more than equal to their magic, and they were eventually not only desirous of acknowledging their defeat, but inducing their royal ally to issue an edict to the effect that, in future, the holding of a spiritual disputation should not be made an obstacle to the conduct of the usual festivals. Worship, in other words, was to be carried on irrespective of new challenges and new discussions, and the wranglings of scholars should not lead to cessation of ordinary worship.

It was a service for which all the people of Śrīraṅgam were grateful, and even the voice of opposition was silent in the payment of tribute. The authorities and priests of the temple recognized it and added to the

¹ The *Vīrodhapaṇihāra*, written by Deśika's son Varadāchērya, clears the doubts and difficulties one meets in the *Rahasyatrayasāra*. See Prof. Rāṅgachārya's *Tex. Catal. Sans. Mys.* Vol. XI, p. 419. There is a commentary on the Sanskrit stanzas of the work by Varadākavi, a disciple of Śrīnivāsaśārya, son of Varadāchērya of Aṭṭya gāṇa. (*Ibid* p. 4023). It is known as *Kuṇṭakadāśapaṇah*. A commentary on the Tamil stanzas of the treatise, called *Rahasyatrayasāthartha varuṇamaṇi* by Śrīnivāsa of Bhīradēnāja gōṭra is noticed in *Ibid*, p. 4117.

² The *Guruparāmpara* (V. 41) seems to imply that Deśika had to act against the people of Chidambaram itself and not the Mohammedans, at Chidambaram, and that Gōvīndarāja's shrine was first dedicated. See V. G. 1013, p. 154.

³ It is very difficult to say from epigraphical evidences who this General was.

privileges and honours they had hitherto given to the saint by authorising the recitation of the *pātrams* and benedictory verses of the Āchārya even in temples and in homes. A marked development in the apotheosis of Deśika was thus projected, and people realised that the cult of Ramanuja included the cult of Deśika also. An incident which took place, some time after, led to another stage in the progress of the Deśika cult. A sculptor who professed Advaitism wanted to disprove the Āchārya's title by making him acknowledge his ignorance of sculpture. Approaching Deśika, therefore, he asked him to carve an image of himself. Informed by a vision of the Lord himself to cast an image with a *gnānamudra* in his right arm and the *Śrīkōṣa* in the left, Deśika, with a confidence which would do credit to the professional expert, performed the operations in the presence of the proud craftsman and excited the admiration of all by his wonderful skill. The story goes that the craftsman himself cast the pedestal, and when he tried to scrape off some portion of the Āchārya's image on the ground that it was too shiny, he saw, to his surprise, blood flowing out. The artist became at once a convert, and Deśika perpetuated the memory of the occasion by composing his *Silpārthasāra*.¹

It was soon after this incident that Veṅkatanātha died. On the full moon day of Kṛttika, in year Saumya, corresponding to 14th November 1369² he received His death. we are told, the divine mandate, and promptly departed the world, where he had figured so long and achieved so much. To Śrīraṅgam and to the Vaishnava world in general it was indeed a day of sorrow; but to Deśika it seemed an occasion of every day phenomenon. With his heart fixed on the Lord of his heart, with his lips uttering His praises, his ears enraptured by the recitations of the *Tiruvāymoḷi* and the *Upniśhads*, his head on Nainār's lap and his feet on Brahmatantra-Svatantra Jiyār's, the great teacher passed away from his humble and unpretentious house in the northern street of the holy city to the world of eternal sleep. Born as he was in 1269, he had just passed his 100th year when he left this world.

Such was the life and mission of this great saint, seer and scholar, whose name is venerated so much among the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas. The most eloquent testimony to his greatness is the fact that, when the daily puja is performed in their homes, they invoke his blessing, and pray that he may be with them and shed his wholesome influence on their character for "a century more." And as this prayer is repeated

¹ This work seems to be extinct.

² According to Mr. Swamikanth Pillai. It was a Wednesday.

every day, the suppliant of heaven is indirectly praying for his eternal presence. Every ceremony in Vaiṣṇavite homes, moreover, is commenced only after a preliminary panegyric on the sage, and in the list of those who receive holy offerings at marriages and on other sacred occasions, his name is joined to that of his God.¹ In fact there is no important Vaiṣṇavite temple in South India, which does not contain an idol of Venkapaṇātha. Temples belonging to the Vajagalaī sect necessarily have his image, while in those that belong to the Teṅgalais, who do not acknowledge him as their Parabrahmic Āchārya, he has been assigned a position side by side with Maṇuvāla Mahā Muni. And as this recognition is accompanied with the claim, in some cases, to fix their own caste marks on that portion of the temple which is dedicated to Dēśika, it has resulted in an endless quarrel between the two parties, the keenness and the animosity of which time has only helped to increase. To the historian of South Indian religions he will always appear as one of those great leaders whose personality and industry were such as to move the world, the world in which they lived and the world of the future. In Dēśika's case in particular the monuments of his greatness and his labours, his extraordinary power of rousing the devotional spirit in man and of man's homage to spirituality, are endless. Wherever he goes from Tiruputi to Mādurai; and from Mysore to the coast, the antiquarian finds some relic or other which serves to keep the memory of the great saint green in the minds of his followers and worshippers. Here is a well which his masonic skill constructed to demonstrate his knowledge of the artisan's work, there is the humble, obscure and unpretentious house in which he lived his eventful life. At one place can be seen the spot where he paid his worship to Hayagrīva and obtained, as traditions say, the divine and all-knowing wisdom; at another can be seen the maṭṭapaṇḍra where he lectured to thousands of admiring scholars and where he hushed to pence scores of noisy controversialists. At every step of Śrīraṅgam and Conjeevaram, of Satyamaṅgalam and Tiruvhindrapuram, thus, the memory of his life lingers, and a grateful and increasing posterity has scrupulously preserved and cherished it. But superior to all these monuments is his literary bequest to the world. The numerous literary writings with which he flooded the world during a life of singularly strenuous activity, not to speak of the writings which

¹ No better example exists in history of an apotheosis, complete and thoroughgoing, in the devotion of people to Dēśika they have become exceedingly fanatical. The village of Tiruvhindrapuram, especially, is the scene of splendid festivals celebrated in his honour, and therefore of feuds between the Vajagalaī and Teṅgalai factions. An idea of the irreconcilable nature of these party quarrels can be gained by the history of the dispute between them,—a dispute going on ever since 1760, one phase of which "is at this moment up before the Privy Council for adjudication." For a short summary of it, see *South Arcot Gazetteer*, p. 224-5.

have arisen about him, are enough memorials of his existence.¹ To the Sanskrit and the Tamilian, to the student of classicism and of popular dialects, to the lover of poetry and to the philosopher, to the romantic mind and the spiritual aspirant, to saints and scholars, to men and women, he affords, and will afford consolation. But this intellectual brilliancy, this marvellous versatility of mental achievements, is nothing by the side of the saintly simplicity and the divine purity of his life. Scholar as he was, poet, dramatist and philosopher as he was, he was first and foremost a servant of God; and his service to God was, by its purity and its example, the greatest possible service to man. In his love of the Lord he refused to see enemies in his lovers, deluded and ungrateful as they sometimes were; and the very shoes, which their meanness hung at the threshold of his humble home for harming him, were made by him, the passports of his spiritual elevation. It was this wonderful combination of saintliness and scholarship, of devotional fervour and of intellectual vigour, that made Deśika an idol of his following, a terror to his enemies, an object of admiration to both. Herein lies the explanation of that singular fact that the greatest of Advaitic writers of the middle ages befriended him and that another Advaitic writer of a later age but of equal eminence celebrated, as a commentator, his literary greatness. Herein lies also the explanation of the fact that the best biographies of his life are by men who belonged to the Prabandic party. What greater homage is needed to shew the greatness of the saint, the remarkable magnetism of his personality! Of all tributes and homages, the tributes and homages of rivals and enemies are the most valuable; and it is to the eternal credit of Venkaiānātha that he won them. Indeed in the history of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism he occupies, as impartial historic judgment will decidedly pronounce, a place second only to Rāmānuja.

V. RANGACHARI.

¹ For a few works on the great teacher, see Prof. Rangacharya's *Des. Catal. Sans. Mas.* Vol. XI, e. g., the *Achūtyapanchāṅka* by Venkaiān, in Dandaka meter each quarter of which consists of 26 syllabic gāṇas; the *Abdamālikā-stūtri* by Śrī-Mahāchārya, a poem of 60 stanzas, each stanza containing the name of a cyclic year; the *Achūtyapanchāṅka* of Venkaiādhvāni; the *Achūtyavimlāti* by Annaiārya; the *Achūtyashūkam*; the *Tarāharavallī*, a panegyric poem in 27 stanzas, each containing the name of a stellar constellation; by Jaganānītha; the *Vēdāntadeśikagadyam* by Venkaiāsa; the *Vēdānta-deśika-dinacharya* by Śrī Bhāṣyam Srinivasacharya; the *Vēdāntadeśikaprapatti*, the *Vēdāntadeśikamāṅgaśāstram*; etc., besides the works I have referred to in the course of this dissertation.

ART. XIII.—*Anquetil Du Perron of Paris—India as seen by him (1755-60).*

By

SHAMS-UL-ULMA DR. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., PH.D.

Read on 16th December 1915.

I.

The name of Anquetil Du Perron is well-known to students of the ancient Iranian literature, as it was he who first drew the attention of European scholars to the Avesta and Pahlavi writings of the ancient Persians, the ancestors of the modern Parsees, his attention being drawn in Paris in 1754 A.D. to a few facsimile leaves of the Avesta writings which then nobody in Europe understood. He came to India in August 1755. Having travelled for nearly two years in several parts of India, he went to Surat, the then head-quarters of the Parsees, stayed there for about three years and studied the Parsee scriptures under Dastur Damah, a learned high priest of Surat. Then, on returning to his country, he published in 1771, in two volumes—the first, of two parts and the second, of one part—his book of *Zend-Avesta*, containing, among other things, the French translation of the ancient Parsee scriptures. His was the first translation of the Avesta in any European language. Sir William Jones, the famous founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, ran down Anquetil and his work. The late Professor Darmesteter thus describes the then controversy: "A violent dispute broke out at once, as half the learned world denied the authenticity of the Avesta, which it pronounced a forgery. It was the future founder of the Royal Asiatic Society, William Jones, a young Oxonian then, who opened the war. He had been wounded to the quick by the scornful tone adopted by Anquetil towards Hyde and a few other English scholars: the *Zend-Avesta* suffered for the fault of the introducer, Zoroaster for Anquetil's." The translation of Anquetil was to a certain extent responsible for the doubts thrown upon its authenticity, because, though it did him all credit as the result of studies in an unexplored field, yet it was crude. However, Kleuker and other scholars later on defended Anquetil, and now the learned world has accepted the *Zend-Avesta* as genuine.

The subject of this paper has been off and on before my mind for nearly 20 years. As I have said more than once, the study of the

subjects of some of my papers, both before this Society and the Anthropological, was undertaken to reply to some inquiries by Mademoiselle D. Menant, the learned authoress of "*Les Parsis*," who has, as it were, inherited her fondness for the study of Parseeism from her father, the late M. Joachim Menant, member of the Institute of France. It was in 1896, that she suggested to me an inquiry into the subject of Anquetil's relations with his Parsee teacher, Dastur Darab, her first inquiry being, whether the family of Darab at Surat had any papers or notes relating to his relations with Anquetil. In her letter, dated 28th November 1895, she wrote: "*J'aurai aussi un vif désir d'avoir quelques détails sur Darab l'ami d'Anquetil; il est impossible que, d'après les Vahis¹ vous ne puissiez obtenir les renseignements qui permettent de donner à Darab une réalité complète. Pouvez vous me fournir sur Darab quelque chose de plus précis?*" In another letter,² she wrote, "*J'avais toujours beaucoup médité sur cette visite au Derimeher. Il y'avait certain choses qui ne me semblaient pas concorder*"³.

To reply to her questions, I had looked into the whole question. One of the subjects, that suggested itself to me during my inquiries, was that of Anquetil's above referred to visit to a Darimeher or a Parsee Fire-temple, which, as alleged by him, he entered in the disguise of a Parsee, with the clandestine help of his teacher Dastur Darab. The statement on its very face appeared doubtful to me; as it was full of improbabilities and contradictions. I then put in an appeal in the *Jâm-i-Jamshed* of Bombay, in one of its issues of 1896, asking for some papers, notes or information on the subject, from the members of the family and others at Surat. I could get no information from the family of Dastur Darab, as all the books and papers of the family were burnt with their house and their fire-temple in the great fire of Surat on 24th April 1837.

I lately studied the question again in all its details. Before studying the question of the relations subsisting between Anquetil and Dastur Darab, I thought it advisable to study the man himself, i.e., to know the life of Anquetil. I tried to know something of

¹ *Vahis* are the family documents in which they note the principal events in the family.

² *I. y.* "I have great desire to have some details over Darab, the friend of Anquetil. It is impossible that, you cannot obtain from the *Vahis*, some information which gives to Darab a complete reality. Can you furnish me something more precise about Darab?"

³ Letter, dated "Paris, 12 Juin 1896, (68 rue Madame)"

⁴ "I have always thought much over this visit to the Derimeher. There are certain things which do not appear to me to agree."

his Indian life, his habits and characteristics from his own writings, his own narration of his tour in India. This paper is the result of the notes taken during this study. I give it here in the hope, that it may also interest those who like to know something of India, as seen by a French traveller, about 150 years ago.

Division of the subject. The whole subject, as studied by me, can be divided into three parts:—

1. An account of Anquetil's life, especially of his visit to India as given by himself in the first volume of his *Zend-Avesta*.
2. An account of his teacher Dastur Darab.
3. An examination of his statements about Dastur Darab, especially his statement about his clandestine visit to the fire-temple in the disguise of a Parsee and under the guidance of Dastur Darab.

I will speak in this paper about the first part of the subject, *viz.*, an account of Anquetil's life, especially of his visit to India. I will speak of the other two parts in a subsequent paper.

Our account of Anquetil can be divided into three parts:—

- (A) His early life before his visit to India.
- (B) His life in, and his account of, India.
- (C) His life after his return to Europe.

We have to speak principally on the second part, *viz.*, his life in India and his account of this country. But, before speaking of this, we will cast a bird's-eye-view on his early life in Europe, mostly as given by him in his first volume of the *Zend-Avesta*.

II.

(A) ANQUETIL DU PERRON'S EARLY LIFE.

I have come across no book giving any detailed account of his life. In Pierre Larousse's "*Grand Dictionnaire Universelle du XIX^e Siècle*," we have a very short account of his life. We learn a good deal about him from his "*Discours Préliminaire*" in his own work "*Zend-Avesta*." A portion of this discourse has been translated into English by the late Eryad Kavusji Edulji Kanga.^a

^a *Zend-Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre, Tome Premier, Première Partie.*

^b Translation of extracts from the *Zend-Avesta* of Anquetil Du Perron, by Kavusji B. Kanga.

Some particulars can be had from a notice of his work taken by M. Dacier on the occasion of his death.¹ This publication is not available to us here, but we find it referred to, here and there, by Mademoiselle D. Menant, in her "Anquetil Du Perron à Surate" published about 8 years ago. Mr. G. K. Nariman has given us a summary in English of Mademoiselle's brochure.² We find some particulars of his life in the *Calcutta Review*³ of October 1896, in an interesting article entitled "Anquetil Du Perron," by Mr. H. Beveridge. There is also a very short account of his work in the 29th volume of the same journal⁴ from the pen of Dr. George Smith. Besides these, we have stray references to him in the works of Burnouf, Darmesteter, Hovelocque, Menant and Brown.

Abraham Anquetil Du Perron was born in Paris on 7th December Birth. 1731. His elder brother Louis Pierre (1723-1806) was known in France as a historian. His younger brother, Anquetil de Briancourt, was the chief of the French factory at Surat for some years when Anquetil was at Surat.

Anquetil took some University education and studied Hebrew, the knowledge of which was held to be necessary for the study of religion. He subsequently found, that a study of Arabic and Persian was necessary for a study of Hebrew.⁵ Auxerre (the ancient Aulissiodurum) in France was well-known in his time for its old church and for its seminary for religious learning. M. De Caylus,⁶ who was the bishop of that place, called Anquetil to his town to study at the seminary.

From Auxerre, he went to Amersfoot in the province of Utrecht in Holland for further education, as it was a seat of theological learning. There, he studied Arabic together with Hebrew. While studying Arabic, he studied a little of Persian also, the knowledge of which proved to

¹ Notice de M. Dacier lue à la séance publique de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, le Mardi, 29 Jovillet 1808.

² This was published in the columns of the "Parsee," as weekly Sunday contributions, commencing from 29th October 1911.

³ *Calcutta Review*, No. 206, October 1896, pp. 284-299.

⁴ *Calcutta Review* of December 1897. Vol. XXIX, No. LVIII, pp. 220-70. Article "India and Comparative Philology," vide pp. 244-46 for Anquetil.

⁵ "Anquetil Du Perron à Surate" par Mademoiselle Menant," pp. 45.

⁶ Anquetil, in his Discourse in his book of the Zend-Avesta, more than once refers to him. He speaks of him (M. le Comte de Caylus) and of M. Lamoignon de Malesherbes as his patrons (protectors) Zend-Avesta, Tome I., Partie I., p. 316). He also speaks of having presented to M. de Caylus, an idol, which he had taken away from the temple of Djegueseri (Jogeshri, near Andheri, *Ibid.*, p. 390). Anquetil remembers the above two gentlemen with gratitude in his account of his Indian travels for their having presented him with a telescope. He regrets, that he could not make use of it in a great Solar Eclipse on 30th December 1738 (*Ibid.*, p. 316).

him to be of great use, later on, as an intermediary language for his study of Avesta and Pahlavi before Dastur Darab at Surat. It was on the recommendation of M. le Comte de Caylus that he had gone to Utrecht for the further study of theology.¹

On finishing his course at the above institution in Utrecht, under M. Le Gros and M. l'Abbé D'Étémare,² he hesitated as to what line to take up for the future, whether to join the department of the Consulates or that of the Missions. His studies had fitted him for both. It is said, that he was "destined at first for the Church."³ The deeper knowledge of Hebrew and the theological education had well fitted him for the Mission of the Church, and his knowledge of Arabic and Persian had well prepared him for the Consulates. He himself was inclined at first for the Church. When ill at one time, at Chandarnagar in India, he remembered with fondness the quiet hours of study he had passed in theological studies at Rhynwech in Amersfoot in Holland, and was inclined to give up his travels and pursuit of Zoroastrianism in order to join the Jesuits in Bengal.⁴

Having finished his studies at Utrecht in Holland, he went to Paris and continued his studies at the Bibliothèque du Roi, where he drew the attention of its librarian L'Abbé Sallier. This led to his being recommended for help and encouragement to several learned men, among whom one was M. De Caylus, who had, as said above, already begun taking some interest in his studies. These literary men procured for Anquetil some help from a fund attached to the Bibliothèque for further Oriental studies.

Anquetil says⁵, that at first, it struck him, that the modern customs and usages of Asia had their origin in the people who had conquered the Continent and in their religions; and so, he proposed studying in their original, the ancient theology of the nations on the East of the Euphrates and consulting their original books for their history. This thought led his mind (a) to India, with its Sanskrit and its Vedas, and

¹ The fact of M. Tallefer, the head of the Dutch factory at Surat, being very kind to him when he was there and of his helping him much, was, perhaps, due to a sympathetic appreciation of Anquetil's study at his mother-country of Holland.

² Anquetil's *Zend-Avesta*, Tome I, Part I, p. 39.

³ "Calcutta Review," No. LVIII, December 1857, p. 244.

⁴ Tome I, Part I, p. 39.

⁵ Vol. I, Part I, p. 3.

(b) to Persia with its Zend-Avesta. Of these two, Persia with its Zend-Avesta appealed to him more, because, besides the fact, that the country and its religion were interesting in themselves, its people had, at one time or another, some relations with the ancient Hebrews, Egyptians, Greeks, Indians, and the Chinese. He refers to Dr. Hyde's learned work "*Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum*," the first edition of which was published in 1700 A. D. and the second in 1760, and very properly says, that it was a first attempt of its kind, based, not on the older original Zend-Avesta, but upon later books like the *Farhang-i Jehangiri*, *Persian Viraf-námeh* and *Sad-dar*. Though this work was very useful to scholars, he thought the best way was to consult the Persians themselves on the subject of their religion. "India presents for study a large number of these people established there since 900 years in Guzarat. They are scattered all along the North from the coast of Malabar, where the taste for commerce and industry, which characterises them, has led to large settlements. They are known in India as Parsis."¹

In 1718, "Mr. George Boucher, a merchant in Surat," procured from the Parsees at Surat a copy of the *Vendidad Sadeh*.² His name is variously given. In the catalogue of the Bodleian library, where the MS. was latterly deposited, as said there, by Richard Cobbe in 1723, it is given as George Boucher.³ Dr. Gerson du Cunha, in his *Origin of Bombay*,⁴ refers to him as George Bouchier and speaks of him as an officer of the Company. Anquetil speaks of him as George Burchier.⁵ This was the first Avesta book that was taken to Europe from India or Persia, and nobody there could read it, far less understand it. It was a novelty at the Bodleian, and as such was secured and hung there with an iron chain. It was deposited there with the following curious note of description. "*Leges sacre ritus et liturgia Zoroastre. . . scripsit hunc librum Tched Divdadi filius,*" i.e., "Sacred laws, rites and liturgy of Zoroaster . . . - Tched, son of Divdad, wrote this book." I call this note curious, because the ignorance about Parsee scriptures in those times in England was so great that the name of the book was taken to be that of the author.⁶

¹ Ibid., p. 3.

² For an account of this MS., vide *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustani and Pushtu manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, by Dr. Ed. Sachau and Dr. Hermann Eitè (1889), Column 1166, Ms. No. 1935.

³ Ibid.

⁴ *Journal B. B. A. S.*, Extra Number 1920, p. 288.

⁵ *Tahoe I.*, Part I., p. 5.

⁶ For *Jud-divdadi*. Another form is *Jud-Shaidi-dad*. Anquetil's *Zend-Avesta I.*, Part I., pp. 458-59.

The colophon of this manuscript of Bourchier¹ which runs as follows, gives its date, as *roc 25, mah 7*, year 1050, *yzd*, i.e., 1681 A. D. :-

၁။ အထွေထွေအားဖြင့် မြန်မာနိုင်ငံတော်၏ အခြေခံဥပဒေနှင့် အညီ
 ၂။ အထွေထွေအားဖြင့် မြန်မာနိုင်ငံတော်၏ အခြေခံဥပဒေနှင့် အညီ
 ၃။ အထွေထွေအားဖြင့် မြန်မာနိုင်ငံတော်၏ အခြေခံဥပဒေနှင့် အညီ
 ၄။ အထွေထွေအားဖြင့် မြန်မာနိုင်ငံတော်၏ အခြေခံဥပဒေနှင့် အညီ
 ၅။ အထွေထွေအားဖြင့် မြန်မာနိုင်ငံတော်၏ အခြေခံဥပဒေနှင့် အညီ

A few years after Boucher, Mr. Frazer, a Scotchman, who was a Councillor of Bombay, carried to England some Zoroastrian manuscripts. He had gone specially to Surat, the then headquarters of the Parsees, to purchase these manuscripts. According to Anquetil,² he purchased two manuscripts of the Yaçna and the Yashts and a number of Persian and Indian (Hindu) manuscripts. Anquetil, says on the authority of Dastur Darab, that Frazer had purchased these manuscripts together with a Revayet for Rs. 500, from Mr. Manockjee Sett, an ancestor of the Sett family of Bombay. Manockjee Sett had procured them from Dastur Bhiçjee.³

Though, as said above, some Zoroastrian Avesta-Pahlavi manuscripts had been taken to Europe before Anquetil's time, no body could read them, much less understand them. Some Oriental scholars in Europe knew Persian, and so they rested only on some Persian manuscripts for their information. Dr. Hyde's abovementioned book, itself based on Persian works, was the principal source of information for most of the scholars. M. Freret had presented a picture of the Parsee religion which was based only on the Persian *Sad-dar*. M. Foucher, a learned abbot, had written a history^a of the religion of the ancient Persians, but he had based it on the authority of the Classical writers and of Dr. Hyde whose source of information was Persian books.

In 1754, Anquetil Du Perron, first thought of visiting India, and studying the Parsee scriptures. A few fac-simile pages, traced from the abovementioned Vendidad manuscript of Bourcher in the Bodleian, were sent from England to M. Etienne Fourmont of Paris. This scholar lent them to his relation and pupil M. Leroux Deschaux.

¹ "Die Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen," by Dr. Spiegel, p. 10. Anquetil Du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, Tome I., Partie II., p. 3.

¹ Tome I, Partie I, p. 5.

¹ Tome I, Partie II, Notices p. IX; *voir* also my account of Dastur Darab.

¹ Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres 1758-59. Second Partie, Mémoires de Littérature, pp. 251 et seq.

terayes, who was an Orientalist, especially in the line of the Chinese literature. Anquetil saw these few pages at the house of M. Deschaumeternes and at once thought of learning the language in which they were written. He says: "Sur le champ je résolus d'enrichir ma patrie de ce singulier ouvrage."¹ He thought that thus, greater light can be thrown on Oriental antiquities than by the vain attempts hitherto made on the authority of Greek and Latin writers.

Then the question was: Where to go for the study of the language of the few Avesta pages that he saw? to Persia or to India? After some consideration, he preferred India, where he thought, he could also have an opportunity to study the Vedas. Some of his learned friends approved of his idea and gave him hopes for procuring assistance from the French Minister and the French Company which traded with India. But negotiations with them must necessarily take a long time, and were not sure of success. So, he grew a little impatient. Again, he thought, that in case he failed in India and did not do well in his desired object of study, he would be able to reproach from the State and the Company that helped him. He also did not feel justified to be a burden in this matter over the resources of his family which was not rich. So, under all the circumstances, he resolved to join as a soldier, a company of recruits who were going to India to serve in the army of the French trading company. The recruiting officer, on learning his final aim, dissuaded him from joining, but, at last, entered his name in his register, promising not to disclose the fact to any body till after his departure. A day before his departure, he took into his confidence his younger brother, who, later on, followed him to India, and who gradually rising, became the chief of the French factory at Surat. He left Paris on 7th November 1754, having as his equipment, two chemises or shirts, two handkerchiefs and one pair of stockings. He had also with him a box of mathematical instruments, a Hebrew Bible and two other books. He arrived in the town of L'Orient in the Bay of Biscay on 16th November.

During these days of march as a soldier, he got wearied of the soldierly life; and so, it was fortunate, that by the end of this time, on arriving at the above town, he heard the good news, that he was relieved from the turmoil of the life of a soldier. His learned patron-friends, had, by this time, succeeded in prevailing upon the authorities, that he may be given an annuity of 500 francs from the King during the time he was in India for study. He was given a free passage to travel to India and was given the privilege of dining

¹ *Ibid*, p. 6.

with the captain. He finally left France at Port Louis on 24th February 1755, in the ship *Le Duc d'Aquitaine*.

III.

(B) ANQUETIL IN INDIA. PONDICHERRY AND ITS SURROUNDINGS.

After a voyage of five months and a half, full of sea-sickness and of other illness caught from an infectious disease, Arrival at Pondicherry. brought on the ship by some soldier-prisoners, Anquetil landed at Pondicherry at 10 o'clock on the morning of the 10th of August 1755. On the Bunder, he was met by M. De Leyrit, the Governor-General of the French Establishment in India, on whom he had brought a letter of recommendation, but was not well received. M. De Goupil, Commander of the French troops, received him well and helped him. His arrival and the object of his visit to India had, as he says, made a stir (firent quelque bruit) in the country where people generally came from Europe with a view to make money. They did not think much of his object of visit or of his *bona-fides*.¹ Anquetil's first anxiety was to have a fixed revenue (un revenu fixe). He represented to M. De Leyrit, the Governor, that if that matter was not attended to, he was determined to return to Europe by the very boat which had brought him to India. This seems to have had the desired effect and his stipend or salary was fixed at Rs. 65 per month or Rs. 780 per year, which corresponded to 1,900 French livres² per year. He continued to get this stipend up to 1760, when it was raised to Rs. 100 per month, because, as he says, he had to pay the *Parsee Dasturs* (à cause des Destours Parses que j'étois obligé de payer) and to spend in travelling over the country. Anquetil had to do no active service while in the country, except in the case of a declaration of war.

Anquetil began his Indian studies by visiting various places of Indian worship in and about Pondicherry on the Malabar Coast and by learning the Malabari language. But, Life at Pondicherry, he says, he found this kind of life like that of throwing himself in 20 roads instead of following one road which would lead him to the object for which he had come. He then began the study of Persian which he found was more commonly spoken in Asia. He regretted the few months he had passed in Pondicherry in pleasure. The life there was such as would not lead one to take a serious view

¹ *Zend Avesta* I, P. 1, P. XXIV.

² *Ibid.*, p. XXV.

³ A French livre, as referred to by Anquetil, seems to be equal to one shilling.

of life and business. One can form an idea of the want of seriousness, attached to business by the first comers from Europe in those early days, from the statement of Anquetil that "a ball or a party of pleasure delayed the landing or the departure of a ship or the bargain of a million."¹

IV.

ANQUETIL IN BENGAL.

Well nigh disgusted with this state of affairs at Pondicherry, he left the city at the end of January 1756. After travelling over some adjoining places, he embarked for Bengal on the 1st of April 1756. He arrived at Chandarnagar on 22nd April, much weakened with fever. Anquetil's account of how he was received by the Director of the Factory there and even by some of the Jesuit fathers, throws a side-light of the apathetic life led by some Europeans in those times.

At Chandarnagar, Anquetil prosecuted his study of the Persian language and he translated some Persian books. He does not mention the names of the books. He soon got disgusted with Chandarnagar where he saw no proper means to study Sanskrit. So, he thought of going to Cassimbazar and thence to Benares. At the same time, he wrote a letter to M. Le Verrier, chief of the Company at Surat, sending him two lines written in the Persian language, but in Zend (Avesta) characters. A long illness at Chandarnagar made Anquetil a little wavering in his proposed project. He thought of entering the clerical profession in the company of the Jesuits, but the returning health and strength removed that thought. However, the returning health at least made him feel that he was leading an useless life at Chandarnagar. Again, Bengal was in a state of excitement. The Nabob was thinking of driving out of the country, the English. His attempt to do so was likely to create a revolution in the country which would derange his literary work. So, he thought of leaving Chandarnagar, but hesitated as to where to go.

At this time, he received a reply from M. Le Verrier from Surat, saying, that the Parsees had read the lines which he had sent to Surat, and said that it was modern Persian in Zend characters. The reply further added, that the Parsee Doctors (Dasturs) had showed him (M. Le Verrier) the books of Zoroaster, more particularly

¹ *Ibid.*, p. XXVII.

the Zend and Pahlavi Vendidad, and that they had promised to explain to him (Anquetil) that work, and to teach him their ancient languages. This good news, says Anquetil, soon restored him to health, and he resolved to go to Surat. (Cette nouvelle me rend toute ma santé et mon départ est résolu).¹ He refers to one of his weaknesses and adds: "They accuse me of unstaidness (on me taxe de légèreté). Little sensible of this reproach and very happy to be able to break with the seductive relations of which I begin feeling the weight, I put my things on board a vessel. The vessel which carried these things moves down the Ganges. But the news of war between France and England compels it to return and disconcerts my project. What a situation! The books of Zoroaster exist. They are going to give them (and) explain them to me. I am driven asunder from what is very dear to me for the purpose of enriching my country with this treasure."²

He now thought to himself that the war between England and France would perhaps make him a prisoner in the hands of the English, and in that event, there was a likelihood of his being sent away to Europe as a prisoner and of being deprived of a visit to Surat.

He now knew, that in view of the action against the English, the latter were marching against Chandarnagar and were very close to it. If the Nabob did not come in time to help the French, Chandarnagar was sure to fall into the hands of the English. So, he quietly left Chandarnagar, on the 9th of March 1757, for Cassimbazar without informing the Director of the French factory of his proposed departure. He, in his own mind, excused the fault of this sudden departure, when his French colony and compatriots were in difficulty, by the thought, that, as he knew Persian, he would be of some use to his country at Cassimbazar by influencing in some way the Nabob to send his help to the French early. He was blamed for this sudden secret departure at the time of the difficulty of his French colony. He says on this subject, "If that (departure) has been the cause of some unhappy misfortunes which have embittered a part of the time which I passed in India, I, on the other hand owe to it (i.e., that departure), the knowledge of the (Indian) Peninsula, and the acquisition and translation of the works of Zoroaster."³

¹ Tome I. Partie I. p. 40.

² *Ibid.*, p. 41.

³ *Ibid.*

He arrived at Cassimbazar, on 12th March 1757. He went to see the Nabob, Suraja Dowla, at a Darbar, where he had to take off his shoes and to perform the *Sijdah*, i.e., the salute by raising his hands down from the ground to his head. Anquetil gives a rather long account of his visit to the Darbar. The Officers of the Nabob's army, while saluting in the above way, said: *Omer deriz, doulat ziadah bashed*, i.e., May you live long and may your good fortune increase.¹

While at Cassimbazar, Anquetil found that the Nawab was not in a mood to send assistance early to the French at Chandarnagar. He heard on the 19th of March 1757, that Chandarnagar was well-nigh surrounded by the English army. He now thought of returning to Chandarnagar and started for it on the 20th. To avoid falling into the hands of the English, he travelled in the disguise of a Mour (Muthomedan) and arrived near Chandarnagar on the 23rd. Chandarnagar had just surrendered to the English. So, he thought of returning to Cassimbazar. Though the river was full of English boats, some native-boatmen, out of humanity, undertook the risk of taking him to Cassimbazar. Anquetil was touched by this act of kindness of the Indians who did not know him.² On the 26th of March, he was on the point of falling into the hands of the English. His boatmen, finding, that he was much anxious to avoid the English, intentionally took him to a village on the bank of the Ganges where there were a number of English boats, with a view to extort more money from him than what he had promised. But he remained firm and threatened to place them in prison in the place where they wanted to take him. This brought them to their senses and they proceeded straight. On his way to Cassimbazar, he met, at Plassey, the army of the Nabob under Doulobrah which was being sent to help the French. He was received with politeness in their camp. Doulobrah sent him to his Lieutenant Mirinder, a Mogul, who sent him to his brother who was the commander of the

¹ Anquetil speaks of the salute, paid to the Nabob by firing guns as *Cailletouques*. What is this word *cailletouques*? Mr. Beveridge says that it is used for a match-lock and must be a mistake for *matteque* or *matling* which is a Turkish word for a gun. I think, it is Persian *Killeb-tep*, قلع تپ i.e., the fort gun.

² "Étonné d'avoir trouvé tant d'humanité chez des Indiens qui ne me connoissent pas, qui voyoient le premier de nos Établissmens détruit, et qui s'exposoient réellement en me rendant service," Tome I., Part. I, p. XLV.

³ This statement of Anquetil contradicts his above statement. He praises their humanity in saving a stranger from the hands of the enemy; and, at the same time, accuses them of an attempt of treachery and extortion under the threat of giving him up to the enemy from whom they had saved him.

Artillery. At dinner, he was offered a drink which he refused, but being pressed to take a little, it being an European drink, he took it, believing it to be brandy and water. In quarter of an hour, he had convulsions from which he recovered with difficulty, and he learnt that the drink was a solution of opium. He arrived at Cassimbazar on 28th March.

Anquetil was then attached to that part of the army of the Nabob, which was commanded by M. Law. He became a favourite with this officer, who, he says, often consulted him. This drew the jealousy of others towards him. They all arrived at Calcutta on the 1st of May 1757. The next day (2nd May), a number of the officers of M. Law's army appeared before their chief with Anquetil's memorandum book, and pointing to the notes he was in the habit of taking, accused him of bad intentions, &c. The commander prudently remained silent. The officers insultingly referred to his leaving Chandanagar without permission and molested him in various other ways.

V.

RETURN JOURNEY TO PONDICHERRY.

Under these circumstances, Anquetil asked M. Law's permission to leave the camp and to go to Pondicherry. This

Départure for Pondicherry. resolution turned some of his enemies into friends, and they offered a number of things to Anquetil to help him on his way by land to Pondicherry. He had hardly 2 gold rupees (*i.e.*, mohars), in his pocket, M. Carillon quietly put in his pocket 7 gold rupees (mohars) more. He left Cassimbazar on 1st May 1757. On his way, he bought at Rajmahal a small horse for 18 livres (18 sh.) on his way to Murshidabad, he heard that a certain wild elephant had created a panic among the travellers of that district. The smell of this elephant from a distance frightened Anquetil's pony which was a quiet animal. He was thrown to the ground and was hurt. He proceeded further, carrying the animal by the bridle, and saw that the elephant was at last captured by the people. He arrived at Murshidabad which was then considered to be the capital of Bengal, on 5th May, stayed there for 9 days to rest his injured foot and left it on the 15th. At Murshidabad, he was the guest of a Frenchman, M. de Chaigneau, who was at first in the service of the French Company, but had lately taken service with the Mahomedan Nabob of Bengal. Anquetil was afraid more of the good services that one did him than of the bad services (*j'ai toujours plus craint les services que les mauvaises*

offices)¹ *i.e.*, he did not like to be under one's obligation. So, he left the house of his host as soon as he was a little better and able to walk well. He started for Ganjam in the company of two peons and an interpreter (dobachi).

In the midst of all the sufferings of the journey Anquetil was, as he says, consoled by three kinds of thoughts.

1. The first was that of the principal object of his visit to India, *viz.*, the books of Zoroaster, for which he was now going to make a search at Surat *via* Pondicherry.

2. The second thought was, that in these journeys, he learnt the manners of the people and formed an idea about them. This knowledge of the people, he expected, would be useful to him in his translation of the Vedas, which was the second work that had brought him to India.

3. The third thought was this, that however superficial his remarks may be, they would give some information about the places he passed through, of which travellers knew nothing but the names.

From Murshidabad, he, at the instance of his host, M. de Changeac, went to Montigil to see Khodā Leti, a young Mogul (*gentilhomme*) who had taken the title of Nabob. He represents him as a man of unnatural desires. So, says Anquetil, he had to lay his hands on his pistol and under its threat to withdraw from his company.²

He left Murshidabad on 15th May 1757. He passed through places like Palolia, Basela, Kogaon, Palassi, crossed an arm of the Ganges, went to Tchoogandi, and thence to Katoia. He then went to Nigan, Bordoian (Burdwan), Tehanderkoun, Mednipour (Midnapore), Benopour, Balassor (3rd June 1757), Cuttack (4th June), Jagannath (7th June), and Ganjam (15th June). On the way, he travelled at some places as an Indian. At other places, he passed as a messenger (*envoyé*) of Captain Law,³ the officer in the service of the Nabob of Bengal. At Koteik (Cuttack) he was taken by some to be the Barā Saheb (the chief) of (the factory of) Cassimbazir. He came across a

¹ *Ibid.* p. 55.

² The Nabob was at the time of the occurrence in the midst of a large number of Mahomedans (une multitude de Maures), who, he says, would have killed him in pieces. The time, the place and the number of people, in the midst of whom the Nabob expressed his intentions by his eyes (*ses yeux m'instruisaient bientôt de ses véritables intentions*), create doubts as to the probability of the motive attributed to the Nabob.

³ Je leur déclarai que mon projet étoit de joindre son (*i.e.*, de Boussy) armée, parce que j'avois des choses importantes à lui communiquer de la part du Capitaine Law, que j'avois laissé dans le Bengale. T. I. P. I. p. LXVI.

tiger who caused a panic among the people round about. Though he had a gun, he thought it advisable not to seek quarrel with him (prudemment je ne jugeai pas à propos de lui chercher querelle).¹

On his way, he fell in the company of two *fakirs*, one of whom was accompanied by a *fakir*ess of 18 to 20 years.²

A visit to Jagarnath. Her eyes were always fixed upon Anquetil and several times she even offered to cook his *kicheri*, but he showed no regard for her advances (ses avances). These advances were then made to one of his Alkars³ and accepted. These and other *fakirs* whom he met were the pilgrims to the temple of Jagrenat (Jagarnath). People from all parts of Asia went to Jagarnath as pilgrims. He saw pilgrims from all parts of India and from Tartary and he even saw some black Christians. All the pilgrims are taxed by the Raja at the rate of two rupees per head at the entrance of the village and are charged half a rupee more for admission into the temple.

Anquetil describes at some length his visit to the town and the temple of Jagarnath in the company of his Alkara (servant). The statue itself of Jagarnath is in a pagoda in an elevated place. Being found out as a non-Hindu, he was not admitted in spite of his offer of money (l'argent que j'offres) to the Brahmins. While there, he heard that the *rubies*, which formed one of the eyes of the statue, were stolen by the Chief of a small Dutch factory (Chef d'un petit Comptoir Hollandois).⁴ The other eye was formed by a large carbuncle. He describes the chariot, on which the statue is taken round on its annual feast day, which was to occur 12 days after his visit. He says nothing about the origin of the worship of Jagarnath, saying, he had not as yet studied the sacred books of the Hindus. He says: "Similarly in subsequent account, when I would have the occasion to speak of the religion of these people I would rest contented with reporting what I have seen or have heard without passing any judgment. The comparison which I have made of what the voyagers say of the religion and usages of the Parsis, with what is contained in their sacred books, has distinctly convinced me, that, in the study of religious opinions, dogmas and cults, the reading of original books was a necessary preliminary; that that was the only thread which could lead through the labyrinth of a religion like that of the Indians, which is divided into a number of sects and which is spread, since more than 2,000 years, in the largest part of Asia."⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

² *Ibid.*, p. 73.

³ Perhaps Persian *halkara*, i.e., messenger, peon.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 83-87.

He left Jagarnath on 7th June, and arrived at Ganjam, where he was the guest of M. Azam, who was at the head of the French factory there. He had a quiet sleep here after nearly two months. This port was a centre of trade and supplied corn to Pondicherry and to Bengal. It was also the key of the Deccan from the north. Anquetil accompanied here M. Azam to lay the foundation of an embankment on the shore, where a Mahomedan killed a goat to assure the success of the work, which in the end was abandoned. Anquetil was still travelling in the pretended roll of a messenger of M. Law to M. de Bussy, in order to secure the help of others. He says: "In spite of my repugnance for sham, I kept on this borrowed character."¹ In spite of this personation, he had some difficulty at a place called Nopara, where, being stopped by a sepoy, he gave him a blow. The Daroga with sword in hand and with 50 soldiers arrested him, saying, he did not know M. de Bussy. He does not give any particulars as to what happened next, but it appears, that, after being detained one night, he was allowed to proceed on his journey.

He arrived on 19th June in the province of Sylhetakol, where he became the guest for the evening of M. Law, the brother of M. Law of Cassimbazar, and of other French officers who were going to join the army of M. de Bussy, which was at a day's march from that place. Here, he heard for the first time, that his brother had come from France to Pondicherry. This news gave him much courage and he hastened to resume his journey. He went to the place where M. de Bussy's army stayed, and exhausted as he was, "some glasses of good liquor revived his senses and he slept quietly for the rest of the night."

The next day, M. de Bussy, who was informed of the arrival of an envoy from M. Law from Bengal, expected a secret message from him, and when Anquetil went to see him, got two chairs placed in a corner of his tent for private conversation. But Anquetil made a clear confession of his personation as an envoy and left himself at his mercy, pleading his difficulties in Bengal and in the journey, for his conduct. M. de Bussy, though surprised at first at his conduct, regarded the situation with kindness.

He left the French camp, the next day, in company with M. Law who was going to Maslipatam, the emporium of the Deccan, and the market of trade between Europe and India, which was then also known for its *Tchittes* (靑) manufactured in the adjoining town of Narzapour. He arrived at Maslipatam on 2nd July 1757.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. vii.² *Ibid.*, p. 97.

Here, M. de Moracin, the commander of the place, helped him with money, and Madame Moracin confirmed the news of his brother's arrival at Pondicherry. Anquetil saw at Maslipatam an Abbot (Abbé), of whom he speaks as one of the leeches (sangsuees) who have eaten away the substance of the French Company. He says he found in several places in India, like Pondicherry, Chundarnagar . . .

Chical (Schikakot) and in the army of M. de Bussy, such persons. They were paid highly, but did not study and learn anything. They occupied high positions, incompatible with their professions. Play, Women and Commerce (Le jeu, les femmes et le Commerce) occupied their time.¹

He left Maslipatam in a palanquin on the 18th of July², entered into the district of the Coromandal Coast on 31st July.³ On arriving at Pulicat, a seat of the Dutch factory, he was informed that he could not proceed further, unless a passport arrived from Madras. So, to avoid any delay, he got into a boat known as "Schellingue." As a war was waging between the French and the English at the time, there was the chance of his falling into the hands of the English. He risked that chance. He started on 2nd August. The boatmen were sailing very slow. So, he threatened them with his pistol. When at the distance of two *koss* from Madras, he saw the village of St. Thomé which contains the church of that saint.

He now left the boat and proceeded further by land. The Catoial (Kotewal, i.e., the Police Superintendent) took him for an Armenian. On proceeding further, under Mahomedan dress, he passed as a Mogul. He arrived at Pondicherry on 10th August 1757, after about three and quarter months' travel from Bengal and met his brother. Both the brothers had an affectionate embrace. M. de Leyrit, the chief of the French factory, had taken that Anquetil was dead.

Here, we find Anquetil again giving an expression of his unsteadiness. The fatigue of the journey from Bengal had created in him a thought to return to Europe. But the sympathetic treatment of him by M. de Leyrit removed that idea and encouraged him to adhere to his thought of going to Surat. Anquetil persuaded M. de Leyrit to appoint his brother, second in command of the French factory at Surat, and to arrange, that, on the retirement of M. de Verrier, the then chief, he may succeed him as the head. M. de Leyrit consented. Both the brothers started for Surat. They left Pondicherry on 27th October 1757.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 98.² *Ibid.*, p. 99.³ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

At first they started for Mahi. (Here finishes the first part of Anquetil's preliminary discourse.)

VI.

JOURNEY TO SURAT.

With the departure for Surat, commences, what he himself calls:
Starts for Surat. "the commencement of his literary work (*travaux littéraires*). Anquetil says,¹ that his first two years in India, were years of excursions, dangers, misfortunes, and expedients. He seems to mean that they were wasted, and he attributes the cause to (a) the enchanting pleasures of the colonies, (b) to his youth, fury of passions and to the then condition of French factories. The two months that he passed in quiet in Pondicherry were months of quiet reflections, which led his next few years to be years of literary work.

Both the brothers landed at Mahi on 17th November 1757. They had to wait there for some months till they found the opportunity (occasion) to go to Goa or to Surat. Here, Anquetil had some differences with the head of the factory and had to write to M. de Leyrit at Pondicherry to complain about him. He had to wait there for a ship going to the above places. So, he took advantage of this delay and went to see some of the French possessions on that side of the Canara district. He left his brother at Mahi and started for Ramataty in a boat on the 2nd of December 1757. Anquetil, complaining of the governor of Mahi, as being a little rude, says, that the politeness of the governor of Ramataty made up for the rudeness of that of Mahi.²

On his way to Canara, he was detained as a spy. Though the country was not under the French, the people were afraid of the French. A Canarese Christian, who knew Portuguese, helped Anquetil. He, acting as an interpreter, examined the papers of Anquetil and assured the Native State (Dorbar, *i.e.*, Darbar), that the papers he had were on the subject of Astronomy. He was detained there till some satisfactory explanation about his movement came from Neliceram, where messages were sent for inquiries about him. Anquetil went to stay with the Canarese Christian interpreter. There, he, at the end, quarrelled with him for the feeding charges. In the meantime, some information in reply to the inquiries came from Neliceram. In

¹ P. 127.

² P. 126.

consequence of that information, and in consequence of some threat to the effect, that some French troops would soon arrive under the command of his brother, he was allowed to proceed on his journey. He then returned to Neliceram where he met his brother again.¹ After having seen several other places, he returned to Mahi. His brother now left Mahi to go to Goa and thence to Surat.

Anquetil had read something about the Native Christians in the district round about, whose firefathers were first converted by St. Thomas. So, to know something about them, he started for Cochin with a letter of recommendation from the French Resident at Calicut. He started from Mahi on 28th December 1757. According to Anquetil, Calicut was at that time a large city. It was first founded in 825 A. D. Its principal commerce was that of pepper, cardamom, sandal and sesame. It was ruled by the Samuriri (Zamuriri). Cannanore and Cochin at first formed parts of his territory. Its first known king was Scharian Pereummal. Anquetil here gives a long description of the several castes of Cochin.

He arrived on 31st December 1757 in Cochin which was then in the hands of the Dutch. There were two Cochins. Cochin. The great Cochin was captured in 1667 by the Its Christians. Dutch from the hands of the Portuguese. A part of the small Cochin was inhabited by white Jews. Anquetil's description of Cochin shows, that the city and the surrounding district formed a great centre of trade at that time. Some of the Europeans who lived there were literary persons. There were also many learned Christian priests. There were a number of Christian Churches built by the several European communities that traded with India. Anquetil visited Veraple which was the seat of the Apostolic Vicar of the Malabar Coast. His description of the Christians of this district will be found somewhat interesting to the students of the history of the spread of Christianity here. Even M. Florent, a head priest of the district, could not tell how old was the Christian population there. At the time of Anquetil's visit, there were about 200,000 Christians, of whom 50,000 were Roman Catholics, 100,000 Syrian Malabari Catholics, 50,000 other Syrian Christians (Syro-Malabares-Schismatiques). The Latin or Roman Catholics again were divided into three classes. 1. Christians of St. Thomas. 2. The Tapas, born of Portuguese fathers and Indian mothers, either by legal marriage or concubinage, who dressed as Europeans. Most of the domestic servants of the Dutch, the English and the French in India belonged to this class. 3. The Moundoukarens who were

recently converted Malabari Christians and who dressed as natives of the land, and the Kouloukaren who were fishers and sailors.

Anquetil speaks of the following curiosities or monstrosities which he heard were seen in the district. (1) A child 3 inches long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width, white in colour and well-formed, (2) A flying frog, and (3) Bushful ants (*vers honteux*.) (4) small monkeys, having the eyes of owls and long paws, (5) a small fly with six lines of diameter in the form of a tortoise with two green and gilt horns. His detailed description of the district should be of some use to those interested in the question of the old topography of the district.

Anquetil left Cutchin on 25th January 1758, and returned to Mahi on 29th January 1758. He then left Mahi by boat for Goa. Goa on 13th February. He escaped falling into the hands of pirates and arrived at Mangalore on 16th February. Mangalore had then a brisk trade with Muscat in sandalwood, pepper, cardamom, &c. He left Mangalore on the 17th and arrived at Goa on the 21st of February *via* Carwar and Marmagao. He met here, again, his brother, who three days after Anquetil's arrival, left for Surat, which, sailing along the coast, he reached after a voyage of about 30 days. His brother hastened to Surat because he had to take up his new post there. Anquetil parted from him because he wanted to see *en route* several places like Aurangabad and Ellora.¹

Anquetil found life at Goa very monotonous. He found the society of the people—both the clergy and the laity—insipid.² Anquetil refers to the "Tribunal de l'Inquisition" of the city, at some length. He was pleased with the fertility and surroundings of the part known as the Saisette of Goa; but was disgusted with the people (the Portuguese) who did not take sufficient advantage of the blessings of the city's soil and situation. He regretted that Goa was not inhabited by other people.³ He left Goa on 23rd March 1758. In the adjoining town of Ponda he saw the inhabitants observing the carnival of "le Singat" (Singah or the Holi holidays). He says the people there, like his own people on their holidays, "committed a hundred follies."⁴

He then began to ascend the Ghauts, whose beauty and the view from whose summit made a very pleasant impression upon his mind.⁵ The beautiful Nature, as seen there, carried his thoughts to Nature's God

¹ P. 191.

² P. 214.

³ "Le regrettais, en m'arrachant à cet spectacle ravissant, que Goa ne fut pas habitée par d'autres hommes" l. p. 215.

⁴ "Le Peuple se barbouille et fait comme parmi nous mille folies," *Ibid.* p. 216.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 218.

and to the chaos, which must have at one time prevailed in the universe. He considered the green lawn that he saw to be the best in the world (*la plus belle pelouse du monde*)¹. He philosophised upon the attempts of the different European nations to take possession of this beautiful country (*cette riche contrée*). He thoroughly enjoyed the beauty of the Western Ghats, the pleasure of which neither money nor greatness can buy (*un plaisir que les richesses ni les grandeurs ne donnent point*). He muses with himself and says, "Canst I pass, protected from the tumult of the world, the rest of my days with some friends in this retreat which Nature appears to have in these mountains?" But the thought of the presence of the Canarese and the Mahrathas,² and of the tigers in this district soon makes him say that it was all illusion (pure illusion?) and that he would have no repose there.

Descending the Ghats, while resting under a tree, he sent his Canarese guide to fetch some eatables from the adjoining town of Kanapur. The man did not return. What made Anquetil very anxious was the loss of his passport which was with the guide. Having waited long, he himself went to the town. The Fuzdar sent for him, but fearing lest he may be arrested, he left the town, bribing the guards of the city gate to open the gate for him late at night.

In the course of his account of further progress towards Poona, he gives an expression to a favourable opinion about the Mahrathas, whom he prefers to the Canarese. The former are hospitable and open the gates of their villages to travellers, while the latter are suspicious and close them. He thus passes an interesting certificate for the Mahrathas: "The people are gay, strong and healthy and depend upon nothing but their courage and arms. Their principal strength is in their cavalry. Hospitality is their dominating virtue. Their country seems to be the country of Nature. On conversing with the Mahrathas, I felt, as if I was conversing with the men of some early ages. In fact, as Nature is subject to very few wants in this happy country, she is equally less active. So, in the space of several centuries, she hardly goes through any changes." What Anquetil seems to mean is this: The country, being very fertile, people there have not much to work over the soil. So, they are less active. Thus, being less subject to changes, they are generally conservative.

Anquetil crossed the river Krishna on his way. His description of the country is very detailed, to such an extent, that one may find it

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

² *Ibid.*, p. 219.

wearisome ; but it may be found useful for those who want to study the old topography of the district. He complains, that the coins (*peyas vāsi*), of one part of the Mahratha country were not accepted in another part.

After a journey of several days, Anquetil arrived on 8th April 1754, at Poona. Poona (Ponin), which, he says, was the capital of the Mahrathas at that time, Satara being the old capital. He stayed for a night at the house of a Mahratha Bania, named Irguna, upon whom he had a letter of introduction from one Autasiany. Anquetil's following description of Poona will be found interesting :—

" The bazar is a large street which it traverses from one end to the other. One finds there all the articles of commerce of Asia and also a part of those of Europe which the English send there from Bombay, which is at the distance of four or five days' journey. But all these rich things are used more by the Moors (*i.e.*, the Mahomedans) than the Mahrathas. These people have few wants. A piece of red cloth for the cap, another of white cloth round the loins, a third for the scarf, and some yards of cloth for the winter,—these form the dress of the rich. Their gold is converted into ornaments which they and their women put on. Their food very often consists of rice and vegetables to which they add a little of melted butter. A similar kind of liquid serves for their drink. It fattens them and sometimes they take it to such an extent that it makes them dull. It is clear that the commerce of the Europeans in India would perish absolutely, if these people were uppermost everywhere. But the effeminacy and luxury of the Mahomedans make up for the simple frugality of the Mahrathas."

He then refers to Nann, and says, that, at the time of his visit he was not at Poona but had gone to Nassik Tirmuk, which was held to be sacred by the Mahrathas, " because, they say, that the winter of the Ganges comes out there from the mouth of a cow."

He left Poona on the 9th of April staying there for one day. On his way further, he came across the case of a suttee. He says : " the flakes of fire, the noise of the drums, the clashing sound of the flutes and the cries of those present added to the horror of the ceremony. . . . Nature (here) being enervated by heat and accustomed to violences of despotism, they look to misfortune, to death itself with a kind of carelessness or of courage,

¹ P. 277.

² P. 228.

which in free countries and temperate climates one hardly finds among women."¹

On proceeding further, in a village named Zavola,¹ he passed the night at a village school, where the pupils spread white sand over a black board and wrote over it with their fingers. The teacher beat the pupils the whole time, striking a long cane over the exposed parts of their bodies.

He arrived in a suburb of Aurangabad at night on 14th April, and the next day, went to the camp of the French army of M. de Bussey, but was received very rudely, because the story of the incident of the quarrel, which he had at Calgan in Bengal with the French army there, had preceded him here. But some officers made up for this coldness by their politeness towards him. The city of Aurangabad did not please him much. He did not see anything striking. He says: "One who has seen one Mahomedan city of a certain size has seen all the cities." All the cities are built on well-nigh the same plan. There was more of debauchery here than in Bengal. The public houses of young boys were more common and more frequented than those of women. In consequence of this, he left the city soon for Ellora and Daulatabad.

He arrived at Haure (Ellora) on 16th April. He passed through Caghasvara, where they manufactured paper (câgas), and then through the village of Rouza (Rosa), where he saw the tomb of Aurangzeb. He found the Mahomedans of Rosa proud and insolent. As Thevenot, who had visited the caves of Ellora before him, had given a very short account of them, he resolved to describe them in details. The site of the caves was in the form of a horse-shoe. The monuments of Ellora were believed to be the work of Genies. They gave an idea of the work of the Indians, of their boldness (*hardiesse*) of conception and of their patience in execution. A blow of the hammer wrongly given would spoil a colonne and compel a new digging in the surface of a large rock.

Returning to Aurangabad, on 17th April, he went to see the fort of Daulatabad on the 18th. M. de Saint Paul, the commandant of the Germans, whom he had seen, in 1737, in the French camp at Schicakoul, helped him in seeing well the fort, which had the batteries of Aurangzeb upon it. The water in the cistern on the fort was so

¹ P. 270.

cold, that even at 10 o'clock in the morning (in April), one can hardly dare to drink it. On the edge of the rock, he saw a piece of massive artillery turned to the north, in length about 34 sticks (cannes), the diameter of the mouth and the neck being about one foot. Near the touch-hole was an inscription in Mahrathi and Mahomedan languages. There was also a smaller piece of artillery, pointed to the west, south-west. On proceeding further, after seeing the Taken (sent) of the Sultān, he found a third piece of artillery. Anquetil's description of the fort in details may interest one, who would like to compare the present condition of the fort, with its former condition¹. Anquetil speaks of the fort as impregnable (une place imprenable²). Besides the magazine, it contained stores of food that would last 100 men for one year. That being the case, the fort has never yielded except to a surprise attack or to treason. After having visited the quarters of the Moulahs, who being ignorant, could not talk with him on the subject of metaphysics and oriental history, and after having seen the tomb of the daughter of Aurangzeb, known as the Begum kâ-hâgh (i.e., the garden of the Begum), where he heard a Mulla reciting the *Koran*, he left Aurangabad on the 22nd for Surat. He passed *via* the villages of Nizampet, Boudnapouri, Pipelgaon, Karenjgaon, Palsera, Doukervari, all in the Paragna of Gandapour, and Songaon and Wari in the Paragna of Kandaal, which was given by Schah Rajn (Raja Sahu) to Nannā. He then passed through the Paragna of Patoḍal, about 30 *Kos* from Nāsik.

He caught dysentery en route, and so, lived upon the light food of rice-kānji (Cānge leger), which served as his meals up to Surat. He proceeded further *via* Gotemgaon, Aregan, and Itava. He entered the Paragna of Tehandor on the 25th. After Pipelgaon, he entered the Paragna of Lonar. He passed through the country of the Bhils, "a caste of particular people between the Mahrathas and the Mahomedans."³ He passed through the district of Baglane, where they speak Baglanique, a dialect of Marathi mixed with Gujarati. He passed through the Paragna of Moller, which was then conquered by Nannā. He was still passing through the country of the Bhils. He lost his way and one of the Bhil mountaineers, kindly gave him milk and guided him to the proper route without writing far, or accepting, any recompense. He thus compliments the Bhils: "In similar circumstances among the civilized people, we would have run the risk of losing our life, or at least of being robbed!"

¹ I had the pleasure of seeing the town of Aurangabad, the fort of Daulatabad and the caves of Ellora in February 1891. For a Gujarati account of my visit of the Ellora caves, vide my *Dnyān Pasarak Essays*, Part 1, pp. 103-120.

P. 234.

P. 236.

Entering the Paragana of Bandari, he now began to meet the Banjas of Gujarat. He passed the Choki of Damanji Ekbar (perhaps Damanji Guikwar¹). He now arrived on the 29th, to the well-known fort-town of Songhad² (Songuer), where Nana, Holkar and Damaji, all three had their officers or Residents. Anundrao (Anaura Ekbar) commanded the fort, where lived the women of the household of his brother Damaji. He left Songhad on the 30th, and passing through some villages and crossing some *nalis* (i.e., streams), arrived at Beura (modern Vidra³ *वदरा*), which a Mahratha chief, named Babourao, had purchased from Damanji (Dammaji). The town had a fort built of stone. He then arrived at Bagipoura, a beautiful village built by Badji Bolalrao, father of Nana. On 1st of May 1758, he arrived at the Chowki of Maneikpoura, and then, at Bardoli. The country here was found beautiful and cultivated. Then, proceeding through Carodragam and Kombaria, and passing by a Takia of Fakirs, he arrived at the gate of Surat at about five in the evening, weakened through dysentery. He waited for a passport from the Nabob of Surat, which was soon brought by a peon of the French factory, and within half an hour he was in the arms of his brother at the factory.

VII.

STAY AT SURAT.

Now commences the third part of Anquetil's story of his travels. He stayed at Surat for three years. Before describing his stay, he gives some account of the origin of Surat, which, he says, was one of the largest cities of India, and was well-populated, in spite of its many sufferings, being pillaged alternately by the Mahrathas and the Mahomedans. At first, it was a village of fishermen. In the thirteenth century, when Cambay was well-known, it was an unknown village.

Anquetil gives the following story of its foundation on the authority of Nur Beg, a librarian of the last Mahomedan Soubadar of Ahmedabad. In the reign of Mahomed Begada of Ahmedabad, at the end of the 15th century, there was here, a village of fishermen, whose head casteman was one Suratdji. His surname was Mahigir (i.e., one who catches fish). This headman paid, on behalf of his caste, the dues due to the governor of Rander, who ruled there on behalf of the king of

¹ P. 261. For a short history of the Guikwar rulers of this time, vide my paper entitled "An Outline of the History of the Early Guikwars" in the *Svatantra* (११११) of 22th September 1913.

² Songhad and the adjoining villages have even now a Parsee population. I had the pleasure of visiting Songhad, Vidra, Mahura and Bardoli, in December 1909 and January 1910.

Ahmedabad. The Portuguese, in one of their privateering excursions, attacked and looted the fishermen's village. Suratdji complained to the king at Ahmedabad and asked for protection. The king ordered Khodavandkhan, the governor of Rander, to erect a fort on the other side of the Tapti where the fishermen lived. Khodavandkhan built a fort and founded there a city, which he named Surat, to commemorate the name of Suratdji, who had represented the matter to the king. Anquetil gives the following chronogram as the inscription on the gate of this fortress: "Sadd houd bar sineh djîn Feringui in benah¹," i.e., This (fortress) was built for defence against the Portuguese.

This line, according to the calculation on the *abjad* system, gives the date of the fort as 931 Hijri, i.e., 1524 A.D. At first, the walls of the town were made of earth. That continued till 1666 A.D., by which time the city increased in size. A few years afterwards, a wall was built round the city. In about 1708, in the time of Haidar Koulkhan, another wall was built round the city. In the time of Anquetil, it had 12 gates with guns on its round towers.

Anquetil gives the following story about the foundation of the city of Ahmedabad, whose king ruled over Surat. The foundation of Ahmedabad. The first Mahomedan ruler of Gujarat was Mouzaifar-khan, who had received the government of the country from Emperor Firouz. On the death of Firouz, he became independent from the Mogul throne, and his successors continued so till the time of Akbar. His capital was at Patan. After a reign of 11 years, he was succeeded by his grandson Ahmed. This prince, one day, saw a Persian horse all perspired. On inquiry, one of his officers made the following confession: At a place about 45 *kosh* from Patan, there lived a Hindu woman with whose beauty he was enchanted. She went to a temple every day, and the officer had gone to see her when she attended the temple. He returned within 4 *pehrs*, i.e., 12 hours, and so, the horse which took him there was all perspired. The king liked to satisfy himself about the truth of this statement. He went with the officer to the place and saw the Hindu damsel. When looking at the town, he saw an hare fighting with a hunting dog. He was struck with this sight and thought, that such a place must produce warriors. So, he founded a city on the place—about 40 *kosh* from Patan—and named it Ahmedabad after

¹ This will run in Persian characters as

صد بود بر سینہ جان فرنگی ابن بنا

i.e., lit. This building was a hindrance on the breast of the wolf of the Portuguese.

his own name. It then became the capital of Gujarat. Anquetil says, that a Persian inscription gives the date of the construction of the Masjid of the city as 1407 A. D. (810 Hijri), and the date of the construction of the city as 1409 (812 H.). Anquetil gives a short account of the kings of Ahmedabad up to the time of Akbar, and of the Soubadars under Akbar and his successors up to the time of Mahomed Shah. He also gives an account of the family and principal officers of Nizam-ul-Moulk. He then describes the 22 Soubas of Hindustan and gives a list of 61 emperors, beginning with Pethara Raja of Delhi in the 12th century and ending with Shah Jahan Sane in about 1761.

Surat was under the territories of the Mogul Empire. It was ruled over once directly by the Râjâs of Ahmedabad. In Administration and trade of Surat. Anquetil's time, it had two governors, one for the fort and the other for the city, both independent of one another. Anquetil gives a long list of the former governors of Surat from Salabatkhan downwards. He says that Gujarat was spoken of in his time as *Zin ul belad*—the beauty of cities. Surat, owing to its midway situation, commanded the trade of well-nigh the whole of the Indian peninsula and of the Persian and Arabian Gulfs. This commerce made her rich. She had captured the trade of Goa and Ahmedabad. Anquetil attributes the fall of Surat principally to two causes. Firstly, the Chiefs of the different European factories—the French, Portuguese, English, Dutch, &c.—envied one another, and through unjustifiable rivalry spoilt the trade. Secondly, the Nabobs or governors themselves also ruined the trade by oppressive duties and taxes and consequent restrictions on trade. Lastly, the internal dissensions and warfare among the successors of the Nabob, Teg Beg Khan, further ruined the trade of the city. Anquetil describes at some length the dissensions between the heirs of Nabob Teg Beg Khan. The different European factories took one side or the other from the point of view of their interests.

In these dissensions among the rival heirs of the late Nabob, a rich Parsee of Surat, named Muncherjee and known by The dissensions among the family of the Nabob and the Parsees. his people as Muncherjee Sett, was involved. He was the broker of the Dutch factory. Anquetil speaks of him as the chief of the Parsees at Surat (*chef des Parsees de Surate*). The Mahrathas began taking advantage of the internal dissensions in Surat, and now and then, with or without taking sides, attacked the town. Among the rivals for the chief power of the Nabobship, one was Subdar Khan who was supported by the Dutch factory. He was opposed by the Mahrathas. They took the above Muncherjee Sett, who helped the Dutch, and through

them Sabdar Khan, prisoner. They asked from him a ransom of four lakhs of rupees, and in the meantime, imposed upon him a daily fine of Rs. 500, as the cost of keeping and feeding the guards who watched him. According to Anquetil, one of the ways, resorted to by the Mahrathas to extort the above four lakhs from Muncherjee, was to force excrement in his mouth. The Dutch, thereupon, left the city in their ships, and going to the mouth of the river, threatened the arrest of the trading vessels that came in. They put their threat partially into practice, and the uproar, raised by the mercantile community, compelled Nahob Miachand, who was then in the ascendancy and who was helped by the Mahrathas, to make peace with the Dutch. One of the Dutch conditions was the immediate release of Muncherjee Sett. Peace being thus made, the Dutch re-entered into Surat in their ships and were welcomed with some demonstration by the Parsees at Omber (Oomra on the left bank of the Tapti), which was then a chief village of the Parsees of Surat (gross aldees de Parsees).¹

For some time, the English factors stood aloof and took no sides.

The Dutch were in the ascendancy for some time. Anquetil's account of the internal dissensions and the English Factory. The English then began to become a little active and sided with Miâ-atchand (Mian Achchan) and opposed Subdar Khan (Safdar Khan) and his Dutch allies. Anquetil thus pays a compliment to the English.

"They carried their sight further off; knew the strength and the wealth of the city, the extent of its commerce, and of the use of its fleet which sojourned in Indian waters." The English made some additions to their factory premises in 1746, built two reservoirs for water and fortified their place. In 1748, on the arrival of Mr. Darel, as the chief of the factory, their place was guarded by 150 soldiers.

On 8th November 1748, there met a general assembly of all European nations except the Dutch, to consider

A Conference of the Heads of all Factories except the Dutch. the situation created at Surat by Sabdar Khan; whereby trade was greatly jeopardised. It was resolved that Sabdar Khan should be made to leave Surat, and the English were entrusted with

¹ For a succinct History of Surat, vide *સુરતની ઇતિહાસ* by Narmadashankar (Narmadagadh, Vol. II, No. 1, 1866).

² Pp. 28 and 29.

³ From an account of the life of Rustam Manock (1634-1721), the founder of the Sett family of Bombay, who was a broker of the English factory, written in Persian verse by Mobad Jamshed bin Kaikobad in 1711, we learn, that the house of the first English factory was one that belonged to a Mahomedan merchant Hâjî Hajaj Beg. It was a palatial building and was rented for Rs. 1,800 per year. (The Genealogy of the Sett family by Mr. Jallidoy Sett, 1141.)

that mission. The latter, therefore, sent for further guns, soldiers and an Engineer from Bombay. They expected further reinforcements. They arranged to use an adjoining caravan-sarai to drill their soldiers and so, connected it by a new gate in their premises. Thus, they and all the other European factors except the Dutch, placed themselves on the side of Miachan. A Dutch, who went to their premises to see what was happening there, was arrested as a spy, and after a summary justice, was, within a short period of five hours, beheaded. The Hollanders protested against this act, affirming at the same time, that they were no way befriending Sabdar Khan. The latter now began taking some steps for his own defence. He hired four coolies to murder Miachan, and his colleagues, Moolu Fakhruddin, Chalabi and Mir Mahomedalli, who all were united against him. This attempt at murder failed. At last, Sabdar Khan was made to leave Surat and retired to Sind. Miachan thus came to power with the help of the English, but he did not long continue to exercise that power. He thought, that the English were trying to play their game through him, and so, began to side with the Dutch and gave them the power and the influence which they exercised under Sabdar Khan.

The scales were thus turned. Miachan, who was once befriended by the English, was now opposed to them. He imprisoned Moolu Fakhruddin, a rich citizen who was very friendly to the English. The English now did what the Dutch had done formerly. They, with their ships, went to the mouth of the Tapti and interfered with the trade of the city. They insisted upon the release of Fakhruddin, just as the Dutch, in a similar instance before, had insisted upon the release of their Parsee favourite broker Muncherjee Sett. Miachan became very unpopular at Surat, and, by his mischievous conduct, paved the return of Sabdar Khan from Sind to the Nabobship of Surat. Sabdar Khan became Nabob and Miachan had to return to Bombay, once more seeking the protection of the English. The internal dissensions at Surat had not ended. Now, a quarrel arose between Sabdar Khan's party and the party of the Siddhee, *i.e.*, the Nabob of Janjira, who was held to be the Admiral of the Mogul Emperor in this part of the Arabian Sea. The Dutch now favoured the Siddhee. Sabdar Khan offered the Admiralship to the English, but it was refused. Sabdar Khan died in 1758, and his son-in-law, Ali Nawaz Khan, who was a nephew of Miachan, declared himself Nabob. The English did not acknowledge him and they again set up Miachan who was under their thumb at Bombay.

Such was the state of affairs at Surat, when, Anquetil Du Perron entered into the city on 1st May 1758. Ali Nawaz Khan, who was on

the Nabobship at the time, was helped by Muncherjee Sett who was the leader of the Parsees and who was also the broker of the Dutch factory. Anquetil says, that Muncherjee Sett was very powerful (*tout puissant*) at Surat and that he did not well repay the confidence shown to him by Ali Nawaz Khan. But this allegation is falsified by the very fact, mentioned by Anquetil himself, a little later on, that when Muncherjee Sett visited Ali Nawaz Khan, after his downfall in his retirement in a suburb of Surat, the latter presented him with a horse, valued at Rs. 2,000. During all these internal dissensions, the English, siding with one party or another, were making their influence felt. Miachan, with their help, returned to Surat and to the Nabobship. Ali Nawaz Khan resigned the Nabobship, and retired to a suburb. Shortly after, Miachan again became unfriendly to the English. At last, the English, entering into some terms with the Mahrathas, sent an attack on Surat aided by their fleet and took it on 4th March 1759. Anquetil gives a long description of the attack of the English on Surat and of their triumphal entry into the city. His description will be found interesting by many as that of an eye-witness. In this description, we see traits of Anquetil's prejudice as a Frenchman against the English. The English, though they were virtually masters of the situation and of the city, appointed Miachan as the nominal Nabob and Faraskhan as his deputy. It was in 1800, that the English became direct masters of the city.

Faraskhan, the Deputy Nabob, was greatly supported by the English, and so, he exerted greater authority than Miachan. On 10th April 1759, there was a great uproar in the bazar of the city, owing to the fact that a son of Faraskhan, on the strength of his father's influence and power, tried to extort money from the bazar people. Some of the Parsees¹ got excited at this piece of despotism and assaulted his sepoys. They, in their turn, were assaulted and wounded. Faraskhan thereupon ordered that all the Parsees, that may be met with, be arrested. Among those thus arrested, one was a brother of Muncherjee Sett, the rich leading Parsee referred to above. Muncherjee, on having gone to release his brother, was himself arrested. Jagarnath, who was favourite with the English, was a personal enemy of Muncherjee who was favourite with the Dutch. He represented Muncherjee to be hostile to the English. The second chief officer of the Dutch factory ran to Nabob Miachan and asked for the release of his broker Muncherjee, but Faraskhan refused to set him to liberty, notwithstanding Miachan's desire to do so. At last, Chalebi, Sidi Jafar and Valli Bullah, who were the leading and influential

¹ Tome I, Partie I, p. 377.

personages in the city, apprehending that this matter would bring upon an open rupture between the English and the Dutch which would do harm to the trade of the city, interfered and got Muntherjee released at midnight.

By this time, a Firman came from the Mogul Court at Delhi, acknowledging the English as the head of the Mogul fleet and as the Killehdars of the fort of Surat. At the Durbar held for the reading of this *Firman*, though invited, the chief factors of the Dutch and the French did not attend, as their attendance would have meant an acknowledgment of the supremacy of the English. In the meantime, some of the officers of the Nabob's Court, making an improper use of their influence with the English, became very aggressive in the city, and the officers of the English factories had a good deal of trouble to suppress this aggression.

Then, there came another *Firman* from the Mogul Court and another Durbar was held to read it. A French merchant, named Boucard attended that Durbar, in spite of a general order to the contrary from Anquetil de Briancourt, the brother of Anquetil du Perron, who had now become the chief of the French factory. He was summoned immediately to the French factory for an explanation. He did not attend, and the English sent him home under the protection of 100 native soldiers. But the chief of the French factory used his authority the next day, and, sending for him, imprisoned him, for about 24 hours.

Anquetil had, on his arrival at Surat, lived at the French Factory, where he was given all the help that he required (on m'y donna tous les secours dont je pouvois avoir besoin).¹ A few days' rest had removed all the fatigues of his journey. He had not entirely got rid of the symptoms of dysentery which he had caught in the journey, and the treatment of an European, who called himself a doctor, had not cured him. But an absolutely strict spare diet cured him in a month and a half. He then left the French factory and took separate quarters. He says: "Several reasons compelled me to take private lodging and to appear rarely at the French factory. The cold, sarcastic and exacting character of the French Chief was the reason to leave (the factory). There were difficulties in all matters, continuous dilatoriness, delays, which could never end, in affairs which one can dispose off immediately." Further on, after referring to his first inter-

Anquetil leaves the French factory and takes separate quarters. His fault-finding with the French Chief and the Dasturs,

¹ P. 313.

views with the Dasturs, he complains: "I saw from that time, the manoeuvres of the people of the factory. They sought to push themselves forward and disliked that I should soon accomplish the fact (i.e., arrangements of study, &c.) I resolved to do without them and to conduct my affairs myself. For this reason, it was necessary to leave the French factory where I was much pinched and where I already felt that I was an embarrassment. . . . As long as M. le Verrier remained in Surat, it was not possible for me to draw out from the Dasturs any other thing except the Zend and Pahlavi Vendidad. . . . I was thus in the most sad situation, exposed to the (same) treatment which I had experienced in Bengal. They refused me everything at the French factory, and that, with a sort of contempt which could not but alienate from me the people of the country. It was necessary to formerly summon (for justice) the French Chief, and to lodge a bitter complaint against his behaviour before the superior Council and the Government at Pondichery, and to send to the latter a copy of the letters which I had received from M. le Comte de Caylus and from M. Boutin, the Commissary of the King in the Company of the Indies, who recommended me to the Governor and authorised him to advance money to me. While waiting for a reply to this despatch, I must see myself out of the plight, to return what I had borrowed from Goa to make the voyage to Surat. It was necessary to reduce myself to the very humble state of (living only upon) *kischeri*¹ in order, that I may save from my salary, to pay a part of my debt, to buy the books which I wanted, and with all that, to study."

Anquetil attributes the indifference of M. le Verrier, of whom he speaks as an honest and religious-minded man, to a little sensitiveness on his part, for not receiving enough of visits from him (Anquetil) and to his own indifference in not paying enough of respect to him and his want of party spirit, and lastly, to the want of sufficiently strong recommendation for him from Pondicherry.

We thus see, that within a month and a half or two of his arrival at Surat, Anquetil begins finding fault with the French Chief and even lodges a complaint against him at the headquarters at Pondicherry. M. de Verrier had secured for him, even before his arrival at Surat, and when he was at Chandarnagar, promises from the Dasturs to help him with books and instruction. When Anquetil arrived at Surat, he supplied all his wants. Anquetil himself admits all that. But within a short time, all that is changed. He thinks that, not only were the Dasturs disinclined to help him, but even his own countrymen, and even the

¹ *i.e.*, a simple meal of rice and *dal*.

Chief of his own Factory. He finds himself pinched where a short time before he was supplied with all wants. From the eccentric, haughty and unsteady way of Anquetil's life, and from his proneness to exaggerate matters, and to give airs to all his affairs of having worked under great difficulties, we may well sympathise with M. le Verrier for ungratefulness shown towards him by Anquetil. Anquetil has taken the liberty of attributing M. le Verrier's alleged faults to his undue desire for expecting visits and respects from Anquetil. If one were to take the same liberty of judging the conduct of Anquetil, in changing his views and line of action so shortly, he may say, that perhaps Anquetil had his own object to serve. We know from his account of his stay at Pondicherry on return from Chandernagar, that he requested the Chief there to appoint his brother to be the second in authority at the Factory at Surat, with a further view, that he may be appointed the Chief on the retirement of M. le Verrier. Thinking of ordinary human nature, one may be pardoned for supposing, that possibly, in seeking quarrel with M. le Verrier, and in accusing him of interfering, or not helping him, in his studies, Anquetil had in mind the ulterior object of M. le Verrier's recall, so that, his brother may succeed him as Chief; and, as a matter of fact, we do find that he was soon so appointed.

In the midst of his account of his relations with the French Chief, M. le Verrier, he speaks of his first introduction with the Dasturs. In their case also, he begins to find fault with them from the very beginning. I will speak of his relations with the Dasturs and of his account of his study in my subsequent paper.

Anquetil, who was displeased with his own chief, on the ground that he did not help him sufficiently well in his studies, sought the aid of the Dutch factory, and through it, got the help of Muncherjee Sett, the leader of the Parsees. Muncherjee got him another manuscript of the Vendidad which he compared with the copy supplied by Dastur Darab and Kaus. He found differences for which he found fault with the Dasturs, supposing, that they knowingly supplied him with a faulty manuscript, while as a matter of fact that was not so. We will see in the subsequent paper what the differences were. Later on, he secured from Dastur Darab, among other manuscripts, a copy of a Persian manuscript, of which he spoke as the "small history in verse of the retreat of the Parsees to India." This Persian history, of which he does not give the name, is the one known as the Kisseh-i-Sanjun.

Anquetil then proceeds to give a short account of the history of the Parsees since their emigration to India, based on the above copy of the Persian history, which was called *Kisseh-i-Sanjam* from the fact of the Parsees having first landed and settled on the shores of Western India at Sanjam.¹ In this account, Anquetil has added several observations, some of which are his own, and some based on what he had heard from the Dasturs or others. Some of these observations require a few remarks and corrections.

1. He speaks of the *Rāja Jadirāe* (*Djadirāeh*), who then ruled at Sanjam, as "an Indian prince of that part of Gujarat" (*Prince Indien de cette partie du Guzarate*). This is correct. Others try to identify this name with one of the reigning monarchs or dynasties of Gujarat. This seems to be wrong.

2. The *Kisseh-i-Sanjam* says, that one of the conditions, on which the *Raja* permitted the Parsees to establish their colony in his country, was, that the Parsees should give up arms, give up the language of their country of Iran and adopt that of India, and that their women should adopt the dress of Indian women. This last stipulation Anquetil represents as that of freedom from *Purdah* system (*leur femmes paraitroient en public découvertes comme celles des Indiens*). If Anquetil's version, based on the authority of what he heard at Surat, be true, it may be taken that the *Purdah* system was foreign to India. It may, perhaps, by implication, be taken, that the women of the new settlers, the Parsees, had *purdah*, and so the *Raja* insisted upon its removal. But that the ancient Persian women before the Mahomedan conquest had *purdahs* is not correct. The Parsee books do not say that. Anyhow, Anquetil's version is not supported by the *Kisseh-i-Sanjam*, wherein, what the *Raja* asks, is simply this, that the Parsee women may dress like the Hindu women.

3. The *Kisseh-i-Sanjam* says, that the fifth condition made by the *Raja* was that the Parsees celebrate their marriage at evening time (*Shāmgēh* शाम گه). Anquetil renders this condition as that of performing the marriage at the commencement of the night (*commencement de la nuit*). The Parsees generally, up to about 15 years ago, performed, and some even now perform, the marriage ceremony twice, the first at the commencement of the night and the second after midnight. Some attribute the second midnight repetition to a stipulation with the Hindu *Raja*. But we find on the authority, both of the

¹ *Vide* my paper on "Sanjam" *Journal. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 4-18. *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers," Part I, pp. 200-16, and "A few events in the Early History of the Parsees and their Dates."

Kisseh itself, and of that of the version given by Anquetil on the strength of the book and of what he had heard from his Dasturs, that the midnight repetition was not at all the result of any Hindu stipulation or custom. It seems, that the original Iranian custom may be that of a midnight celebration, and the Parsees, accepting the stipulation of the Raja, added the ante-night celebration in India.

4. The Parsees generally, up to about 15 years ago, repeated, and some even now repeat, the marriage service and benediction in Sanskrit which is more or less corrupt. Some attribute that custom to a promise given by the first settlers to the Raja, that the recital shall be in Sanskrit. We learn from the Parsee Kisseh itself and from Anquetil's version of it as received from the then Dasturs by him, that there was no promise of any Sanskrit repetition. The only stipulation was that of the use of the Indian language. Possibly, in the early times of the settlement at Sanjan, they thought it advisable to recite the benediction in Sanskrit to help some of their learned Hindu guests to understand the ritual, and that act of courtesy formed a custom; but there was nothing like a promise or stipulation as regards marriage itself.

5. According to the Persian Kisseh, at the end of the fifteenth century (about 1490 A. D.), Sultan Mahmoud invaded Sanjan and killed a large number of Parsees, who, making a common cause with their rulers, the Hindus, defended the country. Their subsequent defeat compelled them to run away to the adjoining mountain of Bahrut with their sacred fire which they had consecrated and established at Sanjan. The Persian Kisseh speaks of the invading king as Sultan Mahmoud, but Anquetil on the authority of the tradition, that he must have heard at Surat from the Dasturs, speaks of the Sultan Mahmoud as that of Gujarat (Le Sultan Mahmoud (Mohammed) Schah étant sur le throne du Guzarate). The Parsee tradition says, that this Sultan Mahmoud was the Sultan Mahmoud Beghada of Ahmedabad in Gujarat (1459-1511). Dr. Wilson, who submitted to this ¹ Society Eastwick's translation of the Persian Kisseh with his own notes accepted this tradition. But, Sir James Campbell, in his Gazetteer,² first doubted the Parsee tradition and said that the Sultan Mahmoud who invaded Sanjan was Mahmoud Ala-ud-din Khilji (1297-1317). Anquetil's version of the event shows, that the tradition has been an old tradition, prevalent in his time about 150 years ago, and that it was Sultan Mahmoud Beghda of Ahmedabad in Gujarat who had invaded Sanjan. I have shown elsewhere,³ that it is possibly a mistake in the

¹ Journal B. B. R. A. S., Vol. I.

² The Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XIII. Part II. p. 438.

³ Vide my "A few events in the early history of the Parsees", p. 61, *et seq.*

translation of the Persian Kisseh by Eastwick, due to his want of familiarity with old Parsee names, that misled Sir James Campbell.

6. Among the several errors of Anquetil in his version of the Persian Kisseh, there are two of geographical positions. He speaks of the mountain of Bahrout,¹ to which the Parsees, as said above, fled with their sacred fire, as being situated somewhere near Champaner. Herein, he seems to have been misled by the fact, that the Kisseh speaks of Mahmoud Begada as invading Sanjan after the capture of the fort of Champaner. He thought that Bahrout, which is a few miles distant from Sanjan, was situated near Champaner.

Again Anquetil speaks of Wānsda, to which town the Parsees took their sacred fire after a few years' stay at Bahrout, to be somewhere near Aurangabad. It is a gross mistake, because Bānsdah (Wānsdā²) is situated at about 30 miles' distance from Billimora.

7. Anquetil commits a contradictory mistake in the matter of the date of the removal of the sacred fire from Bānsdah to Naosari by Changashah, a rich Parsee of Naosari, who helped poor Parsees with Sudreh and Kusti and who had several times written to the Dasturs of Iran on doubtful questions. He gives the date as 785 Yazdazardi (le feu Behram, l'an 785 d'Iezdedgerd (de J. C. 1415) fut apporté en pompe de Bānsdah à Naucari³). This gives the date of the time, when Changashah lived, as the early part of the 15th century. But, in another part of his book, he speaks of Changashah as living in the early part of the 16th century (Tchenguh Schah, habitant de Naucari en 1516⁴). So, the dates are contradictory. The second date is correct, and the first, viz., 1415-16 is evidently wrong, because Sultan Mahmoud Begada (1459-1511), in whose reign Sanjan was invaded and after whose conquest of Sanjan the sacred fire was taken to Naosari, was not even born at that date.

Having given the history of the Parsees, mostly on the authority of the Persian Kisseh and a little on the authority of the Dasturs, Anquetil describes several questions, on which the Parsees of Surat had their differences. They were the following :—

1. Disputes among the local priests and the Sanjan priests who had come to Naosari from Bānsdah with the sacred fire, at the instance of

¹ For an account of my visit to Bahrut, I would refer my Gujarati readers to the *Jamshed* of 7th June 1900.

² I had the pleasure of visiting Wānsdā from 10th to 13th March 1913, with a view to trace the locality where the sacred fire was deposited. We could not trace the locality.

³ *Zend-Avesta*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 323. ⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. I, Part II, Notices, p. XXXIX.

Changashah. The question being taken before the Mahratha ruler (the Gaekwad), the Sanjan priests were asked to leave Naosari with the sacred fire, which they then took to Barsal (Bulsar) in 1114 Yazdazardi (1744 A. D.), and from there, seven years afterwards, to Udware in 1121 Yazdazardi (1751 A. D.). Anquetil's statement, that the sacred fire remained at Naosari for 300 years is wrong, as can be easily seen from the dates given above. It remained there for about $(1744-1516=)$ 228 years. The above dispute seems to have arisen from the fact, that the Sanjan priests sided with the Naosari laymen in their dispute with the local priests. The Naosari dispute carried its offshoot to Surat. There also arose a dispute between the priests and the laymen.

2. The second controversial question was that of putting on the *padân* (*païtidân* of the Avesta) on the face of the dead. Anquetil says of this dispute, that it was greater than that between the followers of Ali and Omar among the Mahomedans. According to him, Jamasp, a learned priest, was sent for from Persia to decide this matter, and he said, that there was no necessity of putting on a piece of cloth (*padân*) on the face of the dead. In Persia itself there was no custom of the kind¹.

The above Jamasp is said to have brought some Parsee books with him from Persia. He found some defects in the Pahlavi portion of the local manuscripts of the Vendidad. He took three disciples under him, one of which was Dastur Darab, another Dastur Jamaspâsa of Naosari, and the third a priest (supposed to be Dastur Kamdin) of Bronch. According to Anquetil, Darab tried to improve the Pahlavi portion of the local manuscript of the Vendidad, following the instructions of Jamasp, but Muncherjee, who was himself the son of a priest (Mobed) and who was opposed to him, did not allow that to be done. In this connection, Anquetil speaks of Darab as "a Dastur-Mobed, profound in the knowledge of Zend and of Pahlavi (Dastur-Mobed consommé dans la connaissance du Zend et du Pehlvi)" and as "more learned than others" (*plus instruit que les autres*)².

3. The third controversy was that for an intercalary month, which the majority, the Shihanshahis had observed. Anquetil thus speaks of the state of this question at the time he arrived at Surat: "When I arrived at Surat almost all the Parsees followed the party of Muncherjee, because he was rich and powerful. Darab, whose learning was acknowledged by his adversaries also, had some followers,"³

¹ Vide Mr. B. B. Patel's paper in the K. R. Cama Memorial Volume for this controversy.

² Vol. I, Part I, p. 326. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 327. ⁴ *I.e.*, the Shihanshai sect. ⁵ *I.e.*, The Kadami sect.

who, afterwards, when the authority of Muncherjee and of the Dutch, of whom he was a broker, was suppressed at Surat, showed themselves out more freely."

In the matter of the third controversy, the two parties sought the help of the two factories. One party, the Shahani-shahis, headed by Muncherjee, the broker of the Dutch Factory, looked to the Dutch factory for some help. So, the other party, the Kadmi, of whom Dasturs Darah and Kaus were leaders with others, sought the support of the French factory. Anquetil says, that it was to seek that support, that the Dasturs had sought the favour of M. le Verrier, the French Chief, and had promised to help him (Anquetil) with books and instruction. Anquetil took advantage of the hostility between the two parties, and playing, as it were, one side against another, tried to secure more books for study, and, as he says "the stratagem succeeded." He had received from Muncherjee a manuscript of the Vendidad which he did not return in time. So, Muncherjee once thought of forcibly having it, by going to his house with the soldiers of the Dutch factory. Anquetil says, that he kept his pistols ready loaded, on his table to oppose this forcible removal. There seems to be an apparent exaggeration in this matter on the side of Anquetil, because what could his pistol have done before a number of Dutch soldiers, had they come to his house according to their alleged intention !

The dissensions among the heirs of the late Nabob of Surat and the dissensions among the various European factories, which took the side of one heir or the other, had put Surat, as it were, in a state of civil war. The English had besieged the fortress of Surat. This state of affairs added, says Anquetil, to his difficulties. He had to be on the alert for the security of his things. Again the Dasturs also could not regularly attend for imparting tuition. Anquetil had occasional attacks of sickness also at this time.

Anquetil then speaks of an accident he met with. While helping a cooli, who otherwise would have been crushed with the weight of his trunk, he had, what is called in Surat, the derangement of the navel. He was treated by a woman (sage femme), who was known in Surat as an expert in the art of restoring the navel to its position. In spite of all her strength, she could not restore his navel, and the help of a robust Parsee was soon sought. This Parsee soon restored him to health and he went to work the very next day. He thus describes his work;

"In the morning, I collated the manuscript of Muncherjee with the copy of Darab, and in the evening, in the midst of heat, I translated the Vendidad from the latter manuscript. These two works were finished on 16th June (1759), as I had announced on the 11th to M. de Leyrit, while requesting him to procure me the four Vedas, the sacred books of the Indians through Arangapouley or Aronbaté.¹ He then began translating the additional passages found in the manuscript of Muncherjee, but had hardly begun, when he fell ill again through the previous complaint, and the above Parsee was again sent for. He treated him for two continuous hours. Anquetil's description of this native treatment of the complaint of navel² may interest some of our medical men. The operator, says Anquetil, was all perspired, being required to exert great strength, and he himself had got well-nigh unconscious. He passed the month of July in complete rest. He did some slight work. He wrote the translation and read Zend and Pahlavi books. This work eased his mind. He was again overtaken with the above complaint at the end of August and went through the same medical treatment for several days.

On 26th September 1759, there occurred an event which quite upset Anquetil for some time.³ He says, he was attacked at Surat by a Frenchman. There were about 400 persons present but none separated them. He received 3 cuts with a sword and 2 with a scabbard. He went to the French factory all covered with blood. English, Dutch and Portuguese surgeons were present at the first surgical operation which was performed over him at the French factory and which made him unconscious. Both iron and fire were used in the treatment and it was only his robust temperament that saved him. Nabob Ali Navazkhan, and the principal Mahomedan and European gentlemen of the city inquired after his health from time to time. The Nabob himself made inquiries. The English, though there was war between them and the French, on hearing all the evidence of the case, befriended him and gave him the protection of their pavilion. The Superior Council of Bombay and General Cromelin, supported the friendly action on the part of M. Spencer, the head of the English factory at Surat. He was lodged at the English factory.

Anquetil's brief statement about his quarrel with the Frenchman does not give us an insight into the case, and we do not understand, why he should have left his own French factory, whose chief was his own brother, and why he should have sought the protection of the English

¹ P. 334. ² Pp. 333 and 334. ³ P. 336.

factory. Anquetil refers to this incident twice again. (1) From what he says in one place¹, we learn that the dispute was on something about a woman. He does not mention her name, simply speaking of her as "Madame." He says that the woman, afterwards remarried with a person who was an Engineer at Mahi, who, under the threat of carrying the matter to Pondicherry and even to Europe, aimed at procuring a settlement with Anquetil. When his brother received a letter from Mahi on the subject, Anquetil, who had returned to the French factory, some time after the event, asked for the protection of the English again and he was given that protection. He represented, that he himself wanted to go to Europe to bring that matter to an issue and asked for a passage in one of the English ships going to Bassora (Bassra) or to England. (2) Anquetil again refers to this incident² in his account of his visit to Mahi on his return voyage to Europe. He says that the above engineer sought to make peace, and repented for his action which he confessed was the result of bad advice.

Mr. H. Beveridge, in his interesting article³ on Anquetil Du Perron, throws further light on this incident. According to him, "Sir Erskine Perry in a notice of Anquetil Du Perron, in the Proceedings of the Philobiblon Society for 1854—states, that Du Perron succeeded in killing his adversary." Sir Erskine Perry thought it "probable that some affair of gallantry was at the bottom of it." But Mr. Beveridge thinks, that "there is no ground for supposing that there was an affair of gallantry involved in the quarrel." It occurred to the mind of Mr. Beveridge, that some examination in the Surat and Bombay records for September and October 1759 might throw some light on the affair. So, he examined the records at the India office and succeeded in finding references to it. It appears, that the Frenchman, with whom Anquetil had a duel and whom he killed, in the duel, was a Frenchman named M. Biquant, who had "concerted a plan for seizing several Moors' ships even in Surat Road." His letters were intercepted and their translation was sent to Surat to be shown to "Ment Akhund and Pharrass Cawn," that they may take suitable notice thereof." Before proper notice of M. Biquant's conduct could be taken by the Nawab and the English factory at Surat, the duel took place and Biquant was killed.

¹ Vol. I, p. 431.

² P. 440.

³ "The Calcutta Review", Vol. CIII, October 1896, No. 206, p. 493.

⁴ Miatcheu and Fankhan of Anquetil.

We further learn from the extracts of the records, quoted by Mr. Beveridge, that M. Anquetil De Briancourt, the brother of Anquetil Du Perron, wrote to the English factory on 11th October 1759 "reclaiming him in the name of the (French) king." The English Chief, Mr. John Spencer, wrote in reply on the 13th, saying, that, as both the French and the English were then "in a neutral city" and as there was "sufficient testimony that Mons. Du Perron has on this occasion only acted on the motives of self-defence," the English were justified in giving him the "asylum he sued for."

Mr. Beveridge, thus sums up the case and gives his views: "Though these extracts leave the cause of the quarrel unexplained; it seems unlikely that it could have been anything very discreditable to Du Perron, as otherwise the English would hardly have given him shelter, and that, too, in a time of war. Certainly it was not likely that there was any intrigue with Madame Biquant; for, if Anquetil had been her lover, she probably would not have been so forward and persistent in her endeavour to bring him to justice. I suspect that the affair arose out of Du Perron's unbridled tongue. Though a solitary man, or, perhaps I should rather say, because he was a solitary man, he was wanting in reticence, and often made imprudent and cutting remarks. He could not control his pen, as his personal narrative abundantly shows, and it is probable that he was equally reckless with his tongue. Though M. Biquant was the assiduous, yet he probably had had provocation of some sort. Else why was the local French feeling so strongly against Anquetil, as seems to have been the case, and why find the latter not confidence enough in his own innocence to stand his trial, instead of taking the extraordinary step of twice soliciting the protection of a hostile nation. The letter referred to by the Bombay Government seems to show that Biquant was a man of violent character; and, if I may make a guess, I am inclined to think that some careless remarks by Du Perron about Biquant or his wife, were the instigating cause of the duel."

I think Mr. Beveridge's estimate of Anquetil's character or nature is correct. But, on the ground of the very arguments that he advances, I suspect that the cause of the quarrel was perhaps Anquetil's divulging to the English, directly or indirectly, M. Biquant's plan for seizing the Moor ships or some such secrets. Anquetil was a man of quarrelsome spirit. He would quarrel on the slightest ground, even with those who had once favoured him. The French factor M. le Verrier had helped him, and promised him the help of the Parsee Dastur when he was in Bengal. But, on coming to Surat, he got

displeased with him and even wished for his removal. He had quarrelled with his French people in Bengal. He was not liked by the French soldiers, in whose camp he was for some time on his way to Surat *via* Pondicherry. We thus see, that being a man of rather an awkward disposition, he was not a favourite with the French at Surat, and was, at times, well-inclined towards the English, who helped him. The English welcomed him at once in their factory after the above incident of the assault. All these and other circumstances, referred to by Mr. Beveridge, lead me to think, that the cause of the duel was an hostile act towards M. Biquant like that of divulging his business secret.

His confinement at home on account of his wounds in the duel and for the purpose of avoiding complications, was, to a certain extent, advantageous to him, because he could, under the circumstance, more steadily attend to his studies.

Mr. Erskine, a member of the Council of Surat, who spoke the Moor (i.e., Mahomedan) language well and who was then transferred to Sind, had offered to help Anquetil from Tata (Tattah) in Sind. Anquetil asked from him the following :—

The inquiries
Anquetil had
made from
Erskine.

1. A copy of the inscriptions on the walls of a famous temple near Tattah, supposed to have been built by Alexander.

2. Charts of the mountains of Kandahar.

3. Sanskrit, Sindhi and Patân (Puthân) books.

In September 1760, Erskine wrote, that there were no temples, ancient monuments or Hindu inscriptions near Tata. There were only some tombs of the kings of Sind with inscriptions in Arabic and Persian, well-nigh effaced. Anquetil further asked the following :—

1. Madar ul Afzal, which was a Persian Dictionary.

2. Rozut-us Safa.

3. Memoirs over the Rajas, Jesang and Jesusing and over Kashmir and Kandahar.

4. Nadeshah-namah (the history of Thomas Koulikhan).

5. History of the kings of India since Chungizkhan and of their predecessors, the Rajas of Delhi.

6. The Turtar Alphabets.

7. The Saroud-namch, a treatise on vocal and instrumental music by Abou Aloufah.

8. The *Tasvir-nameh*, the Persian translation of a work on painting by Ebn Hossein.

On his return from Sind to Mahim near Bombay for health, Erskine renewed his promise of help, but his subsequent death deprived Anquetil of all that help.

Anquetil then describes, at some length, the event of Mr. Spencer's departure from Surat and the function of an entertainment given to him by the Nabob at Begam wadi. His account may interest one, desirous to know something of the Nabob's palace at the time and of the entertainments given at the time. Then, he describes the event of the capture of a Mahomedan ship, named *Faiz Salem*, belonging to Chalebi Abdul Kader, by the Commander of a French ship, named *Candé* near Muscat, though the ship had a passport from the French Chief at Surat. The event raised a great uproar against the French in Surat. Anquetil, though he was under the protection of the English factory, was a little afraid of the situation.

A Mahomedan woman, who was his neighbour, one day talked with him in the Mahomedan language and told him (in January 1760) not to be afraid of the above event. Cracking jokes with a Mahomedan woman. She said: *hasté djo Feringui, i.e., "Oh! you European! be at ease!"* There, then passed a little chat and joke between Anquetil and the woman of the house who inquired of him where his wife was. They laughed, when he said he had no wife, being surprised that a young man should be without a wife. They then made inquiries about his Parsee servant. This incident leads Anquetil to say something about the Indian women, their dress and then about the public baths.

Anquetil now describes his further progress in his studies, and his visits to a Parsee fire temple and to the Parsee Towers of Silence at Surat. I will speak of these in my subsequent paper.

After referring to his visits to the Parsee towers, Anquetil gives a brief description of his visit to the Hindu burning-ground at Pondpari. He says, that the Parsees, while carrying the dead, said prayers with a low voice, the Hindus sang loudly. He then visits the temples of Mahadeo and Ganes (Goner) at Pondpari. He then describes a Hindu holiday, which, in that year, fell on 12th July 1760. It was a holiday, which he names, *Fête de Monches, i.e., "The feast of flies,"* when the people throw before their doors sugar, flour, &c., which

¹ lit. go laughing.

attract flies in large numbers. He describes the Pinjrapote, the Hindu institution for looking after sick animals, situated at Sakram-poura near Nansari Gate. He calls it a "hospital for animals" (Hôpital des animaux).

A short time after his visit to several Hindu institutions, there happened an incident (une petite aventure), which led him to lose his temper again and made him forget all his obligations to the English, who had helped him in his hour of need. He and his brother, who was now the Chief of the French factory at Surat, were for two days, in the end of July, in the French garden (Jardin Francois). For an important business, his brother had to go to the factory in the city at seven in the morning. An English guard of 200 native sepoys, while going to its post on one of the gates of the city, happened to pass on a narrow road between the two surrounding enclosures or walls of the city. The usual practice was, that in such cases, the European factors stopped and showed the politeness to let the guards pass. In this case, the guard consisted of all native sepoys without any English officer. So, the French Chief did not think it due to his honour to go aside and let the guard pass. The native sepoys did not give way, and their native officer even went to the extent of drawing his sword over some of the peons who accompanied the French Chief. Anquetil's brother, on going to his factory, complained to the English factory, and failing there, to the higher authorities at Bombay, but was told, that a guard, going to duty, cannot stop. The French had lost much of their former influence in India, having suffered many losses at the hands of the English. So, under these circumstances, Anquetil's brother now hardly left his French factory to go out. Anquetil says of himself, that he went out fully armed, ready to strike a blow with his sabre to the first Englishman who opposed his passage.

Anquetil says, that in September 1760, he finished all the work that concerned the Parsees and translated their books and prepared for a voyage, which had, he says, some connection both with the Parsees and the Hindus. He says, he had left his country to carry there back with him the Sacred Laws of the whole of Asia. The subject of the Parsees was finished, and he now thought himself to be strong enough to commence that of the Hindus. He was now on a look out for the four Vedas of the Hindus, and here, again, he had to seek the help of Muncherjee Sett, whose manuscript he had detained and with whom he had quarrelled at one time. It appears, that Muncherjee, having once had a bitter experience in the matter of entrusting

manuscripts to Anquetil, sent a Parsee to him to say, that he would procure a copy of the Vedas to be seen and examined by him (Anquetil) at the French factory for one night, provided his brother stood a guarantee for Rs. 3,000. Anquetil says, that this was merely an attempt on the part of Muncherjee's Parsee messenger to create in him a false high estimate of the value of the books, since he did not understand the Sanskrit language. It seems, that in the end, the manuscripts of the Vedas were shown to Anquetil, who, in order to satisfy himself, shewed them to some Seuras (Sciouras), a class of Hindu Brahmans, who told him, that the manuscripts did not constitute the whole (neho *अधि*) of the Vedas, but were extracts. He also consulted for their genuineness and completeness, some Parsees and Brahmans, who were in no way interested in the transaction of the sale, but who were versed in Sanskrit (*habile dans le Samskretan*).¹ They did not attach much importance to the manuscripts. The fact of Anquetil's consulting some Parsees in the matter of Sanskrit Vedas shows, that at that time, there were in Surat some learned Parsees who knew Sanskrit pretty well, if not much.*

Having come into contact with some Seuras and such other Brahmans, in the matter of this manuscript of the Vedas, Anquetil, in this connection, gives a short account of the Seuras, Jatis, Jogis, &c., who formed some of the classes of the Brahmans.

VIII.

JOURNEY IN THE SAHSETTE.

Anquetil left Surat for a visit to the caves of Keneri and Elephanta on 18th November 1790. This long-thought-of tour Anquetil on his way to Sahsette, was hastened by the abovementioned incident with the English sepays, which kept his brother confined in his French factory, and which made Surat a decent prison (*honnête prison*) for him. He started with 4 sepays and a Parsee domestic. The whole party, including his palanquin-bearers (Berars, Behras), consisted of 13 persons. He provided himself with papers, a compass, pistols, and two passports, one from the Nalob and the other from the Mahrathas. Anquetil describes his journey in details, the like of which we rarely see in the accounts of travellers. He passed along the villages and towns of Qodna, Bhesan, Laipore, Pansar, Naosuri which was then ruled over by Kedarn Garkwar, Gandevi and Bulsar, where he saw Pandero ghar (the fort of Pandero) from a distance. The place round Naosuri was

¹ Vol. I, p. 130.

* In a footnote in connection with this subject, Anquetil notes, that the Kadmi Norouz in that year, 1790, fell on 18th September, and the Shaban Aadi on 27th October (p. 368.)

infested with monkeys, which, at times, came to the town to carry away children. Gandevi was a dependency of the Mahratha Chief Damanji (Damanji Gackwar) and had a bonded warehouse of the French factory. He passed along Vilimora (Bilimora), Tchikley and Varsul (Bulsar). While crossing the *naddi* (river) of Bulsar, he had to wait long as a Parsee had his horses on the ferry-boat that was running across the river. He had even to use some violence to prevent the Parsee from doing so and thus causing him a delay.

He arrived at Odoiori (Udwara), situated on the shores of the sea, at 2-45 on 21st November 1760. His journey along Udwara, speaks of this town : " This town is inhabited only by the Parsees. One leaves on the right the houses, in the midst of which is the *Derimeher* which contains the Sacred Fire named *Behran*. This edifice is covered with a double roof lined with a penthouse (*i.e.*, a shed slanting aslope from the main house). It has not from the exterior a form different from that of other houses. On the left of the road is a great pond. On the other side of Udwara, the road is alongside the sea. On the left, are situated beautiful orchards of cocoanut trees. At 3-30, he arrived at *Kolek* (Colek), which serves as the stud of the elephants of the Raja of Argingue. Crossing the *Khari* of Kolak, he entered the boundaries of Daman.

Anquetil then passed through small Daman, rested there for the night, crossed over to large Daman in the morning, and proceeded further, without seeing the town or its churches, as, with the downfall of the Portuguese power, the town had lost its influence. Proceeding further towards Nargol, he passed through a place abounding in plants called *Kiovras* (કિવર), which gives excellent odour and from which an essence is made. It is sold at a rupee and a quarter per tola. The reflection of the hot sand on the way made him very thirsty. The water, drunk for quenching the thirst, brought on cold and fever. His Parsee servant, whose name, as we learn later on, was *Hirjee*, took him to the house of an acquaintance, a rich Parsee. He was well received and passed the night there. Some cups of tea, and good rest and diet restored him a little. In his account of Nargol, he briefly refers to Sanjan (Sadjan), where he could not go owing to sickness.

He thus speaks of Sanjan : " It is the place of the settlement of the Parsees in Gujarat which is 3 kosh in the south west of Nargol. At present this place is of little importance. Hardly a few Parsees are seen there. They all have come

from Nargol. Had my strength permitted me I would have been taken to this village. . . . I am contented with some details, which the Parsee, who received me in his house, gave me on the subject.

Anquetil left Nargol on 23rd November 1760, passed through Ombergam (Ommergaon) and Delvior (Defer) and came to the *khari* of Gonvarn. He passed through the village of Djam (in Jehan Bordi), over the *khari* of which there ran no boat, and the passengers had to wait till the time of the ebb to ford it and go to Burdi (Bordi in Jehan Bordi). Thence he went to Oloûar (Golwad), and then to Dindou (Dehnu), which has a square fort consisting of 4 curtains guarded by four bastions. The fort was repaired by the Mahrathas to protect the inhabitants against the pirates.

Anquetil left Dindou (Dehnu) on 24th November 1760, arrived at Tchandoli, then at Tchitchen, and then at the fortress of Tarapore, which was repaired by the Mahrathas in an European fashion and which had a church dependent upon that of Dehnu. From Tarapore, he proceeded further to Tchikli in the *Khari* of Dopguer (Duhgar), and then to the *Khari* of Kalon, where lived an Indian saint. Proceeding further, he came to Mahim (Kevry Mahim), which had a fort and then to Agacein, Dongri and Gantora (Dantora), from where he saw Bovamelingue (Bawa Malang), the place of the tomb of a Mahomedan saint. The people, when they see this tomb, recite the words "sounaké fedj roupeké palangne (ભાતઃ મઝ'ગ મેનિજે ફેર રૂપકે પલંગ), i.e., the mattress of Bawa Malang is of gold and the bed of silver. One may infer from Anquetil's account¹, that at that time, a gun was fired at Bombay at 5-30 a. m. in the morning. The sound was, at times, heard as far as Agaci, because, he says, he left this town just when the gun at Bombay was fired.

He arrived at Bassein (Basain), on 27th November 1760. This town had passed into the hands of the Mahrathas from the Portuguese in 1741. After Gon, this is the next beautifully situated town on the coast. From Bassein, he entered into the Salsetta, which, from Gouhbandel (Gorebunder) to Bandoura (Bandora), is 18 kos in length, and, from Tanin (Thana) to Marouia (Maravi), 14 to 15 kos in width. Almost all the towns are Christian. All the Portuguese monks and priests had retired to Gon, when the Mahrathas took the place. The remains of the Portuguese convents and churches were, after the departure of the Portuguese, occupied by Canarese priests under the inspection of a

¹ P. 383.

Canarese Vicar General. Anquetil refers to the places of the Salsette like Darari, Dongri, Ootan, Gori, Munna, Marolia (Maravi). A basket of fruits from the Commander of Bassin, re-established, says Anquetil, his authority over his servants, one or two of whom had deserted. He personally did not like such presents.

Anquetil arrived at Ponjser on 28th November 1760, after a journey of 8 days, having left Surat on the 20th. He was the guest of the Curate of the Church of the convent of the Paulists (Jesuits), a man, who, being brought up in the habits of the natives of the place, took his meals with his fingers and drank arrak or the strong country liquor. He found Anquetil's brandy too weak.

From Ponjser (Boisar), he went to see the temple caves of Djegueseri (Jogeshri) on 29th November 1760. Anquetil gives, as usual, a detailed description of the places on his way to the caves and of the cave temple itself. He went there *via* Parí (Pahdi), Gorgoni (Goregaun) and Maledjas (Majas?).

There was, in the great pagoda of the cave temple, a stone statue or idol, representing a sleeping bull on which the worshippers laid their offerings of oil. He asked his Parsee Irdji (Hirjee) servant to take it up, but he refused. One of his Mahomedan servants, who was less scrupulous, took it and placed it in his palanquin. Anquetil thought that this act was not seen by the worshippers. They, however, soon found that the idol was removed. They demanded it from the servants and looked into the palanquin. As it was hidden, they did not find it there, and Anquetil returned to Ponjser, exulting, that he was able to take a god to Europe. Later on, on his return to Europe, he presented it to M. le C. de Caylus, who had helped him in his early studies. He remarks: "Here is an instance how curiosity knows to colour criminal actions." Anquetil gives a plan of this pagoda, as well as that of the pagoda of Monpeser.

On returning to Ponjser, he went on the morning of 30th November 1760, to see the cave pagoda of Monpeser. A part of the caves had been utilized by the Portuguese. He entered into the darkest part of it with two torches in his peon's hand. It was feared, that the cave was frequented by tigers, especially in winter. The peons were armed

These villages now form part of the Goregaum Trust Estate of the late Mr. Byramjee Jejeebhoy, the seven villages of which are Goregaum, Pahdi, Mogra, Majas, Wobivra, Boiser and Bandoli. The Jogeshri caves referred to by Anquetil form a part of this Estate.

with sabres. He had a sabre in one hand and a saddle-pistol in the other. Having entered into the cave, a little, he fired the pistol to frighten the tiger, if any there be in it. The echo in the cave frightened his peons who all ran away leaving him alone in the dark. But seeing no animal come out of it, they were reassured and returned to the cave with torches. The Christians of the place said, that a Franciscan marched into this cave for 7 days, and coming across a pit, he sent down a man with a cord. The man not returning, the Franciscan got frightened and returned. The Brahmans, says Anquetil, believed that the caves of Jogheshri, Monpaser and Kaneri were built by Alexander the Great. They attributed whatever required extraordinary force or strength to Alexander or to gods (Dews). The Christian church of Monpaser has a Portuguese inscription of 1500. The Mahranthas, after having destroyed this building, carried its timber to Thana. The Brahmans of this place call the Sanskrit letters Bal-botes (Balbodhi) and the current alphabets Mouris (Mori.)

In the afternoon of the 30th November 1760, Anquetil started for the caves of Kaneri. According to him, the word The Kaneri Caves. Kaneri meant pilgrimage. He describes at first the situation of the mountains which contain the caves and then the caves themselves. He says, he had to set fire to the wild foliage before entering some of the caves. At several places, he had to descend with the help of ropes and to mount over the shoulders of his peons.

Anquetil recommended, that the English, who, being at Bombay, were, as it were, at the door of the caves, might appoint a competent person to make plans and to make a sketch of all the figures. Such a work, he said, would be well received in Europe. He says, he was travelling in the time of war (between the English and the French) and was far away from the French factory. Again, his time and money were limited. So, he could not do much. He, however, took copies of the inscriptions which were 25 in number. Twenty-two of these were in Sanskrit and two of Mongous character. He, at first, thought of giving these inscriptions in his work of Zend-Avesta, wherein, he has described his visit of the caves. But, as that was likely to delay its publication, he gave up the idea.

Anquetil remained at Kaneri for about 4 days. He had gone there on the evening of the 30th November and returned to Ponjer in the evening of 4th December 1760. He has given a detailed description of the cave which may be found worth-comparing with later descriptions.

Later investigations have brought to light some Pahlavi inscriptions in the Kaneri Caves. In 1866, Dr. (then Mr.) W.

The Pahlavi inscriptions in the Kaneri Caves.

West submitted a Note, dated 5th May 1866, to the B. B. R. A. Society, drawing special attention of scholars to the Pahlavi inscriptions in the caves. Five years before this, Dr. Bhau Daji had first drawn attention to them. It is strange, that Anquetil does not refer to them. He speaks a good deal of his knowledge of Pahlavi, in which, he says, he was able to write letters, and even to converse, but, I think, there is a good deal of exaggeration in this, as in several other matters referred to by him. This is shown by the fact, that during his visit to the caves, which lasted for about four days, he did not recognize the Pahlavi inscriptions. He seems to have visited the cave containing these inscriptions and seen the inscriptions themselves, but does not seem to have recognized the Pahlavi characters. In one place,¹ he thus speaks of the two inscriptions: "Two inscriptions which appear recent, each of 12 perpendicular lines, inscribed rather deep, and in character Mougous, over two pillars which form a part of the walls; one, one foot high, and the other, 15 inches broad and high." I think, that these inscriptions (in cave 66 as numbered at present), which he speaks of as being in Mougous or Mongous characters, were Pahlavi. He did not know Pahlavi sufficiently well to recognize the characters. Of course, he cannot be expected to decipher them in a running visit, but one expects that he ought to have known them as Pahlavi.

Now what is the word Mougous? In one place,² he gives the word as Mongous. In the index also, he gives the word as Mougous. I think the word Mougous is correct and is the same as the Parsee word Magu or Magous, the Greek Magi. It seems, that he was properly informed by the guide or guides at the caves, that the character were those of the Magous or Magis, but he did not properly understand the word to take it for the characters of the Persian Magi or Mohads. He speaks of the two inscriptions as each being of 12 lines, and we know that the Pahlavi inscriptions are of 12 lines.³

He left Ponjser on the morning of 5th December 1761, for Elephanta.

The journey towards Kuria. The services of his Parsee servant Irdji.

His description of that part of the Salsette, through which he came over to Trambay on the northern side of our harbour to take over a boat from there for Elephanta, will be found very interesting for comparing the present and the then topography of the places. He names places, passed through every half

¹ Vol. II, p. 404.

² P. 303.

³ Vide Mr. R. R. Cama's *Jaribhush Abhyâs*, p. 146.

an hour, or quarter of an hour, and even every 10 minutes. He passed through Jogheshri, Kondati (present Kondita) and Marole, which he calls a town of middle-sized grandeur (*de moyenne grandeur*) with a pretty good church (*Eglise assez jolie*), dependant on Kondita. Most of the churches of Salsette had, at that time, Chinese priests. The Christian priests in this part of the Salsette received their payments from their congregation in kind—in Mantegue de beurre (perhaps मन्तेगु बहल), sacks of rice and packets of chevents. He arrived *via* Moili (Mayal) at Carlin (Kurka) at 11 a. m. The Vicar-General of Salsette lived at Coorla. He was addicted to drinking arrak. Here, the carriers of his palanquin wanted to desert him. His Parsee servant Irnji (Hirjee), of whom he speaks as his faithful servant (*mon fidele domestique*), intervened and represented to them, that they were bound to take Anquetil back to Surat and pointed out the consequences of deserting him there; but to no effect. Anquetil thought of ending this mutiny among his servants by pointing his pistol to one of the bearers who was most obstinate. This firmness had the desired effect.

Anquetil then passed by several villages such as Colegam, Sourim, Gunsia, Gorenî, Dakiman and Aivela. He arrived at Trombay at noon on 6th December 1761. In two hours, he crossed over by boat Galipouri (Elephanta).

The native name of Elephanta is Galipouri (Garipouri), which, according to Anquetil, seems to mean a group of galls (pouri) of gali (mountains, Sanscrit *giri*). On landing there, he at once proceeded to see the pagodas which had no inscriptions, but had only the names of Portuguese and English visitors. He found several of the idols broken. The reason was, that the Portuguese, at first, shut them up firmly with plasters. The Mahrathas then removed these strong plasters by gun-shots which damaged some of the idols. Thereupon, they ceased further using the guns and used other implements. Anquetil stayed there for the night, and on 7th December, saw the rest of the caves. Among several things, he saw a large stone elephant which gave the caves its English name. The stone elephant carried a small child over its shoulders.

On his return journey, he took the way *via* Thana. He, at first, went to Schevan or Karandja and then back to Trombay, which had then, two churches in ruins and a bastion. From Trombay, he went to Thana by boat. He was well received by the priest there. The Mahrathas, on taking Thana, had permitted the Christians to possess some of their churches and had given great liberty to follow their religion. So, they

celebrated their feasts there very freely as at Goa and had their religious processions not only unmolested but respected by the natives.

The day after his arrival, *vis.*, 8th December was the day of the Conception of the Virgin and they celebrated it with a feast. He was pressed to sing the Credo the next day and he did so. He had often played a medical man in his travels, but this was the first time that he had to play a musician. All the Christian priests feasted in the native fashion. They were all poorly dressed. There was a good deal of confusion. All ate with their hands. He all along philosophized over the scene.

On the 8th, he paid a visit to the Mahratta Governor of Thana at his bungalow (Bangāla). The consideration which the Governor shewed him had some effect upon his servants who all were tired with his long journey. He gave to the Governor a small *sagolade* (sagād Sēgus), *i.e.*, a present. Here, he caught fever on the 9th and had to live on tea for 3 days. On recovering a little, he occupied himself in copying fair a part of the rough draft of (the notes of) his voyage while the different objects were still fresh in his memory.

He left Thana on 16th December. He took, with some difference, well-nigh the same route as on his coming to Salsette. At Agacín, they celebrated a feast of the Church of the place where people moved about as freely as in a Christian State. On all days, other than the feast days, the Quairse priests had a routine way of life—the mass, the breviary, choroat, the zopi of distilled *arak*, the curry and the afternoon siesta. He had off and on attacks of fever till he came to Gandevi where he got rid of the fever.

Anquetil thus describes his visit to Naesari on his return journey :

Visit to Naosael. "When I arrived at Naosari, I sent a request to Dastur Jamshéd to see me in the garden where I had to pass the night. My reputation had run to this town. This Dastur came at 10 in the evening. We talked in Persian and Pahlavi. He avowed before me, that Darah was the most able Dastur in India, and assured me that he had no longer the Nirangestan, which was brought from Kerman by Jamasp. The conversation ended with reciprocal marks of friendship, and he promised to write to me to Surat. This, he did, after several months, in Pahlavi and Persian. Anquetil's statement that he talked and corresponded with Dastur Jamshéd in Pahlavi is a great exaggeration. It is not correct, because Pahlavi was not a spoken language in India at any time.

IX.

RETURN TO SURAT. LAST FEW MONTHS.

Anquetil's return-journey to Surat took 8 days. His brother was pleased to see him back. He says of himself, that the recollection of the trouble and difficulties of the road made him shed tears which his friends wiped off. Four days of rest restored him to health.

He was again taken ill, but was restored to health; but his weakness made him renounce his desire to go to Benares and China. Even if his health had not pair. frustrated his desires, the state of French affairs brought on a state of despair. Pondicherry was besieged by the English. So, all help from that place was failing. The Surat factory had not received, for years, funds from the Chief factor. His brother was hardly able to help himself, and so, could incur no expense for him (Anquetil). What to do under these circumstances?

According to his statement, made at the time of the above despair, he had collected about 180 manuscripts of almost all the languages of India. In this collection, there were many Parsee books. In the latter, there were two copies of the works of Zoroaster and of a part of Pahlavi books. He had Sanskrit texts about 300 years old, in his translation of some works of Zoroaster. He had a collection of the instruments of the religion of the Parsees. Therefore, under the circumstances of affairs in India, he thought it advisable, for the sake of this valuable collection, to return to France.

He, at first, asked the Swedes, who had now begun trading with Surat to give him a passage. They had a ship, carrying 60 guns, which was to start for Europe in March 1761, *via* China. The voyage would have been dilatory, but it would have had some advantages. (a) He would have had time to get down on the coast of Malabar and made some further researches and inquiries there. (b) He would have got down at Canton and visited a part of China and Tibet, sending away his books and papers by a French boat which he might have come across there. But the Swedish authorities refused to give him a passage, because, as their ship had to touch Bombay, they did not like to injure the displeasure of the English there by having a Frenchman on their boat. He then sought the aid of the Dutch or the Hollanders. They also refused to give him a passage in their ship. They said, that they

took no foreigner on board their vessel except in the capacity of a sailor, boat-swain's mate, &c. But, he thought, that under this pretence, lay hid the real cause, *viz.*, that of not displeasing the English. Then there were Portuguese frigates, which went to Basrah from where he could find a vessel going to France. But he did not like these as they were very slow, and there was no guarantee in them about the security of the luggage of the passengers. There were some native vessels of the Banias, Arabs or Persians who lived in Surat, and who traded with Basrah. But they also could not give a passage without the permission of the English.

So in the end, he thought of turning to the English, whom he calls the enemy of his nation, and whom he, at the same time, calls generous. They had once protected him but, after the incident of his brother with their sepoy-guard, he had turned ungrateful to them, even to the extent of being prepared to use his pistol towards the first Englishman whom he met and who disputed his right which he thought his brother was deprived of. It was the fear of the English, resulting from this ungrateful conduct and ungrateful thoughts, which, though he does not say that, seems to have kept him away from visiting Bombay, though he was, as it were, at its very door, when he visited Elephanta Caves:

He was sure, that the English, though they were the enemy of his country, were generous and would give him a passage in one of their vessels; but it was a delicate point to approach them. But a certain event enabled him to seek their protection at once. It was the receipt of a letter by his brother from Mahi, which said, that the new husband of the lady, whose first husband he had killed in a duel, as referred to above, wanted to proceed against him and to take him to Pondicherry and even to Europe to seek for justice. So, he at once thought of placing himself again under the protection of the generous English and asked for a passage in one of their ships. This was given him and he received an official intimation to that effect in February 1761.

But now arose the difficulty of providing for the passage money for the English ship going to Europe. The French Want of pas- factory had not paid him, for nearly a year, his sage money, fixed instalment. The factory had no money. News had come, in the meanwhile, of the fall, into the hands of the English, of Pondicherry, the principal settlement of the French in India. The news created a stir among the people at Surat, in whose further low estimation the French now fell. As said above, the merchants there had

expected, that the French factory would make good the losses they had sustained in the capture by the French of the ship *Fez Salem*. But now, the news of the fall of Pondicherry led them to the fear of all loss of power and influence by the French in India and thus to the despair of any chance of repayment.

But the ingenuity of both the brothers met the difficult situation for finding the passage money. There was a French merchant, M. Bourcart, who lived under the protection of the English. He owed some money to the French factory. Seeing now that the French had lost Pondicherry, he argued that there was no French Company existing in India and refused to pay his debt to the factory. No threats could prevail upon him. Among the different promissory notes that he had given to the French factory, Anquetil found one of Rs. 4,000, that was passed particularly to, or in the personal name of, "M. Anquetil, Chief of the French Factory of Surat." Anquetil's brother did not waste time to show, that though Pondicherry had fallen the French Company still continued, but he quietly transferred that promissory letter or note of M. Bourcart, to the name of Anquetil, in return for the money due from the factory to him as his actual stipend and as in payment for his passage money. Anquetil and M. Bourcart both being under the protection of the English, Anquetil passed on or transferred that note to the English Council of Surat. After some negotiations with the English factory in Surat and the English authorities at Bombay, who all along wished to help him, Anquetil succeeded in making the English factory impress upon M. Bourcart, that he should pay Rs. 4,000. This result relieved Anquetil of the difficulty of the passage money.

When he was on the point of starting from Surat, the Dasturs lodged a complaint against him in the English factory, saying, that he had not paid them for the manuscripts he had purchased from them. They prayed for a detention of his goods. Their prayer was granted. He began finding fault with them, and said that all the mischief was due to Dastur Kaus. However, the English authorities saw the truth of the complaint. His own brother also seems to have seen that, because he stood as a security for the payment. Anquetil was then allowed to depart. After all the several allegations against the Dasturs in this and other matters, his conscience led him, as it were, to make amends at the last moment. Just before starting, he said: "I was moved to find myself, in (a condition of) impossibility to know the services of my servants, of the people of the factory, of the interpreter Manockjee, and also to recognize, as I believed they merited, the Dasturs Dornb and Kuzs, whose bad behaviours I had already forgotten."

Detention of his goods. His last regret for the Dasturs.

X.

DEPARTURE FROM SURAT—ARRIVAL IN BOMBAY.

Anquetil arrived at Bombay on 16th March 1761 and stayed here till 28th April. Anquetil's account of Bombay, about 150 years ago, will be found interesting by many. The following subjects draw our special attention in this account :—

1. The limits of Bombay began then, as now, at Mahim. Lengthwise it was two hours' drive and breadthwise an hour and a half's.

2. Coconut and bamboo trees formed a principal source of revenue, and, at the same time, gave beautiful shade. But the putrid fish used for manure rendered the climate unhealthy. The fear of an invasion by the French, with whom the English were then at war, had led to the cutting off of a number of trees around the city for the purpose of its better protection, because the city was not well fortified.¹

3. The fort was not well protected. The principal strength of the city was in its harbour. The strength of the English lay in their sea-defence, wherein everything was in "an admirable order" (*un ordre admirable*.)

4. Commerce was the chief element for the richness of the people.

5. The General, who presided at the Councils, had a palace in the city but rarely resided there. He lived at Parel in a large house with terraces and gardens. At first, this house was a church. This is a reference to the Parel Government house.

6. The second Councillor, next to the General, had a house that was well situated over a kind of rock commanding the sea, which served as a landmark to incoming vessels. The big folk of the city met there as a rendezvous after dinner, to take tea. This is a reference to the Malabar Point and the Government house there.

7. Anquetil, thus speaks of the situation of Bombay: "Bombay," placed between Moka, Basra, Surat and the Malabar Coast, is, what it is, only by its situation and its port. But, if the English found the means to get the Salsette given to them by the Mahrathas, then, independently of the revenue of this island, Bombay could become one of the most beautiful settlements in India, on account of all the charms

¹ This fact seems to account for the large open spaces we see, or rather saw some years ago, before they were built upon as now, between the Fort and the F. C. Institute on the one hand and the Crawford Market on the other.

of life which one finds in the Salsette and which would recompense for the dryness and sterility of this premier island."

8. The passage money from Bombay to Europe at that time was about Rs. 1,000.

In Bombay, he was the guest of Mr. Spencer, the Commissioner of Marine. He heard from him, that at Anyingue in Malabar, they resorted to a trial by ordeal. When a person was accused of theft or any other crime, if he denied that crime, they compelled him to put his hand in boiling oil. The hand was then at once shut up in a sac, fastened to his wrist by strings, over which the English judge placed the seal of the Company. After some days, they opened the sac and if the hand of the accused was found uninjured he was set free as innocent.

Some time before departure, Anquetil began to entertain some doubts which serve as an instance of his suspecting nature. He said to his host, Mr. Spencer, that he had lost in Bengal the copy of the first lines of the Zend manuscript of Oxford, which he had brought from Europe. So, he did not know, if the manuscripts he had acquired at Surat contained the equal of it.

Mr. Spencer helped him to be in a position to ascertain that matter and he asked him to keep the matter secret. He arranged, that Anquetil may be given a passage with the Captain of the ship Bristol which was ready to sail. Mr. Spencer paid to the Captain Rs. 1,000 for the passage money and gave Anquetil Rs. 1,200 in hard cash and in bills on Mr. Hough, his correspondent in London. These sums were given in advance of the total amount of the letter or promissory note of M. Boucart, referred to above. Anquetil endorsed that note and gave it to Mr. Spencer on account of the war then prevailing. Anquetil assured Mr. Spencer, that in the papers that he carried there were none relating to State affairs. The English Company's seal was placed upon all things.

XI.

(C) LIFE AFTER DEPARTURE FROM INDIA.

Anquetil left Bombay on 28th April 1761. There were with him on board the vessel several French officers, as prisoners of war, whom the fleet had taken captives on the Coromandel Coast. His ship halted for some days at Onor (perhaps Honavar) and anchored at Telfichery on 5th May 1761.

He complains of the conduct of Mr. Quicke, the Captain of the vessel, and of the food which he was given. Landing at Tellicherry, he went to Mahi in a chair carried by four persons. Here, he received through Father Claude, a letter, dated 10th March 1760, from M. l'Abbé Barthelemi, in reply to his of 4th April 1759, informing the Abbé, that he had finished the translation of the first Fargard (Chapter) of the Vendidad. In that letter, M. Abbé Barthelemi advised Anquetil to draw out from the Dasturs all possible light, which they can give, on ancient Persia, till he translated the whole of the manuscript attributed to Zoroaster. This letter contained also a note from M. le Comte de Caylus, dated 10th March 1760, in which he specially recommended Anquetil to translate the work of Zoroaster.¹ On returning to Tellicherry, he met the Engineer, the second husband of the lady referred to in the matter of the duel he had at Surat. The Engineer, says Anquetil, regretting his former letter, sought his friendship.

He left Tellicherry on 15th May 1761. Anquetil renews his complaint against the Captain, saying, that though he had paid him 100 louis² for the passage money, he gave him very bad food. Among the passengers, was an Asiatic lady, born at Pondichery, the wife of a French officer, who seemed to be one of the French prisoners on board the vessel. She accompanied her husband to Europe.

We learn from other sources that there were many matrimonial advances of this kind among Europeans and Asiatics in those times, and it appears from Anquetil's account of her treatment by the other French passengers, that the lady was well treated, and there was no dislike or social disapproval of such a marriage, then. Anquetil's account of the treatment of the passengers by the Captain seems, on its face, to be greatly exaggerated. He seems to have been a man of peculiarly bad temper. At first, he says, that for nearly a month and a half, the food being bad, he ate nothing, so much so, that even his voice fell. In a fit of anger, he once threw the chocolate, which the Captain gave him and which he did not like, on his face. The Captain, whom he represents as wanting in bravery, only walked off and appeased his anger as it were, on the deck. One cannot believe, that an English Captain in charge of a ship carrying French prisoners on board would put up with such a conduct. There seems to be some exaggeration herein also. This scene, he says, stirred up his sense for the good, and the vexation that he received, re-animated his courage. He now began eating anything that was given him with the help of pepper and salt.

¹ P. 439, n.

² A little above, the passage money was said to be Rs. 1000.

He adds : " My stomach indulged in this kind of fury. The Captain had the grief to see that the bones filled with salted and half putrid flesh, went back from our table, more dry than the planks of his ship. This devouring appetite gave uneasiness to my friends, but nothing could keep me back. My strength came back." The tone of Anquetil's version, and the details he enters into in all the matters of his meals, show the temper of the man. After all, it appears, that it was his own mental condition that had, at first, weakened him, and, at last, strengthened him. The food, if it was bad at all, was bad all along. But it was his discontent and bad temper that reduced his strength, and it was the reaction, contentment towards what was given him as food, that revived his strength. One cannot properly understand Anquetil complaining of the food he got on the ship—flesh, bread, biscuits, chocolate, arak, &c. We saw, that, as he himself has said in his previous description, for days together, he lived on mere *khichery*,—a diet of cooked rice and *dal*,—as he could not afford to get better food. A man on such a diet cannot be expected to be reduced in strength or lamed on the food he got in the ship.

During the voyage, on 19th July, they saw at a distance a vessel which was taken to be hostile, and the Captain, thought of confining Anquetil and the French soldiers into the hold of the vessel and of throwing off their boxes into the sea, but the vessel soon disappeared. Anquetil says, he would have sooner liked to throw himself into the sea than to go to France without his papers. On the evening of the same day, they were overtaken by a very severe storm. In that emergency, Anquetil speaks of the Captain, whom, he had, in his above version of the food dispute, called neither brave nor patient (*ni brave ni endurant*)¹ as a "good sailor, not baffled, though danger was seen on his face." This shows that Anquetil's judgments about men were at times not well-founded, but were prejudiced according to his whims, fury or temper. At the end of the journey, he says, he presented the remnants of the provisions he had taken from St. Helena on the voyage to the Captain, who he says, was not ashamed to have them.

They arrived at St. Helena on 25th August 1761. There was on the island at that time M. Masculine (Mr. Maskelyne), an astronomer, who was sent from England to observe from there the transit of Venus, which had occurred on 6th June and which Anquetil had observed from the ship during the voyage. Anquetil invited the astronomer to dinner. Mr. Maskelyne, during the course of the dinner, left the table several times and

Arrival at St. Helena. His improper conduct in making satirical remarks about a guest.

¹ P. 417. ² P. 444.

went out to observe the sky, and, returning to table, took his drink. This led Anquetil to make in his account some remarks which seem to be as undignified, or rather low, as those which he made in his account of the dispute with the Captain of the ship about the food he got. Mr. Beveridge very properly says on this subject. "The satirical account which he gives of Maskelyne's behaviour at table is a thing, which, even if true, gentlemanly feeling should have prevented Du Perron, as one of his hosts, from describing."¹

XII.

STAY IN ENGLAND.

His ship left St. Helena on 10th September and arrived at Portsmouth on 17th November 1761. He was treated at first like the other French war-prisoners. He resented that. It was arranged that he may be sent direct to France with other prisoners. The box containing his manuscripts was sent to the Custom House. He says that the letters of the Council of Bombay seemed to have no value. He wrote to his people and to his friends at Paris about this state of affairs. He also wrote to Minister Pitt, Earl of Chatham. He was sent to Wickham (Wykham), about 12 miles from Portsmouth on 20th November, having first seen that his manuscripts were in good order at the Custom House. At Wickham, he was assisted with money by Mr. Garnier. The whole time he was there, he was much anxious about his manuscripts at the Custom House, where they were in a damp, low place, that month of December being very rainy. With the help of Mr. Garnier, he was permitted to go to Portsmouth to bring from there his manuscripts which he found there in good condition. But he was prevented from taking them to Wykham. He was then asked to go to France with other French soldiers, but he objected to do so before going to Oxford, as he had specially taken the English boat from India, with the object of visiting Oxford and had thus found himself in this plight.

Anquetil had written from Wykham on 27th November and 23rd December 1761, to the Secretary of the Royal Society at London, requesting him to send him the copy of the first leaves of the manuscript of (the writings of) Zoroaster at Oxford. He heard in reply on 7th January 1762, that the Royal Society had no control over the University of Oxford and that the

¹ "Calcutta Review." Vol. VIII, October 1896, p. 298 note.

University would not permit any of its manuscripts to go out to such a distance, *i.e.*, to London or to Wykham. The Secretary wanted to know the circumstances under which he was detained, so that he may do something to facilitate his visit to Oxford. Anquetil had arranged to go to Oxford before this letter, which came in, a long time after he wrote. However, this letter pleased him to know, that there was an appreciation of letters in all nations. After some correspondence with various scholars and authorities, and armed with several letters of introduction, he left Wykham on 14th January 1761, with some Hindu manuscripts and three beautiful manuscripts of ancient Persian which he intended to place in the Bibliothèque du Roi of Paris, *viz.*, the Vendidad Sadeh, the Vendidad Zend and Pahlavi, and the volume containing Zend and Sanskrit Yazashne and the Yashts Sadeh. He took these with him, with a view to show his riches to those whose treasures he wanted to see. Anquetil refers to the difficulty of travelling in ruin in those days which were the days of travelling by coaches. He says, that in France, while travelling by carriage, only the horses were changed frequently at each stage, but in England, they changed carriages also. Travellers were stopped at turn-spikes, which came every two miles, where you had to pay half a shilling or a shilling. He arrived at Oxford on 17th January 1761, taking three days to travel from Wykham near Portsmouth to Oxford. Anquetil's description of Oxford shows, that it was then, about 150 years ago, what it is now, "a town composed of colleges, professors, students and of servants, merchants and workmen, employed in the service of the colleges; in such a way, that in summer, when the professors and the students are there in a very small number, it is well-nigh deserted." But that is the proper season to see conveniently, the public buildings which are very beautiful.

He first saw Mr. Srinton, a learned scholar, and went with him to see Dr. Burton, the Canon of Christ's College and a member of the Society of Antiquities. He was not at home. So they went to the Bodleian Library, where he saw the manuscript of the Vendidad Sadeh fastened with a chain in a special place. As it was very cold then, he wanted to take it with him to his inn to compare it conveniently with his manuscript, but that was refused. So, he went there again the next day, 18th January, and examined the manuscript of the Vendidad Sadeh for an hour and copied the account (Notice) written in Zend characters on it. He gave it to the Librarian, who had a copy of it, which was less exact and wherein the name of the book Djed dew dad (*i.e.*, the Vendidad) was taken to be that of the author.

After having assured himself, that the manuscripts, which he had taken from Surat, were of the same sort as that of the Bodleian, he liked to see the manuscripts of Dr. Hyde and Frazer, which were in charge of Dr. Hunt, Professor of Arabic. He was called at 3 o'clock. He went for dinner to Dr. Barton's, where they drank a toast for the success of the works of Zoroaster (*ou but au bon succès des ouvrages de Zoroastre*).¹ They talked of securing closer relations between the French and English scholars. Anquetil was told by them, that he was the first French scholar who had gone to Oxford purely for the progress of human knowledge.

He then went to Dr. Hunt, Professor of Arabic, accompanied by Dr. Barton and Dr. Swinton. He says "while walking through the court of the College of Christ, I could not help smiling at the figures of my two guides. Dr. Swinton, all gathered together in his robe, the head lowered and covered with a wretched bonnet broad in three corners, had all the air of an agent of the University. Dr. Barton, grand and well-made, walked by a few steps before him, letting float gravely a handsome robe, whose front foreparts, lined with satin, matched with a bonnet of velvet, of which the frontal point lowered over the forehead of the Doctor, gave him a very haughty look. Add to this, the turning of the head to the right and to the left like that of a man, who admires himself in regulating his walk, and you will have the picture of a rich English Canon." He found Dr. Hunt also rapped up in his robe. Dr. Hunt produced before him the manuscript of the *Viraf-namih* and the *Sad-dar* from Dr. Hyde's collection. The manuscript contained modern Persian in Zend characters.² The Doctor, having learnt Zend letters by means of Zend and Persian alphabets in a manuscript of the *Nyāsi-hes*, read this modern Persian, and believed, that it was old Persian. He, therefore, said to Anquetil, that he knew old Persian. Anquetil corrected him saying, that what he knew was only modern Persian, which, instead of being written in Arabic or Persian characters, was written in Zend (*Avesta*) characters. Anquetil showed him his manuscripts and he could read nothing. Anquetil told him when he had heard from Dastur Shapur³ (at Surat), that Mr. Frazer had carried to England some manuscripts of this kind. Frazer spoke modern Persian a little, but did not know Zend or Pahlavi. Dr. Hunt was surprised on finding Anquetil so well

¹ P. 450. ² *Vide* Dr. Hyde's *Historia Religioſis Veterum Persarum*, and Edition, of 1769, pp. 14, 17 and 18 for this.

³ He is Dastur Shapurjee Manockjee Saunjani (1752-1831, the writer of the *Kisseh-i-Zinatian-i-Hindustan* (*vide* my book "The Palace at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana," p. 45).

informed and went to search for Frazer's manuscripts, which he found, just as Anquetil had described them on the authority of his information from Shapur. Anquetil adds :

"My manuscripts struck Dr. Hunt and he said, no doubt in joke, that being a Justice of the Peace of Oxford, he could get me arrested for the incident (at Surat) which made him run into the English factory and (then) retain my manuscripts. Annoyed at this reflection, I told him, I was not afraid, and that he would be responsible for the manuscripts to the English Minister (Mr. Pitt), and to the King of France to whom (the acquisition of) those books was announced. This sharp rejoinder accompanied with a scornful look changed the conversation. We both were in the wrong ; the Doctor (was wrong) in touching this cord in the position in which I was, and I in taking his words literally. All this passed away very honestly."¹

Anquetil then saw Mr. Frazer's collection of about 250 volumes which also was with Dr. Hunt. He found therein some well-known Persian books like *Rozat-us-Safâ*, the *Shah-namêh*, *Tarikh-i-Tabari*, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, *Akbar-namêh*, *Mirât-i-Sikandari*, an abridged *Barzour-namêh*, the *Zitch of Olough Beg*. He found no Pahlavi book.

We see in the above account of Anquetil's visit to Dr. Hunt, further instances of his queer conduct, want of good manners, and had temper bordering on ungratefulness. He speaks very slightly of his hosts. Dr. Swinton had been very kind to him and had acted as his guide for two days. Anquetil had embraced him when he parted. The gaits of walking of Dr. Swinton and Dr. Barton and the appearance of their robes made him smile and he speaks rather discourteously of them. The manner in which he describes his visit to Dr. Hunt is worse than the above. He himself says, that Dr. Hunt simply said in joke, that he would get him arrested as a Justice of the Peace and take possession of his manuscripts; but he took that literally and talked with him and looked at him scornfully. As said by Mr. Beveridge², it were such observations "which probably stirred up the youthful Sir William Jones to write his fierce letter to Du Perron"³. The late Professor Darmesteter said on this point that William Jones, a young Oxonian then⁴ had been wounded to the quick by the scornful tone adopted by Anquetil towards Hyde and a few other English scholars. The *Zend-Avesta* suffered for the fault of the introducer, Zoroaster for Anquetil."⁵ William Jones ran down both Anquetil and the *Avesta*.

¹ P. 461.

² "Calcutta Review," Vol. 103, October 1846, p. 298.

³ S. B. E. Vol. IV, 1st ed., Introduction, p. XV.

Anquetil left Oxford on 19th January 1762 and arrived at Wickham on the 21st. England was then at war with France, and his account of what he saw then reminds us of the present war. Things were very dear. At Winchester, he paid 3 francs for a cup of coffee, but perhaps that was due to his taking it in a fashionable place. Half of England had remained uncultivated. In the villages, he saw only old men, marriageable girls, children under 12 years of age, but very few men of 40 years and fewer young boys. They all must have gone out to fight.

From Wickham he went to London, where he arrived on 31st January 1761. At first, he stayed at a rich tavern, where, being a Frenchman, he was not well looked at. He afterwards removed to the house of Mr. Garnier (Junior) in Pall-mall. Those were the days, when, instead of many hackney carriages, sedan-chairs were seen in London to carry persons from one place to another. Except some places of the Pall-mall, the quarters of the Court, London was not paved. The middle of the streets were a sea of mud (*mer da bouë*), the stones in the midst of which were to carriages, what rocks in the sea were to ships. There were paved footpaths of only about three feet, which also were often covered with water and where pedestrians were often bruised by the batons of sedan-chairs that passed over it.

Anquetil says, that "learning in England is on a footing different from that in France. Paris is the centre of learning, and the relations, which all professions have with one another in this great city, remove from the men of letters the rudeness which results from the dry and sombre study in a study room. In England, the title of Doctor given to all the savants makes a separate corps of them which has all the pedantry of learning. Most of them reside in the towns of Oxford and Cambridge, the air of which, a mile all round, appears to be impregnated with Greek, Latin and Hebrew. Sometimes they go to London, where the inhabitants, mostly traders or persons dealing with commerce or the marine, look at them for their amusement, and believe, that they pay them well by giving them a good repast. Useful inventions, *i.e.*, those relating to commerce or the marine—these are what gives respect in this city to a savant. And again what respect? The true Englishman said: 'I have a fortune and I spend it as I like. The Militaries and the Marines make honest servants on wages, to augment my riches and to assure me of pleasure. The savants and the artists amuse me.' Thus, in England, the titles of literature which

Anquetil's view of the little esteem in which learning was held in England.

are well spoken of in other States of Europe, have little value beyond the two Universities."

Anquetil saw the Museum of London, which, he says, was the principal literary institution of London, situated in the most beautiful mansion of London, Montague Mansion, which however cannot stand well in comparison with a mansion of the second order in Paris. The Museum was under the direction of 8 savants. The principal librarian, Dr. Knight, got 200 guineas (per year) and three assistant librarians, 100 guineas each. Anquetil was not pleased with the Museum, which contained nothing astonishing. Among the manuscripts in this library, he found none extraordinary, except a Greek Dictionary of the 10th century in uncial¹ letters, and an Alexandrine manuscript of the Septuagint. He thought, that in Paris, the London Museum, as he then saw it, would pass for a private cabinet or collection. In the Museum, M. Morton, who was known for his publication of the tables of Hebrew, Greek, Arabic and other alphabets of different ages, pretended to possess all Zend alphabets, but Anquetil showed him his error, pointing out, that the letters were different from Zend alphabets.

Among the worth-seeing places of London which he saw, he names the following: St. Paul, Westminster Hall, Westminster Church, Westminster Bridge, St. James' Palace, Waux Hall, and play-houses. He speaks of no place of visit in an appreciative way. He finds most of what he saw inferior to similar things in France.

Anquetil refers with dislike to a custom then prevalent. A guest had to pay to all the domestic servants of his host, whenever he went for a repast. Speaking² of the different classes of people, whose life, he said, he would have further liked to study if he had time, he says of women in their plays or sports (*femmes au jeu*), that they passed well-nigh the whole night, among themselves, while their husbands hunted foxes or were in Baginot. He speaks rather slantingly of English women. This was, because, as Mr. Beveridge said, he was more of a misogynist. He says of the daughter of the clergymen, that on their father's death they fill up the public places of London. As to the character of English women on their

¹ "Uncial letters" are letters of a peculiar character, large in size, midway between capital and small letters. They were used from the end to the 10th century.

² P. 471.

estates, he says, they often passed whole months alone, occupied, either in reading or given up to some romantic love. He says of Englishmen that "the same Englishman whom you see civil in Paris is another man in London. He is unrecognizable on his estate." He says, he left the city very little biased in favour of the people who were enthusiastic for three things :

1. A Parliament which was susceptible of weaknesses and passions.
2. A Minister, who received a large annuity from the Court, and 3. The Exchange, where they deposited all their wealth, to such an extent, that a man, commanding a revenue of 50,000 francs (livres), had not 50 louis (a coin worth 19 sh.) in his house, pays his baker by bills on the Exchange, without reflecting, that the diminution in the credit of the nation and the delay of one year or two in the receipt of interests would suffice to overthrow all the wealth of England, where everything that is necessary for life is very dear on account of the real abundance of money.

It is possible that the above low estimate of Anquetil of the esteem, in which learning was held in England, and his low estimate of English Society displeased and excited young William Jones against him.

XIII.

RETURN TO PARIS.

Departure from
London and
arrival at Paris.

Anquetil left London on 12th February 1762, pleased to be out of the odour of gloomy coal, in which the city is wrapped for 8 months.

He arrived at Ostend on 6th March and at Paris on 14th March. He deposited the books of Zoroaster and other manuscripts, the very next day, *i.e.*, on 15th March 1762, in the Bibliothèque de Roi. He was still an youth of 30. His fame spread quickly and he was sought after by many distinguished persons.

Anquetil, on his return to Paris, continued his studies to prepare for the publication of his Zend-Avesta. He was elected a member of L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belle Lettres, in 1765. In 1771, he published the three volumes of his Zend-Avesta, which was, as said by Larousse in his Dictionary, "an event in the History of Orientalisme" (*époque dans l'histoire de l'Orientalisme*). In 1775, he published his "Legislation Orientale." In 1786, he published

A few events of
the life of Anque-
til after his return
to Paris.

his "*Recherches Historiques et Geographiques sur l'Inde*," and in 1798, "*L'Inde en rapport avec l'Europe*." In 1804, he published his *Oupa Khet* (Upanishad). It is a translation in Latin of an abridged version of the Vedas. M. Larousse gives us an instance of his eccentricity even in old age. He was reduced to much poverty in his old age. The French Government and some of the learned Societies of Paris offered to help him, but he refused that help, and moved about in such a miserable condition, that passers by took him for a beggar and offered him alms.

It seems, that on the return of Anquetil to Paris, some persons raised the question, as to who can be called the first introducer and translator of the Zend-Avesta. Anquetil on the question as to who first carried Parsee books to Europe and who first translated them. Some said, that Dr. Hyde was the first, and others that it was M. Otter. Anquetil writes, at some length, to show, that he was the real pioneer in the matter.

From the study of Anquetil's account of his travels and sojourn in India, one is in a position to form an estimate of his character.

An estimate of Anquetil's character, formed from his writings.

1. The first thing that strikes us was his want of steadiness. He did not make full use of the time he spent in India for his Iranian studies, for which he had specially come to India. (a) At Chandarnagar, he thought of giving up the idea of going to Surat for study and of joining the Church with the Jesuits. (b) While there, at one time, he thought of going to Benares to study Sanskrit but soon gave up that idea. (c) On his return to Pondicherry from Bengal, he thought of giving up his studies and of returning to Europe. (d) At one time, he thought of going over to China and Tibet, but gave up that idea on his return from the journey in Salsette. It was, he said, the fatigue of the journey that made him do so. But, he thought of it again, when arranging for a return journey to Europe by a Swedish ship.

2. He was a man of rather bad temper and, as his compatriot in the Dictionary of Larousse says, eccentric habits. (a) No sooner did he land at Pondicherry he began quarrelling with the Chief of the French factory there, and threatened to return to Europe by the very boat which brought him to India, if the question of his allowances was not properly settled. (b) When in Bengal, he quarrelled with his French people, both at Chandarnagar and at Cassimbazar. (c) On his way to Surat, he quarrelled here and there with the heads of French factories and threatened to complain, and actually did complain, about them at the headquarters

at Pondicherry. (d) M. de Verrier, the Chief of the French factory at Surat, had secured promises of help for him, even when he was at Chandarnagar, and had supplied all his requirements when he came to Surat. He quarrelled with him also and wrote against him to Pondicherry. This quarrel seems to have ended in the result of his brother being appointed at the head of the factory, a result which may lead one to think that there was no valid cause for that quarrel, but the object was to have at the head of the factory, his own brother for whose promotion he was much solicitous from the very beginning and had made proposals even before he started from Pondicherry at Surat. (e) He had a quarrel with one of his own countryman which ended in a duel. The fault for the quarrel was on his side. (f) The English favoured him after the duel and gave him the protection of the factory, but on the incident of the native sepoys of the English factory refusing to make way for his brother's carriage, he forgot the obligation, which he owed to them and moved about armed with a pistol to fire against any Englishman who opposed him. It were the same Englishmen that he had to appeal to, when no other European factory gave him passage to return to Europe.

3. He was rather rough in manners. (a) On the voyage homewards, once he invited as a guest at St. Helena, Mr. Maskelyne, a known astronomer. His remarks against his guest were bad, and as said by Mr. Beveridge, were such as "gentlemanly feeling should have prevented" him from making against a guest. (b) Similarly, he made indignified and bad remarks against some of the learned Professors at Oxford, who were then in the position of his hosts there. It is these remarks that are said to have fired young William Jones against him. (c) When on his way to Surat, a Portuguese interpreter had helped him and lodged him at his place. He quarrelled with him for the sake of a small sum for feeding charges. (d) His rough manners at times amounted to ungratefulness: for example, in the above case of his behaviour towards the English factors, who protected him after his duel, when he had to leave the French factory. (e) Muncherjee Seth of Surat had helped him with a Vendidad manuscript belonging to another Dastur. He refused to return it when asked for, and even went to the extent of keeping loaded pistols on his table to oppose any one that may go to take it.

4. The worst of his faults was his exaggeration of facts and the true state of affairs, with a view to secure credit of being a great man and a traveller working under extraordinary difficulties and risks. (a) For example, take the case of his visit to the Mogul Nabob Khodai Leti,

whom he represents as inclined to misbehave with him in the midst of his people. His accounts (b) of the incidents with a Fakiress on his way to Pondicherry from Bengal, and (c) of his talk with a Mahomedan lady, living in a house adjoining his at Surat, supply other instances, wherein he seems to seek credit for some extraordinary good moral conduct or behaviour. (d) He travelled in the Salsette in a palanquin with a number of followers and a Parsee domestic. At places, he was welcomed by Catholic priests and others. In spite of such conveniences, he says, that when he returned to Surat, he, on the recollection of the trouble and difficulties he met with in the journey, shed tears, which his friends had to wipe off. The fatigue he says was so much, that he had to give up his idea of going to China and Tibet. These are some of the instances that give us a glimpse of his character as a person of rather rough manners, unsteady habits, quarrelsome disposition, and a little self-conceit, which led him to exaggerate things to such an extent, as would make one doubt the truthfulness of his statements.

On the other hand, looking to the bright side of his character, one prominent thing that strikes us, is his frankness to do, at times, justice to those whom he had wronged, even at the risk of self-contradiction.

The bright side of his character. In spite of his unjust conduct towards Dastur Darab, in the end, he does him some justice by frankly giving him the credit due to him. Whatever his faults, and some of them are common among many travellers, he was a daring traveller and a great and diligent scholar, who enriched, not only his own country, but Europe with Oriental books and Oriental learning. It is the flame of learning which he kindled that has continually shone forth. His work in the field of Oriental literature latterly inspired many a scholar, not only in the field of what may be called the study of Oriental languages, but also of Orientalism generally. The galaxy of a number of German poet-philosophers, with a man like Goethe at their head, was inspired by his writings directly and indirectly. The Parsees owe him a great debt of gratitude, not only for introducing the study of Zoroastrianism in Europe, but for the minute care with which he has recorded what he observed and heard when in Surat. This record helps them to know some peculiar traits in the manners and customs of the Parsees of those times.

With all his faults, which are common to several travellers, he was a great and good scholar. All honour to his glorious name! All honour to the Institution and the Académie to which he belonged! All honour to the country which produced him!

ART. XIV.—*A note on some rare coins in the cabinet of the
Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

By

K. N. DIKSHIT, B.A., Poona.

[LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED.

I. M. C. = Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta,
Vol. I, Part 1, by V. A. Smith.

B. M. C. = Catalogue of Indian coins in the British Museum, Greek
and Scythic Kings, by P. Gardner.

P. M. C. = Catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore,
Vol. I, by R. B. Whitehead.

diad. = diademed.

r. = right.

Pl. = Plate.

l. = left.

wt. = weight.

mon. = monogram.]

On cursorily examining the Greeco-Bactrian and Scythian sections of the cabinet, in May last, I happened to come across the following interesting coins, which were subsequently placed at my disposal for the purpose of research, by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Western Circle, who kindly brought them from the Society's cabinet.

(1) Demetrius; Æ; circular 63.

Obv.: within circle of dots, bust of king r. diad. in relief.

Rev.: within circle of dots, Heracles l. seated on rock or omphalos;
holding short club in r. hand. Greek legend.

r. : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ (Σ)

below : ΣΩΤΗΡ (ΡΟΣ)

l. : ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΣ

This coin somewhat resembles the one published in *B. M. C.* Pl. XXX, 2, but the king's head considerably differs; the deities on the reverse, though similar in pose, are different; and the occurrence of the title ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ on the present coin gives it a unique interest; as the title is supposed to have been used for the first time by Antimachos I, among the Indo-Bactrian rulers (*B. M. C.*, Pl. XXX, 6).

The metal appears to be bronze, with perhaps an admixture of some higher metal like silver.

(*Vide* No. 1 of Pl.)

(2) Eucratides ; \mathcal{R} ; circular '6.

Obv. : Bust of king r. diad. with crested helmet. Greek legend, above in a semi-circle :

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟ [V]

below in a straight line :

ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔ (ΟΥ)

Rev. : The Dioskouroi, standing facing, spear in hand. To r. mon.

⊕ (*I. M. C.*, Pl. VII, 18)

Kharōshihī legend, above in a semi-circle : [ra] jasa mahā-
(takasa.)

In exergue :

(e) vukrati (dasa)

This coin is identical in type, with the very rare coin, published in *I. M. C.*, P. 13, Type 4. The monogram on the present coin is different, but is found on other types of Eucratides.

(For an illustration of this coin, *vide I. M. C.*, Pl. II, 9.)

(3) Menander ; \mathcal{R} square, '8 ; wt. 101 grains.

Obv. : Bust of Pallas r. with crested helmet. Greek legend.

Ι : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ

above : ΣΕΠΤΙΜΟΣ

τ : ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ

Rev. : Circular buckler, with ox-head in centre. Below, mon. \mathcal{M}
(*I. M. C.*, Pl. VII, 86.)

Kharōshihī legend, r. : Mahārājasa.

above : tratarasa.

Ι : Mēnadrasa.

Square silver coins are very rare in the Indo-Greek series, being met with only as hemi-drachms under Apollodotus and Philoxenos, though the standard of weight adopted, was the same as that of the circular hemi-drachms. The present coin, however, appears merely to be an exact replica in silver of the copper type of Menander, which is well-known, (*I. M. C.*, Pl. V, 9) rather than a distinct silver issue, with a fixed denomination, conforming to a definite standard of weight and size. It may have been the outcome of the merest fancy of the

mint-master of Menander. A similar example might be cited in the unique silver coin of Kadphises II, published in *B. M. C.*, Pl. XXV, 11, which Mr. Whitehead rightly regards in the nature of a proof-piece (*P. M. C.*, p. 174).

(*Vide* No. 2 of Pl.)

(4) Huvishka : circular \mathcal{R} 6 ; wt. 40 grains.

Oby : Half length figure of king l. with round, high-crested helmet, holding a club, or ear of corn in r. hand ; around circular border, corrupt Greek legend, apparently intended for

ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟΡΑΟ ΟΥΟΗΡΚΙ ΚΟΡΑΝΟ

Rev : within circular and part of dotted borders, two deities stand facing each other : Goddess Nana l. wearing chiton, with l. hand extended, and God Siva r. four-handed, two hands extended, and one perhaps holding a club. Between the

figures, mon. $\begin{array}{c} \text{III} \\ + \\ \text{VV} \end{array}$ (*J. M. C.*, Pl. VII, 159).

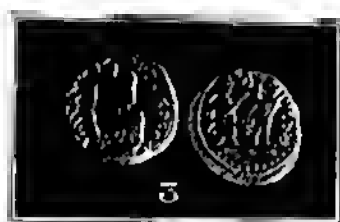
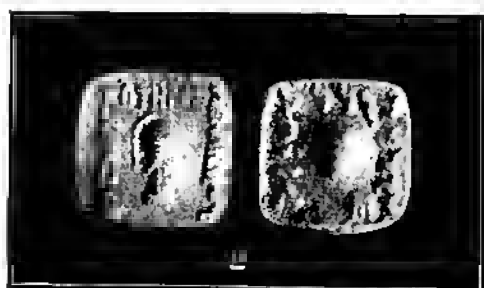
Greek legend, l. and above : NANA.

r. : OKPO.

This coin is one of exceptional interest, and well worth studying in its different aspects, as the first known silver coin of Huvishka, as well as the second known of the Kushan dynasty. That the coin is a perfectly genuine issue of Huvishka, cannot reasonably be doubted ; because (1) though the first part of the legend is unusually corrupt, the really important words ΟΥΟΗΡΚΙ ΚΟΡΑΝΟ are quite legible, and the Greek legend on the reverse is in perfectly good script ; (2) though the king's portrait is slightly different from the usual one, in being a little leaner, it agrees in all important particulars with the standard bust C (*J. M. C.*, P. 76) ; (3) the monogram is one which is exclusively found on the coins of Huvishka ; (4) the deities portrayed on the reverse occur together on another gold coin of Huvishka, (*P. M. C.*, Pl. XVIII, 135), and are not known to have occurred anywhere else ; (5) the execution of the coin stands artistically on the same level as the gold coins of Huvishka.

Unlike coin No. 3 described above, or unlike the only other known silver coin of the Kushans (*B. M. C.*, Pl. XXV, 11) this coin does not appear to be a mere copy of a gold or copper type, but a regular hemidrachm of the Persian standard, which, adopted by the Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians, might have been continued by their Kushan successors.

(*Vide* No. 3 of Pl.)



ART. XV.—*Anquetil Du Perron of Paris*
and
Dastur Darab of Surat.

By

SHAMS-UL-ULMA DR. JIVANJI JAMSHEDDJI MODI, B.A., PH.D.

Read on 7th February 1916.

I.

As said in my previous Paper, entitled "*Anquetil Du Perron—India, as seen by him (1755-60).*" my first object in studying the life of Anquetil Du Perron and the account of his travels, was to collect materials and facts, which could enable us to know him, as described by himself, so that, we may thereby be in a better position to understand his relations with his Parsee teacher, Dastur Darab of Surat. The question of these relations was the principal subject of my study. So, the object of this Paper is to examine the relations, that existed between Anquetil and Dastur Darab, as described by Anquetil in his book of the *Zend-Avesta*.

Division of the subject. I will divide my subject under three heads :—

- I. An Account of Dastur Darab.
- II. An Account of Anquetil's pupilage before Darab and of his studies on Parseeism, and an examination of this account.
- III. Anquetil's Account of his alleged clandestine visit to a Parsee Fire-temple in the disguise of a Parsee under the guidance of Dastur Darab, and an examination of that account with a view to see how far it is true.

II.

I. AN ACCOUNT OF DASTUR DARAB.

Dastur Darab was born at Surat. The date of his birth is not certain. But he is said to have died at the age of seventy-five on *Ros Bahman, Mah Bahman* and Genealogy. *Shāhānshāhi, Māh Spandārmad, Kadmi, 1141 Yazdazardi (August 1773).* So we take it, that he was born in 1698 A. D. He was known, in his time, and even for some time after his death, as *Kumānā Dādādarū*. The name of his mother was

Kunverbhāi and that of his father Sohrābhjee. The mother, Kunverbhāi gave him the first part of his familiar name. She was known among her near ones and acquaintances by a contracted short name Kumā. In the family Nām-grahan,¹ her name is invoked as "Kumū." So, the first part of Dastur Darab's name comes from the name of his mother. As to the second part of his familiar name Dādādāru, the word Dādā² is a corruption of Dārāb and the word Dāru signifies a priest. There is an Indian Sanskrit word Adhvaryu (अध्वर्यू), meaning, "a priest whose duty was 'to measure the ground, build the altar, prepare sacrificial vessels, to fetch wood and water, light the fire, bring the animal and immolate it,' and while doing this to repeat the Yajurved."³ This Indian word Adhvaryu is a little corrupted among the Parsees and is used as Andhiāru. It means a Parsee priest. This corrupted word Andhiāru seems to have been further contracted and corrupted into Dāru. We thus trace the name of Dastur Darab step by step: Dādā was another form of his name Dārāb. Then Dādā Andhiāru (i.e., Dada (Darab) the priest) became Dādādāru. The form Dāru is even now used after the name of many a Parsee priest.⁴ Thus, we see, how and why Dastur Darab was known as Kumānā Dādādāru. Kumā, the short and familiar name of his mother, has given the surname of Kumānā (lit. "of Kumā") to the whole family, which is still known as Kumānā⁵. The Parsee

¹ The word nām-grahan has its origin in the Avesta words "nāma āganyāt" (Farvardin Yasht. Yt. XIII, 30). It comes from Avesta nāman (Sans. नामन Pahl. and Pers. nām, Lat. nomen, Germ. name, Fr. nom, Eng. name) and gahve (Sans. ग्रह्, ग्रह Pahl. and Pers. girafan, Germ. ergreifen, to get hold of, to take). So, Nām-grahan means 'the taking or remembering of names.' Every family has a manuscript-book or list, known by that name. It contains the names of the departed ones of the family. The names of those who have died lately head the list. The priest, while reciting the Pazend Bihāch in the Atirgān, Satum, Farokhtā, Yaçan, &c., recites all the names in this list. At first, he mentions or invokes the name of the particular deceased in whose honour the ceremony is performed, and then recites the names of the deceased of the family. He then recites also the names of some of the departed Zoroastrian worthies of Ancient Iran and India who have done valuably service to their community and their country. (Cf. my Paper on "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees. Their Origin and Explanation," Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, (1891), Vol. II, No. 7, pp. 403-441).

² Unknown of a relation of mine whose name was Dorabji Modi, but he was spoken of by some as Dādābhāi Modi or Dādā Modi.

³ Mr. V. S. Apte's Sanskrit-English Dictionary (1890), p. 54, 191, 3.

⁴ For example, Dr. Wilson said of the well-known Dastur Edibji Durabji Sarjani, that he was "familiarly known by the name of Edul Dāru" (Wilson's "Parsee Religion," Preface, page 9).

⁵ The family had produced another lady, as well-known as Kumā or Kunverbhāi. She was Doshāi, the wife of Dastur Rustam, a great great grandson of Dārāb. She died in 1878, at the age of 83, and was known at Surat as "Dasturjīnā Doshāi," i.e., Doshāi of Dasturjī. She is said to have supplied a good deal of information about Surat Parsees, and especially about her family, to Mr. B. B. Patel for his Parsee Prakash.

Text Persian :

این کتاب الجند پہلوی کاتب الحرف داراب جی موبد سہراب
موبد بہمن موبد بہرام فرامرز دین پذیر وجان نسا در دین
زرانشت سفتمان بیشک بیگمان راست گفتار و خسروی
کلس ابوزداسر تن آن۔

Translation Pahlavi.

Finished with good wishes¹ joy and pleasure, on day Ohrmazd, month Adar, year One (thousand Ninety and One (1091), from the King of Kings, Yazdagard Shatrovar, Worldly² capyist, I servant of the religion, magopat (mobad) Darab, son of Sohrab. My good wishes and blessings reach from me to any one who reads (this book). Let any one who reads (this book), send to me good wishes and blessings. May you enjoy a joyful (healthy) body and the gift of a (joyful) soul.

Translation Persian.

The writer of this Zend Pahlavi book, Darâhji,³ mobad Sohrâh, mobad Bahman, mobad Bahrâm Frâmarz, (who is) the acceptor of the religion, the sacrificer of his life over the undoubted and unsuspected religion of Zurâusht Asfanduar, and the speaker of truth, and noble in his actions, and of purified body.

Darab's Genea. We see from the Persian colophon that he gives the names of his four ancestors as follows:—

- (1) Mobad Sohrâh. (2) Mobad Bahman. (3) Mobad Bahrâm. (4) Frâmarz.

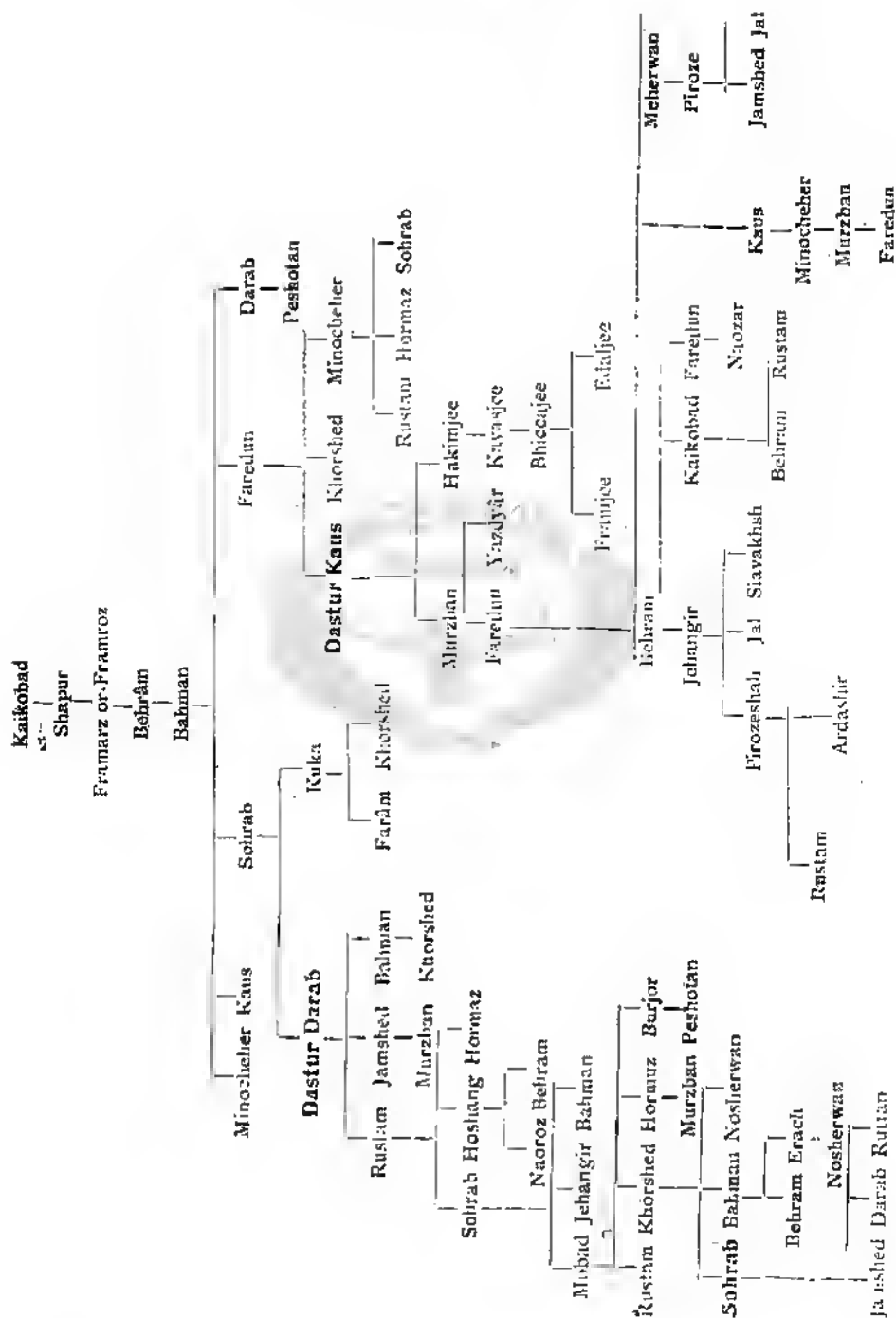
I give here a genealogy, both ascending and descending, of the Dastur, based on information given to me by the present members of his family, especially by Mr. Frichslaw Bomanji Dastoor Kuttana, and on Dastur Darab's colophons⁴.

¹ Shum or Shlum arab. سلام salutation, peace, health. The word may also be read Shaum (Av. Kishnaoma) meaning joy, contentment.

² Stih or getih. The word may be taken with the preceding word 'Shatrovar'. "Yazdagard, the king of the world."

³ It is worth noting here, that Darab adds the appellation 'ji' after his own name but not after the names of his ancestors. The word 'ji' (Av. ji, P. Zisân to Jâc) giving the idea of 'living' was applied only to the names of those who were alive, and not to those of the dead. Hence, in the names of the dead recited in the nâmâ-grâhin, the general practice is to drop the 'ji.' This practice is now observed more in the case of the priestly class than in that of the laity.

⁴ Mademoiselle Menant also gives a genealogy in her Paper, "Anquetil Duperron d Surate." That also is based on the information given by the above named gentleman. Since writing the above, I have seen a separate genealogical tree of the Murzban family published by Mr. Murzban M. Murzban. (Vide his Leaves from the Life of Khan Bahadur Munchejee Cawaji Murzban). I find some difference in this genealogical tree also. But I think the one given by me is correct. One cause of such difference, in genealogical trees of the same family is the fact that, at times, compilers mistake the names of adopting fathers, whose names are adopted by the adopted sons, to be the names of real fathers.



In the life of Mr. Furdoonji Murzban,¹ published by his grandson, Mr. Kaikobad B. Murzban (joint Principal of the New High School of Bombay), whose family belongs to the stock of Dastur Darab, we find some difference in the ascending line of the common ancestors of Darab and Kaus. Mr. Kaikobad Murzban gives two names—Rustam and Kārudin—between the name of Dastur Kaus's father Faredun and that of Bahman, *i.e.*, he takes it, that Bahman, instead of being the father of Faredun, was the great grandfather of Faredun. As Dastur Kaus was the cousin of Dastur Darab, this also amounts to saying that Bahman was not the father of Dastur Darab's father Sohrab, but a great grandfather. On inquiring once from Mr. Kaikobad Murzban, what his authority for his statement was, he said his only authority was some notes in the papers of his father, the late Mr. Behramji Murzban, a known learned writer. The colophon of a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale settles this question of difference, and shows, that the genealogy given by me above is correct. In the catalogue of Parsee manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale, by Mr. Blochet², we find the colophon as follows:—

این معنی زند اوستا دو روز زمیاد و صا مبارک تیر سال
اور یک هزار و یکصد و شش از شهنشاه یزدگرد شهریار نوشته نویسنده
عمترین بر بد کاوس موبد فریدون دستور بهمن موبد بهرام نوشت

Translation.—This translation of the Zend Avesta is written on Roz Zamyād, auspicious month Tir, year, one thousand one hundred and six of Emperor Yazdagard Shahrīyār. It is written by the humble writer, Herbad Kāūs-Mobad Faridun-Dastur Bahman-Mobad Behram.

(a) The genealogy given here clearly shows that the line of ancestors as given by me in the above genealogical tree is correct. Dastur Kaus is said to have died on raz 30, mah 1 Kārdmī, 1148 Yazdgerdi, *i.e.*, 1778 A. D.³ at the age of 62. If so, he must have written the above manuscript with its Persian colophon at the young age of about 20.

(b) Again there is the evidence of Anquetil himself. In my Paper before this Society, entitled "Notes of Anquetil Du Perron on King Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana,"⁴ I have quoted in French, and given my translation of, some notes of Anquetil, on the subject of Dastur Meherjee Rana's interview with Akbar.⁵ There, Anquetil speaks of

¹ ۱۳۶۱۲ ۴۳۲۹۱۹۲ (The life of Furdoonji Murzbanjee by Mr. Kaikobad Behramji Murzban.

² " *Vide* Catalogue des Manuscrits Mardiens (Zends, Pehlvis, Parsis et Persans) de la Bibliothèque Nationale," par E. Blochet (1900), p. 23, XXIII, supplément persan 49, No. 12.

³ Parsee Prakash, Vol. I, p. 57.

⁴ Read on 13th July 1901. Journal B. R. A. Society, Vol. XXI, Art. XIX, pp. 537-551.

⁵ *Vide* my book "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherjee Rana," pp. 582-592.

⁶ *Ibid.* Journal, p. 549. M. book, pp. 595-597; *vide* the fac-simile photo at the end.

one Dastur Schapour (Shapur) Kaikobad, as the sixth fore-father of Darab (le 6^e. ayeûl de Darab). I think, Anquetil has, by some mistake, included either Darab himself at one end, or Dastur Shapur at the other end, and so given the number 6. Otherwise strictly speaking Shapur would be the fifth ancestor. However, if we were to take the genealogy and the names given by Mr. Kaikobad B. Murzban as correct and include two additional names—Rustam and Kamdin—in the genealogical tree, then Dastur Shapur would be the 7th ancestor, or according to Anquetil's calculation the 8th ancestor of Dastur Darab. Thus, we have Anquetil's authority to say, that the two additional names are not correct and the genealogy given by me is correct.

(c) Again, in such matters, nothing is more valuable than the *Disâpothi*¹ of a family which contains memoranda about the anniversaries of the deaths of members of the family and their ancestors. These Disâpothis, when well-kept, give some facts on which we can rely. Some families possess very old Disâpothis coming down from fore-fathers, the later names being added to it. When the manuscript of the old Disâpothis gets worn out by being frequently handled for reference, they make an exact copy in a new manuscript. The present members of Dastur Darab's family, known at Surat as Dastur-Kumana, have such a Disâpothi. Erwand Erachshaw Bomanji Dastur Kumana, kindly sends me, in his letter, dated 5th February 1916,² some notes of memoranda giving the dates of the anniversaries of some of the early members of the family closely related to Dastur Darab. I give the memos in the Disâpothis as sent by him.

1. રોજ ૨૪ મા. ૫ કદમી.

ઓ. ફરેફુન દા. બમન બેરામ ફરામરોજ તે દસતુર કાહિસદના બપ.

i.e., day 24, month 5, Kadmi.

E (Erwand) Furedun D. (Dastur) Bahman, Behram, Framroz, (the father of Dastur Kausji).

Here we see that the old family memorandum gives the name Bahman Behram Framroz as that of the grand-father of Kaus.

2. રોજ ૧૯મો માહ ૫મો કદમી.

ઓ. સોહરાબ દા. બમન બેરામ ફરામરોજ તે દા. દાદદારના બપ.

i.e., day 19, month 5, Kadmi.

O (Osta) Sohrab Dastur Bahman, Behram, Framroz, the father of Dastur Dâdâdar.

¹ Vide above for an explanation of this word.

² This gentleman's attention was drawn to this subject by my contribution in the Jant-i-Jamshed of 4th February 1916, on this subject of Darab's genealogy.

3. રોજ ૧૪ માહ ૩નો.

મિ. કાકિસ દા. બમન ને દા. કાકિસજના કાકા.

i.e. day 14, mah 3.

Erwad Kaus Dastur Bahman, the uncle of Dastur Kausji.

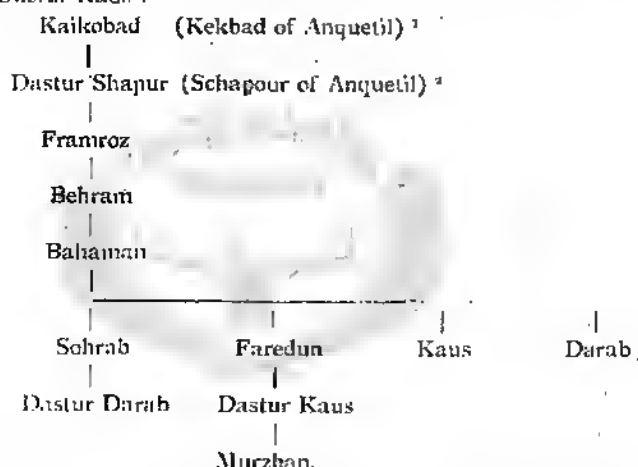
4. ૪. રોજ ૧૦મી માહ ૨નો.

મિ. દારાજ દા. બમન ને દા. કાકિસજના કાકા.

i.e. day 10th, month 2nd.

Osta-Darab Dastur Bahman, the uncle of Dastur Kausji.

These family notes confirm the correctness of my genealogy. With the help of the notes and statements we can frame the following genealogical tree of the common ancestors of Dastur Darab and his cousin Dastur Kaus :—



We see from the above genealogical tree, that Dastur Darab and his line of descent came down from Sohrab one of the great grandsons of Framroz and were well-connected. Dastur Sohrab, the great, great, great grandson or the fifth in descent from Dastur Darab is the present Kadmi Dastur of Surat and is in charge of the Kadmi Atash Behram. There are about 100 Kadmi families in Surat at present. They look to this Dastur as their spiritual head.

¹ Anquetil's manuscript notes. *Vide* for the text of these notes and their fac-simile photo, my Paper on "Notes of Anquetil Du Perron on King Akbar and Dastur Moherji Rana," (Journal, B. E. R. A. S., Vol. XXI, pp. 538-551. *Vide* p. 549 for the name. *Vide* my book "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Moherji Rana," p. 395).

² *Ibid.*

Dastur Kâus, the cousin of Darab, to whom Anquetil often refers, was the son of Faredun, another great grandson of Framroz. From him comes down the Murzban family of Bombay, the founder of which, Mr. Fardeonji (Farloot) Murzban, had started the first Gujarati Press in Bombay. The family of Dastur Mulla Feroze, the well-known Dastur of the Kadmi sect of Bombay and the author of the *George-Naméh* was related to the family of Dastur Darab. All the family papers and books were burnt, together with the old Fire-temple referred to by Anquetil, in the great fire of 24th April 1837¹ at Surat, when Dastur Mohad was on the Dasturship.

It seems, that Dastur Darab had according to those times, his early education at the hands of some elders of his family or at the hands of some other learned priests. His family was a learned family. Anquetil, while describing his manuscript of the *Yazishne Sade*,² refers to two other manuscripts which he saw in London on his return from India. One of these, he says, was seen by Normuzdji³, the son of Roustom Munek when he

¹ *vide* B. B. Patel's *Parsee Prakash*, Vol. I, pp. 33-7, for an account of this great fire. The Parsee Surat Charity Fund, administered in present at the Parsee Panchayat Office, had its origin in the Fund started on the occasion of the fire to relieve distress.

² *Zend Avesta*, Tome I, Facile II, Notices pp. VIII-IX.

³ This Naoroji was the young son of the well-known Rustam Manock of Surat (1635-1721), whose name is borne by Rustampurâ, one of the suburbs of Surat. Rustam Manock was the Shroff of the English Treasury at Surat and had some influence with the Mogul Durbar. In 1660, he accompanied the Chief Factor of the English Factory to the Court of King Aurangzeb. Mohad Jamshed bin Raikobad wrote, in 1711, a memoir of his life in Persian. Therein he thus refers to Rustam's interview and representation to Aurangzeb.

پس از سوی انگریز چو داد خواہ
 بآواز عرضش نموده بشاہ
 کہ مرد از بہرہ سوداگری
 بہند آمد است از درہ خاوری
 ولی دخل ندہند این را بشہر
 امیران درگاہ والہ بہر

.....
 پس آنکہ بنزدیک اورنگ شاہ
 وزیر رسد خان بودہ پیشاہ
 بگفتش کہ منشور شاہی یکی
 بنام کلمہ پوش دہہ ہفتگی

was in England about 40 or 50 years before him. The second manuscript was one purchased by Mr. Fraser and deposited in Oxford. According to Anquetil's information received from Dastur Darab, Mr. Fraser had purchased, for about Rs. 300 this and another manuscript (a Rivayet) from Manockji Seth, a grandson of the above Rustum Manock. Manockji Seth had procured them from Dastur Bikh¹. According to Anquetil, Mr. Fraser had made a note in this second manuscript of the *yasashna*, that there was a family at Surat which boasts to be the only family that knew Zend and Pahlavi. Anquetil says that it was the family of Darab that was referred to.

Anquetil's supposition does not seem to be quite correct, because, we learn from the colophon of a manuscript (K¹²) written by Jinnasp Velayat or Jinnasp Hinkim, of whom, we will just speak, that he presented a copy of the Farvardin Yash, which he had written, with some Hom branches to the three sons of Mobed Rustamji, in return of their kindness and hospitality (Westergaard, Preface, p. 5, n. 3 and p. 15, n. 1). The fact of his presenting his own copy, supposed to be important by him, and the Hom twigs to another Mobad family points to the probability of there being other learned families besides that of Dastur Darab. Again, in the list of the names attached to several documents and papers of the time, as referred to in the *Parsée Prakash*, we find the names of several Mobad and Dastur families. So, it is probable, that there were more than one learned family in Surat, which, at that time, occupied the position of the headquarters of the Parsees, as Bombay does at present. However, Anquetil's statement based on a remark of Fraser, which does not seem to be quite correct, points to the fact, that Darab's family was, if not the learned family, at

(Manuscript of Dastur Mehesji Raja Library of Nonsari, No. 45, pp. 33-34, written by Dastur Eruchji Sphrabji Maheri Ranai.)

Translation.—Then, he, as one asking for justice, on behalf of the English, submitted his (the Englishman's) request with a loud voice before the King that the man has come for commerce from the West to India. But the Amies of the His Majesty's Great Court do not admit him into the city. . . . At that time, there was before King Aurangzeb a Vozir (named) Rasadkhan. The King told him that a royal order in favour of the ban-warner (kolah-posh *ke*, the Englishman) may be given.

Naraji, the youngest son of Rustum Manock was the first Parsee to go to England. He went there in 1723 to lay his complaint before the then Court of Directors, in the matter of an injustice, done to his family, by the English factors in the memoir of the Seth family by Mr. Jalbhuji Ardeshir Seth. The Naraji Bill of Bombay bears his name. It is this bill that Anquetil refers to above.

¹ Dastur Bhikaji Jamsheji, a known Dastur of Surat, *Parsée Prakash*, Vol. 4, pp. 36, 46, 60, &c.

² Il y a à Surat une famille qui se vante d'être la seule qui entende le zend et le Pehlvi. Il vouloit parler de celle de Darab, dont j'ai pris les leçons (Tome I, Partie II, Notice VI, p. IX).

least one of the few learned priestly families of Surat. A great, great, great grandfather of Darab was one "Dastur Shapur Herbad Kaikobad".¹ According to the Dhoup Nirang, given by Anquetil,² he was one of the departed worthies of the community, whose memory was held in esteem by his and later generations.³ Thus, being a member of a family of learned Dasturs or priests, Darab had good opportunities of acquiring religious education at an early age.

By the age of 24, Darab was pretty well versed in the lore of Avesta, Pahlavi and Persian. This appears from the fact, that the Vendidad above referred to, which was written by Darab and which Anquetil took with him to Paris, bears in its colophon, the date of 1091 Yazdazarti, i.e., 1722 A. D. There are two colophons in the manuscript, one in Pahlavi and another in Persian. These show, that he knew these languages pretty well in 1722 A. D., when he was about 24.

Dastur Darab's further studies with Jamasp of Persia.
 Darab soon got an opportunity for further studies. In 1721, there came from Persia, a learned Zoroastrian, named Jamasp. He latterly became known as Jamasp Velayati, i.e., Jamasp of the mother-country (Persia). According to the Arieh-i-Din of Dastur Moola Feroz (p. 12), Jamasp left Persia on roz 30, mah 2, Kadmi 1090 Yazdazardi (26th November 1720). The approximate date of Jamasp's arrival in India can also be fixed from the date of the colophon of the manuscript called K 13 by Westergaard (Zend Avesta, Preface, p. 14, n. 2). The colophon says, that it was written in Surat in 1090 Yazdazardi (1721 A. D.) by Jamasp Hakim. Being the son of Hakim, Jamasp Velayati was also known as Jamasp Hakim (Westergaard, Preface, p. 5, n. 3). He speaks of himself as Jamasp Hakim in another manuscript K 4 also (*Ibid.*, p. 13). It further appears from the colophon of K¹⁴, that Jamasp had come to India with a reply to some questions sent to the Dasturs of Persia from the Parsis of India. He was, as it were, the bearer of a Revayet.

Darab became one of the pupils of this Jamasp and studied Pahlavi with him. Anquetil thus refers to the fact: "Le Destour du Kirmân forma quelques disciples, Darab à Surate, Djumasp à Nancheri, un troisième à Barotch; auxquels il apprit le Zend et le Pehlvi." Dastur Moola

¹ Anquetil, *Zend Avesta*, Tome II, p. 51, n. 2.

² *Ibid.*

³ *I* vide my paper on the "Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsis", p. 31-32, for the Parsee custom of Commemoration.

⁴ The *Zend Avesta*, Tome I, Partie I, p. Discours Préliminaire, p. 326.⁴

Feroze also refers to Darab's discipleship under Jamasp¹, who is said to have been disgusted with the Parsees at Surat, on account of their dissensions on some religious matters. ²

Jamasp stayed in India for a short time. According to the *Avizeh-i-Din* of Moola Feroze, as said above, he left Persia on rox 30, mah 2, 1090 and left India on rox 26, mah 1, next year. During the interval of about 10 months and 26 days between these two dates, a part of his time must have been taken by the journey and voyage from Kerman in Persia to Surat. So, perhaps there were only 8 or 9 months for Darab to study under Jamasp. This fact shows that Darab did not owe much to Jamasp for his learning.

About 15 years³ after the departure of Jamasp, i.e., in or about 1736 A. D., there came to India, another learned Zoroastrian from Persia, named Jamshed, and known here as Jamshed Velayati. Jamasp had, during his short stay at Surat, drawn the attention of the Parsees there to the difference of one month between their calendar and that of the Persian Zoroastrians. He influenced, at least one Parsee, Mr. Manockji Edulji Arnañina (so called from his being a broker of the Armenian Merchants of Surat), in favour of the Persian calendar. Jamshed, who followed him, further agitated this question of the calendar, known latterly, as the *Kabisch controversy*.⁴ He attracted the attention of a large number who wanted to give up the Indian Parsees' rox mah, and to follow those of the calendar of the Zoroastrians of Iran. Darab and his cousin Kaus, who also was a learned priest, were among these new adherents. Some of the laymen, who were influenced by Jamshed, went to these two priests and implored them to undertake the performance of religious ceremonies in their families, when they separated as a body from the majority of their co-religionists who adhered to the old calendar. Darab and Kaus both consented.⁵ From that time, the Parsees have been divided into two sects. (1) The *Shāhānshāhis*, i.e., the followers of the old method of the Iranian

¹ *Avizeh-i-Din* (1870), p. 16.

² The two principal questions of difference among the Parsees of Surat at that time were the following: (1) Whether the face of a corpse should be covered with a piece of cloth (*paitidāna* or *padan*) or not? (2) Whether the legs of the deceased should be folded or not? (*Vide* K. R. Kama Memorial Volume, pp. 170-83; Khan Bahadur B. B. Patel's Paper, entitled "A brief outline of some controversial questions that led to the advancement of the study of religious literature among the Parsees.")

Anquetil refers to one of these controversies, Vol. I., P. 1, p. 326.

³ The *Avizeh-i-Din* of Moola Feroze, p. 14.

⁴ *Vide* K. R. Kama Memorial Volume, *Ibid.*, pp. 176-81. ⁵ *Avizeh-i-Din* of Moola Feroze p. 16.

Shāhānshāhs or kings who were observing intercalation and (2) The *Kadimis* or the followers of the ancient method. Both parties claimed theirs to be the old method. The *Kadimis*, following the Iranian calendar, said that the Indian Parsees had made an innovation and added a month. So, they called themselves the *Kadimis* or the ancients. A majority of the *Kadimis* or the first followers of Jamshed were *churigars*, i.e., the manufacturers of women's bangles. So, their sect received from the other, the nick name of *Churigars*. In return, the *Kadimis* called their opponents *Rasnis*, i.e., the followers of a custom. The dissensions had gone so far, that, according to Anquetil, Darab had, at one time, to flee to Daman, a possession of the Portuguese, and his cousin Kaus to Cambay, where the British had great influence. The *Shahanshahis* were strong and powerful at the time, because, they had at their head, one Muncherji Seth, who was the broker of the Dutch factory and who had much influence with the Nabobs. I have referred in one of my previous papers, how, as described by a Persian *Kisseh*, the controversy had some influence on the capture of Broach by the British.¹

According to the *Avizeh-i-Din* of Dastur Moola Feroze, some of the laymen of Surat, who were persuaded by the teaching of Jamshed to adopt the Persian calendar, one day went under the leadership of Mamockji Edulji, the broker of the Armenians, (*Armānīnā* Mamockji Edulji Dalal) before Dastur Darab and his cousin Dastur Kaus and requested them to be the priests of the new sect, which they proposed to found. These two Dasturs consented.

Darab was nominated by the new sect of the *Kadimi* Parsees as their first Dastur or High Priest. In the *Ithoter Revayet*, he is addressed as "Dastur Dindār Dastur Darab vald-i Dastur Sohrāb,"² i.e., "Dastur, the Defender of the Faith, Dastur Darab, the son of Dastur Sohrab." The date of this *Rivayet* is 1773 A.D.³ We find in the Library of the Moola Feroze Madressa a manuscript of this *Revayet* written by Dastur Kaus, who was the father of the famous Moola Feroze and who himself was one of the four messengers from India who went to Persia hearing the letter on various religious questions. In that manuscript, Kaus (who speaks of himself as *vald-i Garothnum makāni Dastur Rustam Bharucha*, i.e., the son of Dastur Rustam whose mansion was in heaven) speaks of Dastur Darab as his *ustād* or teacher.

¹ "A few Notes on Broach from an Antiquarian point of view." *Journal of the B. B. R. A. Society*, Vol. XXII, Art. XIX, No. LXII, pp. 299-321. ² *Avizeh-i-Din*, p. 15.

³ The father of Darab is spoken of as Dastur, out of respect, as he was a member of a learned Dastur family.

⁴ This translation of this *Revayet* was published in Gujarati, in 1846, under the title of "Ithoter Revayet," i.e., the *Revayet* containing 78 questions.

Darab seems to have written several manuscripts of the *Āvesta* Pahlavi scriptures. Westergaard refers to some. Referring to Jamasp Velayati, he says: "The stay of Jamasp in India forms an epoch in the modern literary history of the Pārsis; his memory therefore remained."¹ It seems that

Jamasp was made much of by one of the two sects of the Parsees, the Kadimis, because it was he, who first drew their attention to the difference of one month between the Iranian and Indian calendars of the Parsees. But, even laying aside the question of some exaggerated importance, we must admit, that his arrival here led to some kind of activity as the result of the Kabisch controversy. In this activity, Darab had a principal hand. "Mobed Darab," says Westergaard, "the principal disciple of Jamasp, undertook to correct the Pahlavi translation, as well as some passages of the text, which appeared to him either to be misapposed or to contain unnecessary repetitions." Westergaard makes this statement on the authority of Anquetil Du Perron, who, in this connection, speaks of Darab as the first pupil of Jamasp (*premier disciple de Damasp*)² and as one "more learned than others" (*plus instruit que les autres*). As the result of this, it follows, that Darab must have written some manuscripts embodying some changes here and there. Some of these manuscripts, as far as known at present, are the following:—

K₂ in the Library of Copenhagen (Kjøbenhavn). "It bears neither date nor name of transcriber, but is, as Rask states, copied by Destur Dārāb, and the hand resembles that in which he has written the two postscripts to K₁."³ Rask thought that the first part of it was written by Dastur Kaus, son of Feridun (the cousin of Dastur Darab), and the second part by Dastur Darab himself. But Westergaard corrects him, saying, that the manuscript was written by some other expert scribe. But there were two postscripts in it—one before the 9th chapter of the Vendidad and the other at the end of the copy—that were written by Dastur Darab himself. According to Westergaard, Darab had caused the copy to be made in Surat in 1115 Yazdazardi (A.D. 1746) from a manuscript of Rustam Shahrīyār Māvandād, son of Bāhrām Mihrbān of Turkābād in the province of Yazd.⁴

Anquetil in his "Notices, &c.," speaks of one of the manuscripts of his collection as "Vendidad en Zend et en Pehlvi, mélangé de Pazend, revu et corrigé par le Destur Darab; Vispered Zend et Pehlvi; Vadj

¹ *Zend Avesta* by Westergaard, Preface, p. 5. ² *Tome I., P. I., p. 326.*

³ *Ibid.* p. 327. ⁴ Westergaard, Preface, p. 6. ⁵ Westergaard, p. 8 n. 2.

⁶ *Ibid.* n. 3. ⁷ *Zend Avesta*, *Tome I., P. II., p. VII., Notice V.*

Peschab; Serosh Yescht Hadokht Zend, Pehlvi et Samskretan; et Siroüzé en Zend et en Persan." Anquetil then, speaking of the Vendidad portion of the manuscript, says that the copy of it was made on roz Dep Meher Mah Dee 1127 Yazdazerdî (*i.e.*, 1758 A.D.). He then adds, that the rest of the Volume was written by old Darab in 1760 A. D. M. E. Blochet, in his Catalogue¹ of the Parsee books in the National Library of Paris, gives a Note in the hand of Anquetil on this Volume, which, when translated runs thus: "Manuscript of Zoroaster with the Pahlavi translation of the Puzend, and stripped, by Dastur Darab, of superfluous commentaries which disfigure the manuscript of Muncherjee." He had also written several Nyayashes and Yashts, which form a part of the manuscript referred to by M. Blochet,² as "Supplement persan 49." It is the colophon at the end of the Ormazd Yasht in this manuscript that we have given above.

Again, M. Blochet³ quotes Anquetil's notes written in his own hand on his manuscript translations of Parsee books, which lead to show, that Anquetil's translations were mostly translations dictated by Dastur Darab. In his manuscript translation of the Vendidad (*Traduction du Vendidad Sadé*) he writes: "Traduction du manuscrit de Zerdust (Zoroastre), législateur des Parsis (anciens Persans, Guèbres), commencée à Surate le 30 mars, 1759, sous la dictée du Destour ou Adarou (pretre de la loy) Dârab, persi, mohed instruit par le destour Djamasp, venu du Kerman il y a 35 ans."

Thus, we see that Darab was a learned priest who had written several Avesta Pahlavi manuscripts. Anquetil speaks of him as "more learned than others."⁴ He also gives the opinion of Dastur Jamshed of Naosari, the son of the well-known Dastur Jamasp, that he was the best learned man among the Parsees of India. (Il m'avoua que Darab, . . . étoit le plus habile Destour de l'Inde).⁵ In another place, he speaks of him as "more able and sincere" (*plus habile et plus sincere*).⁶

The Old Persian manuscript of the above Ithoter Revayet, written by Dastur Darab's above-mentioned pupil, Dastur Kaus Rustam, which now belongs to the Moola Feroz Library of Bombay, has the following note at the end, in the hand of the writer (*i.e.*, Dastur Kaus).⁷

¹ Catalogue des Manuscrits Mazdéens de la Bibliothèque Nationale, p. 8.

² *Ibid.* p. 27. ³ *Ibid.* p. 107.

⁴ Tome I, p. 1, p. 347.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 428.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 347.

⁷ It bears No. 359 of the Catalogue of the Moola Feroze Library. I have seen another old manuscript of this Revayet, but without any note, in the possession of Ervad Manockji Rustemji Unvalla, written on roz, 1, mah 6, 1215, Shahanshai yazdazardi. A Gujarati translation of this Revayet was published in 1846.

وفات دستور دستوزان زمان و یگانه حسن اخلاق عهد واران
استادی ام دستور داراب ولد سهراب روز بهمن امشاسفند و
اسفندار ماه مه قدیمی سنم یزدجردی رحمت خدا پوست
نخدايش بنور رحمت یزدی پیاموزاد کتب بنده کارس ابن
مرحوم موبد رستم

Translation.—The Death of Dastur Darab, (who was) the Dastur of the Dasturs of his time, (who was) the son of Sohrab, who was matchless among the good-tempered men of all ages and who was my preceptor, (occurred on) roz Bahman Amshâspand and Mah Asfandarnad Kadimi, year Yazdazardi... May the mercy of God, may the help of God pardon (his faults) by (the help of) the splendour of divine kindness. The writer (of this) is Kaus, the son of the late Mobad Rustam.

The above manuscript also gives the day of the death of Dastur Kaus (Kaus Munajjam ibn Dastur Faredun), as roz Aniran mah Farvardin Kadimi.

Thus, the above note gives the roz mah, i.e., the day and the month of Darab's death as roz 2 Bahman, mah 12 Asfandarnad Kadimi. Dastur Darab's present descendants celebrate the anniversaries of his death on this day. So, there is no doubt about the day and month. But the above manuscript does not give the year. The author of the *Parsee Prakash* gives the year as 1141 Yazdazardi. He seems to have given the date on the authority of the late Dastur Rustonji Mobedji of Surat, a lineal fourth descendant of Dastur Darab, who died in 1891. The author had gone to Surat before 1878, the date of the publication of the first part of his work. Thus, the Christian date of his death, as given in the *Parsee Prakash*, is 12th August 1772. But the abovementioned oldest manuscript of the *Ilkater Revayet* seems to throw some doubt upon the year. Among the persons to whom the *Revayet* is addressed, we find Dastur Darab's name as said above. This *Revayet* bears the date of roz 6 Khordad, mah 8 Aban, 1142 Yazdazardi. So, it seems to have been written about 8 months and 4 days after the above date of his death, viz., roz 2, mah 11, 1141 Yazdazardi. This manuscript then leads to show that he was living at the above alleged date of his death. But, perhaps, one can thus explain away the difference. He may have died at the date given above, but the news of his death may not have reached the Dasturs of Persia, who addressed the *Revayet* to him among others. Those were the times of a very slow communication between distant countries. So, during the intervening 8 months, the news may not have reached Persia. The above fact of the manuscript of Dastur Kaus giving the day and month but not the year of his

death also is explained on the above supposition of a delatory communication. Dastur Kaus, the writer of the manuscript was in Persia at the time. He himself was one of the messengers of the questions replied to in the Revayet. He may have heard latterly that Dastur-Darab died on roz Buhman mah Asfandarmad, but the year may not have been communicated to him. So, on learning the news and the date, he took a note of the event in his manuscript, giving the day and month as given to him, but not the year which he did not know, at the time.

The author of the Parsee Prakash gives his age at the time of his death as 75. This also seems to be on the authority of the family tradition and information. We have other grounds also to believe that he died at a good old age. We take it, that he died in 1141 Yazdazardi and not earlier. If anything it may be later, because, the above 11thor Revayet, which is addressed to him, is dated 1142. Now we saw above, that his manuscript Vendidad in the Bibliothèque Nationale is dated 1091 Yazdazardi (A. D. 1722) i.e., 50 years before the date of his death. To write such a manuscript with Pahlavi and Pazend colophons requires at least some good knowledge of the languages. So, to suppose that he was about 24 at the time when he wrote the Vendidad is not supposing much. Thus, we see that he lived a pretty good old age, and that the age assigned to him by his descendants is probably correct. Anquetil, also when he speaks of Darab, now and then speaks of him as old Darab (*vieux Darab*).¹

A Table of
events of Dastur
Darab's life.

We will conclude this notice of Dastur Darab's life with a short table, showing the dates of some few known events of his life :—

Events.	A. D.
Birth	1638
Took a few lessons with Jamasp Velhyati from Persia ...	1721
The date of a colophon in Pahlavi and Persian at the end of some Avesta writings in a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale	1722
Took a few lessons with Jamshed Velhyati from Persia ...	1736
Joined the Kadimi sect and became the High Priest of the sect.	1745
Wrote two postscripts to a manuscript of the Vendidad which he had caused to be written	1746
Began teaching Avesta and Pahlavi to his pupil Anquetil Du Perron at Surat...	1758

¹ For example, *vide* Zend Avesta, Tom. I. Partie II, Notice V, p. VIII.

	Events.	A. D.
Corrected a manuscript of the Vendidad written by an unnamed copyist in 1127 yazdazardî		1758
Wrote the latter portion of the above manuscript containing the Visparad, Sarosh Hadokht, Sironzé, &c.		1760
Sued Anquetil Du Perron for money due to him before his departure for Europe,		1761
Death		1772

III

II.—AN ACCOUNT OF ANQUETIL'S PUPILAGE BEFORE DASTUR DARAB AND OF HIS STUDIES ON ZOROASTRIANISM, AS DESCRIBED BY HIMSELF.

We will treat this part of the subject under two heads:—

(A) We will first give a running account of Anquetil's narration about his studies and his relations with the Dasturs, especially with Dastur Darab.

(B) We will then examine his statements and see, how far they are correct and supported by facts, and how far they are wrong as shown by his own contradictions and from other facts and circumstances.

(A) ANQUETIL'S ACCOUNT OF HIS STUDIES UNDER DASTUR DARAB.

We find from Anquetil's account of his travels, that the Parsi Dasturs, under whom he learnt at Surat, are first referred to in his account of his stay at Chandarnagar. A short time after his arrival at Chandarnagar, on 22nd April 1756, he got disgusted with the state of affairs there, and thought of going to Benares to study Sanskrit. At the same time, he had written a letter to M. Le Verrier, Chief of the French Factory at Surat, and sent him "two lines written in Zend characters accompanied with translation."¹ Then, illness made him unsteady and he thought of entering the Church in the Company of the Jesuits there. Then, there arose a likelihood of the Nabob at Cassimbazar in Bengal, trying to drive away the English from Bengal and the consequent likelihood of a war between the French and the English. When he was in this state of hesitation, confusion and inconstancy, there came good news from the Dasturs of Surat which, as he says, fixed his uncertainty (*fixa nies incertitudes*).² "It was the reply of M. Le Verrier, which informed me that the Parsees had read the lines which I had sent him, that it was modern Persian, written in Zend characters. He (M. Le Verrier) added

¹ *Zend Avesta*, Tome i, p. 1, p. 8.

² *Id.* p. 6.

that their Doctors (*i.e.*, the Dasturs of the Parsees) had showed him the books of Zoroaster, more particularly, the Zend and Pahlavi Vendidad and that they had promised to explain to me this work and to teach me their ancient languages. This news restores to me all my health, and my departure (for Surat) is resolved upon." Then, just when he had put his things on board a vessel, there arrived the news, that war had broken out between France and England. He thereupon exclaims "What a situation! The books of Zoroaster exist. They (the Dasturs) are going to give them (and) explain them to me I am driven asunder from what is very dear to me for the purpose of enriching my country with this treasure."¹

These statements of Anquetil, based on the information he had received from the Chief of the French Factory at Surat, show, that the Parsee Dasturs of Surat were, from the very beginning, even before they saw him, willing to give him the necessary books and instruction. They contradict his later belaboured statements, that the Dasturs hesitated to help him with books and instruction.

Anquetil returned from Chandanagar to Pondicherry. From there, he started for Surat, where he arrived on 1st May 1758. He, at first, stayed with his brother at the French Factory. He rested there for several days (*quelques jours*) to recover from the fatigue of the journey. He took some time to recover from the effects of dysentery which he had caught during the journey. This seems to have taken about two months. Then, he had an interview with the Dasturs. - It was about three months after his arrival at Surat (*après trois mois de séjour à Surate*) that he got an Avesta manuscript. Anquetil thus describes his interview with the Dasturs and his first attempt to learn. ²

"After several communications (*lit. goings and comings*) I saw (*lit. made appear before me*) the Parsee Doctors, for whom I had made the voyage to Surat and from whom I had to learn the religion of Zoroaster. They were Dasturs Darab and Kaus, chiefs of one of the parties which divided the Parsees of Surat (one will see, later on, the origin of this division). At first, there was only the question of manuscripts which they claimed to have come from their Legislator. They must copy that for me for Rs. 100. That (copying) would take time; and pressed to make up for the years which I believed to have been lost, I would have wished to commence at once, the study of their ancient languages. I saw from that time, the manœuvres of the people of the (French)

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

² P. 513.

factory. They sought to push themselves forward, and disliked, that I should soon accomplish the fact. I resolved to do without them and to conduct my affairs myself. For that reason, it was necessary to leave the French Factory, where I was much pinched, and where I already felt that I was an embarrassment.

"This disappointment touched me less than the conduct of my Dasturs. Their slowness vexed me. After three months of stay at Surat, I received at last the manuscript, which they had promised. It was the Vendidad, the 20th Volume of their Legislator, a volume in quarto, written in Zend and Pahlavi. I then did not notice that it was mutilated and altered, as I found it later on. After having paid them the price, I expected to begin at once the study of this book. But the Andarous (*i.e.*, the priests), who did not like my advancing very fast, wished me to commence with the alphabet. I took in reality what they gave me and that helped me to distinguish promptly the characters in which the Vendidad was written.

"These first steps did not please my Dasturs who believed, I would almost slip from their hands. Their replies to the questions which I made to them were very reserved. They affected a mysterious tone, which they believed was proper to make their lessons conspicuous. Their visits were interrupted by long absences always under the pretence of dangers which they ran in (coming to and) going out of my place. Once before, they spoke to me of large sums, which Mr. Fraser had offered to them in order to have Pahlavi manuscripts, and of the recompense which was expected in England by one who would translate their sacred books.

"As long as M. Verrier remained in Surat, it was not possible for me to draw out from the Dasturs any other thing (*i.e.* manuscript or instruction), except the Zend and Pahlavi Vendidad and some general explanations on their religion. To call upon them to fulfil their promise would be labour lost. Also, noticing that the French Chief had little regard for me, they imperceptibly receded.

"I was thus in the most sad situation exposed to the treatment which I had experienced in Bengal. They refused me every thing at the French Factory, and that with a sort of contempt, which could not but alienate from me the people of the country. It was necessary to formally summon (for justice) the French Chief (*i.e.*, the Chief of the French Factory) and to lodge a bitter complaint against his behaviour before the Supreme Court."

M. Taillefer was the head of the Dutch Factory at the time, and, as said above, Muncherjee Seth, the leader (le premier) of the Parsees of Surat was his broker. Anquetil thought, that either Muncherjee or his Dastur (i.e., the Dastur of his Sháhánsháhi sect), must have a copy of the (Vendidad) manuscript which the Dasturs of M. Le Verrier (i.e., the Kirdimi Dasturs introduced by the Chief of the French Factory) had copied for him. He adds "Besides this, as he was a personal enemy of my Dasturs, the comparison of his copy with that of theirs would prove the authority of that of Darab. That was the means to discover the truth." M. Taillefer sent to Anquetil, Muncherjee Seth's copy of the Vendidad at the end of November 1758, informing him, that he was assured, that that was the most authentic and correct copy in Surat. He was also requested to take care, that no leaves were lost, and that it may be returned as soon as possible. Anquetil compared his copy, letter by letter, with Muncherjee's copy and found much difference. So, he asked permission to keep the copy a little longer, in order that he may make extracts of all the differences. M. Taillefer replied, promising to speak to Muncherjee about it. In the meantime, Anquetil commenced noting the differences. He did not speak to his Dasturs about Muncherjee's copy, lest the shame of seeing themselves confounded may lend them to divulge the fact of Muncherjee's assistance to others, and hence to the demand of withdrawal of the manuscript by Muncherjee. "Besides," he adds, "seeing me short of money, they rendered themselves scarce. They scarcely appeared once a fortnight. At last, in order to ascertain, on which (copy) should I depend for the differences which I found in the two manuscripts which were given to me as the same, I gently questioned my Dasturs." Anquetil does not say, what reply the Dasturs gave to his gentle questions, but adds: "It was also with this view, that I paid them sufficiently well for some Persian works which they sought to get rid of, and induced them to bring to me a small Pahlavi and Persian Dictionary, which they had promised me and which some pretexts, invented opportunely, had prevented them from bringing.

Early in January 1759, M. Le Verrier left Surat and was succeeded by Anquetil's brother, as the Chief of the French Factory. Early in February, he questioned Dastur Kaus about the differences between the manuscripts which he and Darab had given, and other manuscripts of the Vendidad, and showed to him the manuscript of Muncherjee. Anquetil says, that Kaus, at first, got pale on seeing Muncherjee's manuscript, and then maintained that the

Affairs with
the Dasturs
after M. Le
Verrier's De-
parture.

manuscript given by him was correct. At last, Kaus left Anquetil in rather a bad mood (*mauvaise humeur*). But not so Dastur Darab, who, he says, was more able and sincere (*plus habile et plus sincère*)¹. He saw that I could no longer be imposed upon, and brought me a copy perfectly similar to that of Muncherjee, assuring me, that all the copies of the *Vendidad* resembled that which he had presented, and that the copy, which he had given me at first, was corrected in the Pahlavi translation. But in the Zend, there were only some less important transpositions and changes of letters. He promised me at the same time to bring me a manuscript exactly similar to that of Muncherjee, and also a copy, all in Zend, without the Pahlavi translation. These advances were accompanied with a Pahlavi and Persian vocabulary of which I have spoken above, and with some other manuscripts both in modern Persian and in ancient Persian, and a small history "in verse of the retreat of the Parsees to India."²

Anquetil then gives a short account of the retreat of the Parsees to India, based on the last-named book, and gives an account of some of the controversial questions, which then divided the Parsees. I have referred at some length to these two matters in my previous paper.

Anquetil then says, that one of the several controversial questions (*viz.*, the third) helped his cause, because one of the two parties, the Kadimi, thought of having the Chief of the French Factory on their side. He says: "Under the Government of Ali Nawazkhan, who favoured Muncherjee, it was natural that Darab and those who were attached to him looked for some help which could support them against the fury of the opposite party. They, therefore, promised, as I have already said, M. Le Verrier, the French Chief at Surat, to communicate to me, on (the subject of) Zend and Pahlavi, all the information they could possess, thereby counting upon the protection of the French as a bulwark against Muncherjee. But they did not think that I desired to translate, nor was I able to translate, their books. The *Vendidad* alone is a book divided into 22 sections. Darab had taken 16 years to teach six (sections) to his disciples. How then, can an

¹ P. 317.

² This History in Persian verse is the *Ki-sehi-Sanjan*, written in 960 Yezdnardi (1600 A. D.) by Bahman Kaikabad of Naosari. Eastwick translated it in Vol. I (p. 189 *et seq.*) of the Journal of the B. B. R. A. Society. I have embodied a good portion of it in my book. "A few events in the Early History of the Parsees and their dates" (1905). The Persian Text of this poem is recently published for the first time, with translations in English and Gujarati by the Fort Printing Press under the Editorship of Mr. Rustam P. Paymaster.

European, with the aid of modern Persian, read in a few years, Zend and Pahlavi, understand the two languages which existed nowhere but in the books, and translate the works, of which the most able Dasturs had hardly grasped the purport? They had consented to give me lessons in Zend and Pahlavi; and when in comparing the two copies of the *Vendidad* which were in my hands, I got sufficiently well familiar with the Zend characters, without losing time, I wished to take lessons in that work, of which I was sure of having possessed one faithful copy. I could now devote myself entirely to this work, because I had now done away with an old *akon* (آخون *i.e.*, teacher) of Persian, who was procured for me by one of my friends and whose slowness in teaching and whose explanation did not satisfy me. Those persons (*i.e.*, the Dasturs) swore according to their custom and by their books and I asked for the reasons.

"In order not to displease Darab, who thought of keeping me for one year on the alphabet, I requested him to show me rare and precious Zend manuscripts, promising to purchase two Persian manuscripts which embarrassed him (*i.e.*, which he did not want). When I got those books, I threatened to abandon (*i.e.*, to expose) him and his relative Kaus before Muncherjee, their principal enemy, if he refused to help me to translate the *Vendidad* in modern Persian. The stratagem succeeded. However, when he saw me writing down what he dictated, turning to him for all interpretations, and hearing him only with precaution, he was seized with fear, because, he thought, I wanted to know thoroughly the dogmas of his religion. I did not see him for more than a month. He pretended that his death was certain, if the other Dasturs knew what he was doing at my place. Kaus asserted that I exacted (the knowledge of) things, which their conscience did not permit them to give, and for which they were not engaged. But the manuscripts, which I had, made them reflect. The fear of losing them swept away his scruples and Darab consented to what I demanded."

Anquetil adds: "Their (the Dasturs') fears were not ill-founded. Muncherjee himself, knowing of the use which I

Anquetil's conduct in the matter of Muncherjee's manuscript.

made of his manuscript was not more tranquil than Darab. He was afraid, that Dastur Bikh¹ (Blikah or Blikhaji), his Doctor (*i.e.*, Dastur), was informed of it. Seeing that I kept it (*i.e.*, Dastur Blikhaji's manuscript) for several months, he demanded it from me, through the Dutch Chief to whom he had lent it. My reply was polite and firm. I explained to M. Trillafer, that having commenced to

¹ It was the manuscript of this Dastur that Muncherjee had lent to Anquetil.

note the differences, which were found between the manuscript of Muncherjee and that of my Dasturs, it was not natural that I should leave this work incomplete. My reasons did not please the Dutch, with whom, since one or two months, I had no close relations. They came well-nigh to menaces. I also knew that a member of their council, an ill-natured person, had offered to come to my house with a troop of soldiers to take away the manuscript in question. The Dutch Chief, who was more prudent, did not like to stoop to such ways of action. He loved (*i.e.*, was a man of) letters, and I was sure, that, from the bottom of his heart, he did not blame my firmness, though he was obliged to show to his broker (Muncherjee) that he was prepared to do what he wanted him to do. The only precaution which I took was to have over my table two loaded pistols, and I continued my work which lasted for four months, after which I returned the manuscript in good order.

" The scruple of the Parsee Dasturs being surmounted and their small ruses frustrated, there remained nothing for me but to conquer the difficulties proper for the kind of study which I had commenced, and the embarrassment inseparable from a civil war. The English had then besieged the fortress. It was necessary to put in security one's own things (and) those of the factory and to be always on the alert. These troubles at first kept away my Dasturs who re-appeared at the end of some time.

" Finding myself sufficiently strong to commence the Zend books, and impatient to regain (*i.e.*, make up for) the months which I had seen pass away in the midst of these troubles, without any sensible progress, I passed some days in fortifying myself in the reading of the Vendidad and in translating, over the Persian interlineary, the Pahlavi and Persian vocabulary of which I have spoken above.

" This work, the first of its kind which an European had ever done, appeared to me an event in literature and I noted its time, which was the 24th of March 1759 of Jesus Christ, the day Amardâd, the sixthth of the month Meher of the year 1128 of Yazdazard, the year 1172 of Hijri and 1813 of the reign of Raja Bikarnajet.

" The commencements were sufficiently unfruitful, but I had learnt at my expense to have patience ; and expecting to succeed in the work which I had undertaken, I informed the Governor of Pondicherry of the success of my attempts, telling him of the ruse of my Parsis and of the means, which I had employed to expose them and to assure myself about

this
the 1. It is a mistake, as Amardâd is the seventh day.

the authenticity of the manuscript, which they pretended to be that of Zoroaster.

"After having acquired some Zend and Sanskrit books, I commenced the translation of the Vendidad on 30th March. Modern Persian served me as the intermediary language, because Darab, afraid of being heard by my domestic servant, would not have wished me to unravel in the vulgar language the mysteries of his religion. I wrote everything. I was careful to mark the reading of Zend and Pahlavi in European characters. I then compared the passages, which appeared to be the same, to assure myself of the lessons of Darab. By these means, the most vexatious accidents and sicknesses, however long they could be, had nothing more to frighten me. I was always in a condition to resume my studies at the point, where I had left them, and assured against the fear of forgetting it, the tranquillity of my spirit could not but hasten my recovery.

"These precautions were very necessary. They had the result which I expected. My health suffered several times through application (to study) and through the kind of life I led. A plate of rice and lentils formed all my food. The time, which I did not spend with my Dastur, was employed to revise what I had read with him and to prepare the work for the next day. After dinner, I could not give myself up to light sleep, which they have in a hot country, because, once it served as an excuse for absence to Darab, who pretended, that, when he knocked, I did not open the door to him. In the evening, I refreshed myself for an hour or two, taking (fresh) air over my terrace, my mind being always occupied with uncertainty of the success of my researches and with the manner in which these researches would be received in Europe."

From his chamber in the English Factory, where he had to remain confined, for some time after his duel with a Frenchman, he asked Nanabhai (Nanabye), the Modi (Moudi), i.e., the Commissariat contractor of the English, to write to Naosari and make inquiries about the Nirangestan, brought by Dastur Jamasp from Iran. On 7th October 1759, he was shown the reply from Naosari to the effect that they knew nothing as to what became of the manuscript.

On recovering a little from the effect of his wounds, Anquetil took separate quarters to live in, though still under the protection of the English Factory. He resumed the work of translation on 10th November 1759 with Dastur Darab. He says: "The translation of the additional parts in Muncherjee's manuscript of the Vendidad was followed by that of Izashneh, of Visparad, of the volume

His inquiries after the Nirangestan.

Recommencement of study with Darab after recovery.

of the Niayeshes and yashts, &c., of the collection of Pahlavi Revayets, which, among other interesting pieces, contained the Bundeshesh, of the Sirouzeh, of the Vajarkard, of several Revayets and of other Persian pieces, which Darab communicated to me. A sustained application made me at the end of several months, so much acquainted with the languages, with the ancient history, and with the religion and usages of the Parsees, that Darab would not have dared (to impose), and, at the same time, could not have imposed upon me; and when he would have stopped (giving me) the lessons, as I had written down everything, I would have been in a position to interpret to myself the few works which remained for me to be translated. So, he was particular and did not dare to refuse to give me the explanations which I asked".

The departure from Surat of Mr. Spencer, the Chief of the English Factory, and the position of insecurity of the French Factors, kept him at home, i.e., he did not dare to stir out. This was rather to his advantage, because being thus confined at home, he advanced rapidly in his studies. Again, the fear, lest the fall of Pondicherry may come in the way of his progress, forced him to attend to his work continuously.

Again his stay under the protection of the English, who were then in the ascendancy at Surat, brought their credit to his aid and added to his influence. On the recommendation of Mr. Spencer, Faraskhan lent him his copy of Persian Burzou-nâmeh. It was the only copy in Surat at the time and he took a copy of it. It was incomplete at the end, and Mr. Spencer had undertaken to get the last part of it for him from Delhi from the Agent of the English Factory there, together with the text and the Persian translation of the Vedas by the pen of Faizi, the brother of Abou Fazal, and with books on the History of India and Tertiary.

In April 1760, he was permitted by the French authorities to go back to the protection of the French Factory.

His account of further studies. He then says: "I made great advance in the knowledge of the mysteries of the language and of the history of the Parsees. I found every day some new books to be purchased, and my brother, authorised in that matter by M. de Leyrit, supported with his authority the proposals which I made to the Dasturs. Besides this, when they (the Dasturs) saw, that I was in a position to do without them, they no longer dared to refuse me. They employed a thousand means to make themselves necessary (i.e., to show that their services were necessary to me), to delay and to increase the price of the manuscripts. They were aided in these manœuvres by the

interpreter of the factory, a good Parsee, honest man and obliging also, but little rich and partly interested. Having been habituated with the little ruses of my Dasturs, it was easy for me to find them out, and often, they themselves were the dupes (of their ruses). The interpreter of the factory was the friend of a young¹ Dastur of the party of Muncherjee, named Shapur, whose father he would have liked to produce (*i.e.*, to bring before me) in the place of Darab. Unfortunately for him, according to the confession itself of these new Dasturs, I knew more of Zend and Pahlavi than their whole party did. However, I drew some advantage from this new acquaintance. They held my Dasturs in respect. Both the sides, out of enmity for each other, furnished me with the books which I wished to have, and exposed each other.

" There happened one day, on this subject, in the presence of the Chief of the factory, a scene which finished in a very pleasant manner. I had discovered, that Darab had given me a complete, a very costly book (a part of the *Grand Revayet*) which was not complete. This wise master, whom his religion prohibited to swear, protested by what he had the most sacred, that he said the truth. I was angry with him and threatened him. Darab appealed against me before my brother to whom I had sent the pieces of the process (*les pieces du procès*, *i.e.*, all the papers for action). He thought of imposing upon a person who did not understand the language. The people of the factory, *i.e.*, the Bania and the interpreter were present. Mildness only made him more firm in his fresh assertion (and) threats made no effect. Then, there appeared Shapur,² like a god from a machine; (*tanquam Deus ex machinâ*) who reproached him for the boldness with which he maintained the imposture, and showed him at once the manuscript, which he assured was complete. The latter (*i.e.*, Darab), without being disconcerted, laughed, admitted that he had at home several sheets of the same book, and quietly said that he will furnish them, if the price of the book will be increased. The condition was accepted and Darab retired, I do not say without confusion, but without showing how the scene that had happened had concerned him."

¹ Dastur Shapurji Manockjee Sanjanna (1719-1803), who was about 25 years of age at this time. This Dastur Shapur seems to be the well-known Dastur Shapurjee Sanjanna, who wrote the *Kisâs-i-Zarthushtân-i-Hindustân* and who died in 1803 aged 75 (*Vide* my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana, p. 43. *Journal*, B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XXI, Art. VIII, p. 113).

² *Vide* above for this Dastur.

After describing at some length his pupilage under Darab and his self-study, Anquetil describes his visit to a Parsee Fire-temple. As I have to speak of this principal subject at some length under a different head, I will complete the present subject with an account of Anquetil's visit to the Parsee Towers of Silence, and of the few events that happened in connection with his relations with Dastur Darab.

The end of his studies and visit to a Parsee Temple and Towers of Silence.

After his alleged visit to the sacred Fire-temple, Anquetil visited the Towers of Silence. He thus describes this visit :

"After some time, I went out of Surat to see the Dakhmas (Dakh-més, les Cimetieres) of the Parsees. They are sorts of round towers, of which the walls are made of square stones and which can have 15 toises of diameter. While I was going round these cemeteries, of which the walls were pounced upon by an army of ravens, wading birds and other carnivorous birds, several Parsees, who saw me from a distance, murmured against my curiosity. In the meantime, there came a funeral procession, for which I was obliged to withdraw. From the place where I stopped, I saw the Nasasalars¹ make the sag-did² (i.e., present the dog) and carry the body into the Dakhme. Then, the procession, which had stopped at more than 80 steps from there, returned praying, the men in (pairs of) two and holding each other by the sleeve, in the same way as they did when going. On my return, the murmurs increased. In the streets of Surat, several Parsees spoke loudly, that I had desecrated the place of their sepulchre. But these complaints had no other consequences, and when I felt myself in breath, I went to see the place where the Hindus burnt their dead."

In the second volume of his work (pp. 587-91), Anquetil gives a detailed description of the Towers. He derives the word *dakhmé* from *Dætio-maneio* and takes *dætio-gateio* (*dâdgâh*) as a corresponding word, and takes the meaning of the word to be "a proper place to receive the recompense of one's actions." He describes at some length the construction of the Towers and the ceremony of the *tînd*, i.e., of laying the foundation stone of the Tower. According to his description, there were three Towers at Surat during his time. He gives the measurements of the walls and of some other parts of the Towers. At the end of his description, he refers to the accounts of the Towers

¹ A toise is 6.3939 feet, about a fathom.

² ~~See~~ my "Funeral ceremonies of the Parsis" for this word.

³ *Ibid.*

by Hyde, Lord and Mandelso, and points out that some parts of their versions are not correct.

He finished his studies of Parsecism in September 1760. By this time, he also finished his translations with Dastur Darab. The study of the subjects of the Parsees being finished, he thought himself strong enough for the study of Hinduism. He then travelled in the Salsette and went as far as the Elephanta caves. On his way thither and back, he passed through Oodwana, Nargol and Nausari. I have given an account of his very short visits to these Parsee towns and of his reference to Sanjan in my preceding paper. On his return to Surat, he arranged for his departure from India. After being refused a passage by the various European factories, he was able to secure one from the English on one of their ships.

Anquetil, having arranged for the passage money, sent his baggage on board the English vessel which was first to go to Bombay. Then a fresh difficulty arose, and he was asked to unload his baggage from the vessel. The Dasturs lodged a complaint against him, saying, that he had not paid what was due to them, both for the manuscripts they had supplied him and for the tuition they had given him. He says: "I guessed the hand which brought about this. Dastur Kaus, the relative of Darab had never approved of his (Darab's) complaisance, and the latter, in despair, to see me go away so quickly, flattered himself, to be able, by the help of the English on whom I then depended, to detain my goods, or, at least, to oblige me to give him some considerable sum as compensation for the time for which he would have still wished to be under my pay¹. The capture of Pondicherry had emboldened them. The name of France appeared to have been reduced to nothing in India. It was then necessary to prove that all that I carried (with me to Europe) belonged to me legitimately². The altercation went on in the presence of the English Chief. It was lively. I threatened this Chief, that I would carry the matter to Bombay, where I would also summon myself. I was in those moments of despair when one respects nothing. The English distinguished easily that the Parsi Dasturs only sought to prevent the carrying of their books to Europe, or, at least, to turn to account the state of oppression in which they saw us. My brother, in order to cut short their

¹ This sentence shows that Anquetil was sued by the Dasturs for their tuition fees also.

² This sentence shows that he was also sued for the price of books which he had purchased the Dasturs and for which he had not paid.

pursuits, stood security for me, and when they saw that the English were satisfied with his word, they (the Dasturs) disappeared. This quarrel brought in again the pain of gout and I passed in bed the little time that had to pass till the departure of the ship." ¹

Anquetil's statement about the movement of the Dasturs, to restrain his goods till the money due to them was paid, carries its own condemnation.

Anquetil's allegations against the Dasturs' attempt to detain his goods before his departure from Surat.

(a) According to him, when he heard of the order of detention, he at once guessed, at whose instance his goods were to be disembarked from the vessel. His guess seems to be the result of his knowledge, that he had not paid to Darab and

Kaus what was due to them.

(b) He alleges, that it was rather an instigation on the part of Dastur Kaus who did not like Dastur Darab's kindness to him. If Darab, in spite of Kaus's dislike and displeasure, showed kindness or complaisance to Anquetil, as said by himself, during all the years that he was under his tuition, how can Darab lend an easy ear to his cousin now? If Kaus did not prevail upon Darab during all the time that Anquetil was under his tuition, how was he likely to prevail at the last moment? Darab would not consent to give any bad look to his continuous kindness by accepting a bad piece of advice from his cousin.

(c) Again, the English, who kindly took Anquetil under their protection in spite of the then war between them and the French, and in spite of his rather ungrateful conduct towards them on account of the incident of the sepoy's guard, would not consent to bring him into any difficulty at the last moment, unless they saw, that the Dasturs had a strong case against him. The very fact, that Anquetil threatened to carry the matter to the notice of the Bombay authorities, but did not or could not do so, shows that the authorities at Surat had decided the matter against him after mature consideration.

(d) Anquetil himself has confessed in his previous account, that the Dasturs had made themselves scarce because he was short of money. He said: "Besides, seeing me short of money they rendered themselves scarce. They scarcely appeared once a fortnight." This very fact shows, that Anquetil had begun running into their debt, owing to his shortness of money. He nowhere says afterwards that he paid them what was their due.

¹ P 435.

(e) If Anquetil had paid the Dasturs for all the manuscripts which they sold him or wrote for him, why did he not produce their receipts? It must be expected, that in those times, when the Europeans were not well-established here, a man like Anquetil must receive acknowledgments for all payments made by him.

(f) Again, the very fact, that Anquetil's brother thought it advisable to stand as a surety or security for the payment, shows, that he saw through the matter, and found, that money was due to the Dasturs. In connection with this matter, it is worth noting, that Anquetil, nowhere during his long description of his travels in India, says what he ever paid to Dastur Darab or to Dastur Kaus, though he says in one place (in the early account of his first stay at Pondicherry), that he asked for and received further help from the French Factory on the ground of having to pay to the Dasturs.

(g) Anquetil complains, that the financial affairs of the French Factory at Surat were so bad for more than a year, that he was not paid his stipends for a year. If that was the case, how could he have paid the Dasturs for the manuscripts they had written for him during the year, and how could he have paid Darab for the tuition that he gave during the year? This fact clearly shows, that the claim of the Dasturs was good.

(h) Lastly, one has to bear in mind, that, as said below, just when on the point of leaving Surat, Anquetil, as it were, through the biting of the inner conscience, said that he had not paid the Dasturs as he ought to have paid them.

Anquetil left Surat on 15th March 1761. At the time of departure, he

Departure from
Surat. Regret for
not being able to
give due recom-
pense to the Das-
turs.

gives an expression to his innermost real feelings, that it was not possible for him in the position of poverty, in which he was then, to have recognized the claims and merits of those with whom he was long connected. Among these, he mentions the Dasturs also. He says he was "moved to see myself in (a condition of) impossibility to recognize the services of my servants, of the people of the factory, of the interpreter Manockjee, and also to recognize, as I believed they merited, the Dasturs Darab and Kaus whose bad behaviour I have already forgotten".

Before proceeding further to examine, how far Anquetil's statements about his visit to the Fire Temple are true, we will see, how far all his statements about the Dasturs, and about his relations with the Dasturs, are true.

IV.

(B) AN EXAMINATION OF ANQUETIL'S ABOVE ACCOUNT
WITH A VIEW TO SEE HOW FAR IT IS TRUE.

From the very commencement, Anquetil shows a quarrelsome or fault-finding disposition towards the Dasturs. When we see him finding fault with M. Le Verrier, the Chief of his own French Factory at Surat, we do not wonder at his finding fault with the poor Dasturs. M. Le Verrier had, long before he arrived at Surat, worked on his behalf and secured for him promises of help from the Dasturs. He had informed him of this when he was at Chandarnagar, and it was this information that had cheered him in his unsteady thoughts, while there. In spite of that, no sooner he comes to Surat, within less than two months, he begins to complain about him and threatens to represent the matter to the higher authorities at Pondicherry. He even leaves the French Factory and finds quarters elsewhere. There is no wonder, that a man of the disposition of Anquetil, who thus finds fault with his own countryman who had obliged him, should find fault with the Dasturs. He lays the following charges against the Dasturs :—

1. They were dilatory in their teaching.
2. They were not well-inclined to teach.
3. They remained absent for long intervals.

His first charge against the Dasturs was, that they were dilatory in teaching. Laying aside the time required for direct journey from Pondicherry to Surat and for preliminary settlement and preparations, we find that Anquetil lost about two years and a half in journey which had nothing to do with his Avesta studies. He himself says, that he believed, that they were years lost (*Les années que je croyois avoir perdues*¹). He was unsteady in his aims and objects. During the 2½ years between the time of his arrival in India and his arrival at Surat, he more than once changed his mind about the object of his life. At Chandarnagar he thought of giving up his object of study and of joining the Church. Then, he thought of going to Banares to study Sanskrit there. At Pondicherry, where he returned from Chandarnagar, he thought of giving up his idea of study and of retiring to Europe. Having thus wasted his time in work other than that for which he had come to India, he seems to be in a hot hurry or "pressed" to regain the lost years (*pressé de regagner les années*) to pursue his

¹ Tome I, P. I., p. 313.

studies, and finds fault with the Dasturs as being dilatory. He had wasted his time, and was wasting it to a certain extent even in Surat, and he attempts to make his poor Dastur teachers scape-goats before his compatriots for that waste, and to boast that he learnt under great difficulties.

He says : " I expected to begin at once the study of this book. But the Andarous (*i.e.*, the priests), who did not like my advancing very fast wish me to commence with the alphabet." One might say that, what the Dasturs did, was right at least from their point of view. A good teacher would always like, that his pupil may be well-grounded in the first steps. Many old Avesta books of miscellaneous contents begin with the alphabet.¹ To a certain extent, that was perhaps more necessary in the case of a foreigner like Anquetil. We find from his account of his stay at Chandanagar, that he sent to Surat from there " two lines written in Zend characters accompanied with translation."² Anquetil seems to have studied Zend characters from Dr. Hyde's "*Historia Religionis veterum Persarum*." What he wrote in Zend characters was Persian which he had learnt and which he could therefore translate. He seems to have thought, that what he wrote and translated was Avesta. So, the Dasturs to whom the lines were shown by M. Le Verrier informed him that they were not Zend (Avesta) but " modern Persian written in Zend characters."³ It was a mistake, into which, as Anquetil himself says, one of the English Professors at Oxford had fallen and which he corrected during his visit of Oxford (*Je lui fis voir qu'il se prénait pour de l'ancien Persan n'étoit que du Persan moderne revêtu de caracteres anciens*).⁴ Such being the case, one can understand, why the Dasturs were anxious that he may begin from the very beginning, so that he may be well-grounded and be free from any previous erroneous knowledge. In fact, he admits the justification of what the Dasturs did, when he says further on, that " that helped me to distinguish promptly the characters in which the Vendidad was written."

Apart from the question of delay, he attributes to the Dasturs some

disinclination to teach him. But his very statement in the earlier part of his book contradicts him to a certain extent. (a) He had heard at Chandanagar from M. Le Verrier, that he was assured by the Dasturs, that they would help him with books

2. Alleged want of inclination or good will, on the part of the Dasturs, to teach.

¹ I happened to attend for the first time at Udwara, an old Parsee centre, on 20th November 1915, a Navjote Ceremony for the initiation of a child into the Parsee fold. I was astonished to find, that in this old Parsee centre, the child, my grand nephew, Master Jal Dorabji Banatwalla, was first asked to recite the alphabets in the old style seen in old Parsee books.

² Tome I., P. L., p. 39.

³ P., 40.

⁴ P., 460.

and instructions. Had they any disinclination to give books or to impart instruction, they could have said so to M. Le Verrier from the very beginning. There was nothing to prevent them from doing so.

(b) At one place, he represents the Dasturs, as being afraid to come to his place, to teach him, on the ground, that their co-religionists did not like that. At another place, he represents their side or sect, *viz.*, the Kadimis, as seeking the favour of the French against the Shahan shahis headed by Muncherjee, who were favoured by the Dutch. In order to seek such favour, it was for their interest that the Dasturs should do all they can to teach Anquetil well, because, thereby, they could secure the support of his brother who was for some time second in command, and who was later on, the Chief of the Factory.

(c) Again, the Dasturs could not pretend, that they were afraid of going to his house to instruct him. Had there been any fear of the kind, Dasturs Darab and Kaus would not have dared to publicly sue Anquetil before the authorities of the English Factory for not paying them for the manuscripts and for instruction. It would have been to their interest, to keep quiet and not run the risk of exposing themselves before the Parsee public, as persons doing work that was prohibited. There was no prohibition of the kind for which Dastur Darab is wrongly represented as pretending.

(d) It is well-known, that the Parsees of Naosri, headed by Dastur Meherjee Rana, had given instruction to King Akbar, on the subject of Zoroastrianism. Anquetil himself refers to that fact¹. This fact shows that there was no disinclination on the part of the Parsees to explain and teach their religious books to non-Parsees. So, Anquetil's statement that the Dasturs pretended dangers for going to his house, and that Dastur Darab "pretended that his death was certain if the other Dasturs knew what he was doing at my (Anquetil's) place" are unfounded exaggerations. Had there been any prohibition, Muncherjee Seth, the leader of the other sect also would have kept away from lending a manuscript to him. Again, we know from what Anquetil himself says, that long before him, the Parsees had given their manuscripts to foreigners like Fraser and Bouchier.

All these facts show that Anquetil merely aimed by these statements to boast before his countrymen, that he studied Zoroastrianism under great difficulties.

¹ *Vide* my Paper "Notes of Anquetil Du Perron on King Akbar and Dastur Meherjee Rana," read before the B. B. R. A. Society on 13th July 1903 (Journal B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XXII, No. LXIX).

One of his complaints against the Dasturs was, that they gave him a manuscript of the Vendidad which was mutilated and altered and was not correct. Those who are acquainted with Parsee manuscripts, know fully well that manuscripts differ here and there. Even though the text of the Avesta Pahlavi may be the same, there may be a difference in words and letters here and there. Anquetil himself makes Darab say so. Again, there may be a difference here and there, in the Pahlavi portion of it, consisting of the translation and commentary. Even now, as late as about 40 or 50 years ago, Parsee priests of Naosari and of Bombay differed on the subject of the recital of some particular chapter and of the repetition of certain words in certain prayers, and, on the occasion of such differences, produced old manuscripts which supported the contentions of one party or another. So, if the manuscript or manuscripts supplied by Dastur Darab and his cousin differed from that supplied by another Dastur, it does not follow, that Darab and Kaus intentionally supplied wrong or incorrect copies.

Anquetil says, that the manuscript supplied by Muncherjee was correct and that of Darab incorrect and mutilated. But, in another place¹, he himself says, that Darab had corrected a manuscript. Mr. Blochet quotes a note, made by Anquetil in his own hand, in one of his manuscripts. It says: "Manuscript of Zoroaster with Pahlavi and Pazend translation stripped by Dastur Darab of superfluous commentaries which disfigure that (i.e., the manuscript) of Muncherjee". Thus, we see from Anquetil himself, that Muncherjee's manuscripts were not always correct. There was at least one, which Darab had to correct.

Anquetil, in order to give some colour to his work, that he studied under difficulties, says, that he could not get easily manuscripts from the Dasturs. There was no difficulty, and there could possibly be none, to get manuscripts if one paid for them. At that time, when printing was not known here, there was a class of professional writers of Avesta, Pahlavi and Persian books, who could write anything if paid well. As Anquetil himself says, Fraser, before him, had purchased good manuscripts of the Yasna and of the Revayet for Rs. 500. Dastur Darab and Kaus were not the only writers. He could have got them from other priests.

That Anquetil had exaggerated in the matter of the acquisition of Other Manuscripts acquired by Anquetil. manuscripts from Dasturs Darab and Kaus, appears from the fact, that we learn from Mr. Blochet's Catalogue² of the Iranian manuscripts in

¹ Notices, &c., 2nd Avesta, Tome II, p. VII, Notice V.

² For the original in French of this quotation, vide above, Dastur Darab's account.

³ Catalogue des Manuscrits Mazdéens. (1900.)

the National Library of Paris, that Anquetil had acquired manuscripts written by persons other than these two Dasturs. It appears from this catalogue, that he had acquired the following manuscripts even after his departure from Surat :—

1. A manuscript of miscellaneous Avesta writings¹, written on roz 30, mah 3, year 1130, (Thursday, 18th June 1761), by Mohad Shapur Manock Behram. The writer was a known Dastur who lived from 1735 to 1805. He was the author above referred to, who also wrote the *Kisseh-i Atash Behram-i Nausari*². This writer seems to have written the manuscript at the express desire of Anquetil, of whom he speaks as *Sinur Musé Duparâû* (Signor Monsieur Duperron). He says, that M. Duperron had got it written for his own study. Anquetil notices this manuscript³, and while doing so, speaks of Neryosang Dhuval⁴ and Hormazdyâr Ramyâr as the Sanskrit translators of the Avesta, and says, that they lived about 300 years before his time, *i.e.*, in the 15th century A. D.

If it was difficult for Anquetil to get manuscripts, when he was at Surat, how did he get them after his departure? This fact shows, that there was no real difficulty to get the manuscripts. There was a class of writers who wrote on payment. Had he been always ready to pay what was deemed proper by the copyists for their labour, he could have got a number of manuscripts. In M. Blochet's catalogue, we find several manuscripts of this kind.

2. The following manuscript deserves particular mention :—It is a manuscript containing miscellaneous Avesta writings. It is referred to by M. Blochet⁵ as *Supplement Persan* 40. At the end, it bears a colophon, bearing the date roz 27, mah 3, year 1130 yezdazardi, corresponding to 15th July 1761. The writer is the above Dastur Shapurji Manockji Sanjana. It seems, that, possibly Anquetil had given orders before his departure for some manuscripts to this writer, or, that his agent arranged to have them written from the same writer, *viz.*, Dastur Shapurji Sanjana. The manuscript bears some colophons of older dates after some pieces which Dastur Shapur may have copied verbatim. It also bears another colophon by the same Dastur Shapur Manock Behram Sohrab Darab Sohrab, dated roz 1, mah 9. The

¹ Catalogue des Manuscrits Mazdéens (1909) by M. Blochet, p. 15, *Supplement Persan* 40.

² *Vide* my Book "The Parsis at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana," p. 45.

³ *Zend Avesta*, Tome I, p. II, p. V, Notice III.

⁴ For Neryosang's date, *vide* my "Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. R. A. S.," pp. 179-80 and my *Iranian Essays* (Gujarat), Part III, pp. 197-203.

⁵ Catalogue, pp. 34-36.

year 1071 Yazdazardi, given by M. Blochet, seems to be some mistake, because that year would give 1702 A. D. as the date, at which the Dastur was not even born. M Blochet² gives the equivalent of the date as 16th November 1761. That seems to be correct as Dastur Shapur flourished at the time. Therefore, the Yazdazardi year seems to be a mistake.

Anquetil complains of the Dasturs remaining absent for a long time. At times they remained absent, owing to what
 3. The accusation of long absence on the Dasturs. Anquetil himself calls a state of civil war in the city. If they remained long absent on other occasions, that may be partly due to their sacerdotal duties.

But the real cause for non-supply of manuscripts and for the absence from daily visits for instruction, if there be at all true, may be, that Anquetil had no money to pay the Dasturs. He had run into debt and had to live upon the most simple diet of Khichri. Soon after the above wrongful complaint, he himself says : "I must see myself out of the plight, to return what I had borrowed from Gen to make the voyage to Surat. It was necessary to reduce myself to Khichri, in order that I may save from my salary, to pay part of my debt to buy the books which I wanted and with all that to study." ³ Here lies the truth. He had no money to buy books and to pay for instruction. If it was anything which may have kept the Dasturs away from supplying books and giving instruction, it was his inability to pay. The cost of books in those times was much more than that of receiving tuition. Thus, we see, that the true cause of their long absence may be no disinclination to teach but his non-payment. He himself says this a little later, when he writes : "Seeing me short of money, they rendered themselves scarce." (*D'ailleurs, me voyant peu de fonds, ils se rendoient rares : à peine paroissoient ils une fois en quinze jours.*)³ The Dasturs would not, I think, have minded giving tuition in spite of Anquetil's non-payment, but, if all that he says, is true, perhaps his roughness of manners towards them may also have alienated their feelings. It seems, that, at least, at first, there was no hesitation on the part of the Dasturs to instruct him. As said by one of Anquetil's own countrymen, the writer of his life in Pierre Larousse's "*Grand Dictionnaire Universelle du XIX^e siècle*," he had from the very first gained the confidence of the Dasturs who taught him well. The writer very properly says "*Il gagna la confiance des desturs ou prêtres, se fit initier*

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

² T. I., P. I, p. 313.

³ P., 37.

à la connaissance de leurs livres saints et des anciens idiomes de leur race, et rapporta en France ses précieux manuscrits (1762)." His own writings, on the whole, bring us to the conclusion, that the Dasturs behaved well with him, but that his poverty and his bad temper may have led to some dispute for non-payment of what was due to them, and that his fondness to exaggerate matters and to give to his work an air of importance and risk led him to do great injustice to the name and fame of the Dasturs.

V.

III.—ANQUETIL'S ACCOUNT OF HIS VISIT TO A FIRE-TEMPLE.

I will treat this subject under two heads.

(A) A running account of the visit as given by him.

(B) An examination of the account to see how far it is true.

(A) ANQUETIL'S ACCOUNT OF HIS VISIT TO A FIRE-TEMPLE.

Anquetil thus describes his visit to a Parsee Fire-temple at Surat : "The reading of the Liturgical books had taught me the smallest ceremonies of their religion. I had purchased the copper utensils which are used in the religious services of the Parsees, some *Kustis* (sacred threads), a *Sadrah* (sacred shirt), *penon* (paitidān or padān, a kind of covering for the mouth). But my curiosity was not satisfied. I wished to enter into the temple of the Parsees and to attend at some part of their liturgy. Knowing what the severity of the law was, I thought the thing was impossible. According to the Zend books, my presence must desecrate the temple and deprive their prayers of all their efficacy. So, if one excepts (*i.e.*, with the exception of) Shah Akbar, who, far from honouring the sacred fire by some offering, had desecrated it with his saliva, no stranger had ever entered into the Dar-i Meher (temples) of the Parsees. However, a small present and the hope of promenading in the city in my palanquin, induced Darah to satisfy my curiosity. He took for that a rainy day (20th June 1760). I was dressed like a Parsee, and was accompanied by only one peon, who was to keep himself at a certain distance from the gate of the Dar-i Meher, and who was to guide me from a sufficient distance, lest I may be found out, the neighbourhood of the temple being inhabited by a large number of Parsees. In some places, I had (to pass through) water up to the knees. The time was dark, and, as I was not well familiar with the roads of Surat, I thought several times that I had lost my way and was on the point of being drowned.

“When I arrived, there were a few people at the Dar-i Meher. Darab came to receive me and took me to the fire-chapel, where his son was officiating. It was half-past six in the evening in the Aiwisruthrem gah.

“Old Darab, in spite of the objection which I had several times made against what I found to be unreasonable in his religion, had seen me studying his books with so much care, and occupying myself so seriously in the smallest minute instead of slighting them as is ordinarily the case with strangers, that he took me to be well-nigh a proselyte, for whom nothing was wanted but the ceremonies of initiation, and I think that this idea soled his conscience a little. Several times, he had tried to make me give up my *Hooka*, representing to me, that I had read in the Parsee books, that what came out of the body—the saliva, breath—contaminated the Fire. Instead of contradicting him severely, which would have disgusted him, I contented myself by replying, that ‘I was a Christian.’ When I was in the presence of the Fire, which I looked at with ordinary Parsees (*i.e.*, laymen) from the gratings which closed the chapel from the north side, Darab demanded, if I would not make to it some small offering. I told him : ‘Being a Christian I cannot do what you ask me to do.’ Darab added, but with an embarrassed air mixed with something sinister, that some Musalmons have without having had the privilege of seeing the Fire, made some presents to the Dar-i Meher. The position was delicate : I was alone without any arm except my sabre and a pocket pistol ; and if the devotees, who were saying their prayers in the Dar-i Meher, had suspected me for what I was (*i.e.*, for a foreigner), I would have in a moment been sacrificed to their devotion for the house of the Fire (*i.e.*, the Fire-temple). Without appearing to have been moved, I replied to Darab, raising my voice (*i.e.*, in a loud voice), that ‘I had come to see the Dar-i Meher and nothing more’. My firmness shut up his mouth. He requested me to speak in a lower tone. He was afraid more than myself, lest some one may recognise me. He afterwards explained to me in a lower voice the use of the different parts of the Dar-i Meher. I examined everything ; I entered everywhere ; and I impressed very clearly on my mind all that I saw in order to be able on my return to prepare the plan and the description, which one would see hereafter in the second volume, pp. 568-572.

“After having attentively examined the arrangement of the Dar-i Meher, without appearing to have any view other than that of satisfying curiosity, I went near the place set apart for the recitation of the Yazashna. Darab made some hesitation to allow me to enter there, protesting, that he would afterwards be obliged to purify it ; but I went in, taking no notice of that, and I found in a corner of the

Izashna Khâneh, his Zend, Pahlavi and Persian books, and among others, the manuscripts which he had assured me he had not. I knew, that his library was in the Dar-i Meher, and this was one of the reasons which had induced me to seek the means of entering into the temple.

"Satisfied with my visit which lasted for nearly one hour, I rejoined my peon who was waiting for me within the hearing of a gunshot from the Dar-i Meher. Darab, having failed in his expectation, had no reason to be so satisfied. He had counted upon squeezing something out of me as an offering for the fire; and the discovery (of his manuscripts), which I had made, compelled him, if he did not wish to break off with me, to either sell me, or copy for me, the book, to do which he had upto then refused."

I will give here the first part of his general description of the Fire-temple itself, as given in his second volume.¹

"The Parsees have several Dar-i Mehers out of Surat, one is at Nanpouri, one at Saied pouri, one at Bag Pandjat (i.e., the garden of the Punchâyet). But these Dar-i Mehers have not a chapel of Fire. They are small Dad-gâhs, where they simply recite the Izashna. That, which I am going to describe, is the only one which the Parsees have in Surat.² It has been built about 30 or 40 years ago, and belongs to Dastur Darab and his family. It is a building of wood, plaster and earth, of which the exterior form is not different from that of other buildings of Surat." Here follows about five pages giving a detailed description of the Fire-temple.

VI.

(B) AN EXAMINATION OF ANQUETIL'S ACCOUNT OF THE VISIT TO THE FIRE-TEMPLE.

We will now see, how far the allegation of Anquetil against Dastur Darab, that, on bribing him and with his secret help, he saw the sacred fire of the Parsees, under the disguise of a Parsee, is true. If all that he says is true, Dastur Darab, who as we saw above, was a learned and respected high priest of Surat, and of whom Anquetil himself speaks as one who was sincere, stands condemned for having made a breach of faith or a breach of trust in his community.

But before examining the allegation we will notice how some learned writers have, without looking critically into Anquetil's statements, done great injustice to the memory of Dastur Darab. He is unjustly con-

¹ Tome II, pp. 568-70.

² I.e., in the city itself, and not in the suburbs like those mentioned above.

denied by some. Nobody has taken the trouble of critically examining the statements of Anquetil, which, in some places, are contradictory, and which, after a little patient examination, appear to be untrue.

Dastur Darab was condemned by the late Mr. Sorabjee Shapoorji Bengali in his *Jugat-premi* of August 1853 on the strength of Anquetil's statement alone. Mr. Bengali says that he had heard the story, but had not believed it, but began to believe it after reading the account of Anquetil. This shows, that it was merely Anquetil's statement that made Mr. Sorabjee Bengali condemn the learned Dastur. He did not try to examine it critically with the help of Anquetil's other statements. A reader or readers of Anquetil's account may have told the people of Surat about it and then it may have spread as a myth.

The story, as far as it is true, is a curious instance of how the myth of the exaggerated grew from mouth to mouth, in Briggs's account of the Parsees², published in 1852. He says:

"The Parsees still remember from traditional story, the circumstance of M. Anquetil du Perron and his companion's stay at Surat. They are the only Europeans known and acknowledged to have entered into their temples. The legend, for such it now is, current among them is that two Mubeds from Persia resided among them for some years. They wore the attire and in every other way conformed to the usages of Zerdusthians; they were perfectly familiar with their religious rites and liturgical services. Only upon Perron's return in Europe, the Parsees became aware of these foreigners having duped them."

We see in this version, that, while in Anquetil's first fabrication of the story it was the case of only one European, *viz.*, himself, the story, coming to India from Europe, grew, so as to include two Europeans. Again, instead of one temple in the singular, it began to speak of 'temples' in the plural. Thirdly, the party who surreptitiously entered into the temple, instead of being dressed as a Parsee layman, was dressed as Mubeds or priests from Persia.

¹ *Wife his Collected Writings*. "સુ'દો કાહુરેલો લખાણી" (1880), Vol. II, pp. 121-43.

² *Ibid.*, p. 139. "આમલ એક ઉદ્ધરેપરીઅન સુરત મધે પારસીની દરેમેહરમાં કામરૂંધી કરી આવીએ હતા, જેની બીના હુમ્મએ માંભલી હતી, અને એ વાત પારસીના ઉટલાક મોખેદોને હાલ ખાણીતી છે. તેમણે તે ઉપર અમે ભરસા રાખતાતા નહીં, પણ દરેએ ખણાવેલી આ વીચતવારે હકીકત વાંચીઆપી તેહની ચોક્કસાઈએ આપણી ખાતરી થાયછે."

³ The Parsees or modern Zerdusthians. A sketch by H. C. Briggs (1852), pp. 42-43. Briggs's version seems to have been mixed up with the story of Kaos and Afshād (Kischā-Kāus or Afshād) which also is held by some to be imaginary.

As another instance of careless beliefs of such stories, even on the part of persons from whom rather a critical examination than a blind acceptance is expected, we may refer to the statement of a learned orientalist like Dr. Haug. He says: "The Parsee priests, being full of distrust towards him, were not willing to sell him valuable manuscripts, and far less to teach him the language of their sacred books. Finally, the only means of obtaining the object wished for was money. He bribed one of the most learned Dasturs, Dastur Darab, at Surat, to procure him manuscripts, and to instruct him in the Avesta and Pahlavi languages."¹ Here, we see that the bribe is transferred from the visit to the temple to the purchase of manuscripts and the instruction of languages. One can well wonder, how the price of manuscripts and fees for tuition can be called a bribe.

As to the visit to the temple, Dr. Haug says: "The only Parsee priest in Surat who knew anything of Anquetil du Perron was Dastur Kai-khusru Darab, who recollected hearing, that Dastur Darab had taught Anquetil the Avesta, and shown him the sacred fire, when disguised as a Parsi."² This was in 1863. This shows, that the myth, which Briggs referred to in 1852, was dead in its entirety within 11 years.

The very fact that Dr. Haug found only one Parsee priest at Surat, who had heard of the story of Anquetil's visit, shows that it was not commonly known or believed then. Possibly, it may have gone to the ears of Dastur Kai-khusru of Surat (1863) from Bombay, where it came to be announced in the above referred to Jagat-premi (1853) and then through Westergaard's work (1853). Had it been a local tradition, it would have been more commonly known and even condemned in *gurbās* (ballads) or songs, as was the custom at the time.

Mademoiselle Ménant says³, that she happened to see in Bombay, in the spring of 1901, the late Dastur Dr. Hoshang Jamasp, who had accompanied Dr. Haug to Guzerat and asked his view on the subject of Haug's assertion⁴ (au sujet de l'assertion de Haug), "but the learned Dastur replied evasively and hastened to turn the conversation." This shows, that the learned Dastur, perhaps, took it, that Dr. Haug

¹ Haug's *Essays*, and edition, pp. 17-18.

² *Ibid.*, p. 45, n. 2.

³ "Anquetil Duperron à Surate" (1901), p. 50.

⁴ Dr. Haug's assertion referred to by her runs thus: "The same Dastur (Dastur Kai-khusru Darab,) who is already an old man of about seventy years, was the only Parsi priest at Surat who knew anything of the Frenchman, Anquetil du Perron, who had been staying at that city for the purpose of studying Zend, a little more than a hundred years ago (1758-61). On my questioning him whether he had heard from his father or grandfather,

had not properly understood or rather misunderstood Dastur KaiKhusro, and so, did not like to contradict his friend and collaborator. However, it is a fact, that Dastur Hoshang himself did not believe as true Anquetil's version of his visit to the temple. Mr. Erichshaw Bomanji Dastur Koomana, who had frequent opportunities to see Dastur Hoshang at Poona, when he was there in the Kadon fire-temple as a priest from 1897 to 1900, informs me in his letter, dated 8th February 1916, that Dastur Hoshang often said that Anquetil's story was not true (निरास).

The facts seem to be these : It is true that Anquetil saw, from within, a Parsee Fire-temple and that his learned teacher Dastur Darab showed it to him, acting as his guide. But all the other statements of Anquetil are untrue. (a) It is *not* true that he saw the sacred consecrated fire in the temple. (b) It is *not* true that he saw the temple disguised as a Parsee. (c) It is *not* true that Dastur Darab showed it to him secretly, or concealing the fact from others, and that he did so in return of what Anquetil himself calls a small present (un petit present) and for the vulgar desire of having in return an opportunity to go about the city of Surat in Anquetil's palanquin. Anquetil seems to have exaggerated the mere fact of having seen a Fire-temple, in order to give to his visit the importance, before his countrymen in France, of a great adventure, undertaken at the risk to his life at the hand of the Parsees. It is a weakness, common to some travellers, to exaggerate some petty acts or feats into great adventurous deeds, in order to extol the importance of their travels. We know of some well-known cases of that kind that have occurred within the last two decades, wherein voyagers to the North-pole and travellers to Tibet have rested more upon their imaginations than upon facts, in order to draw more public esteem towards their adventures, than they actually deserved. We will see how far Anquetil had yielded to the weakness.

Before examining Anquetil's statements about his visit to the temple itself, let us note here an instance of his gross misrepresentation of facts or of his gross exaggeration. While speaking of his way to the Fire-temple on a rainy day (the 20th of June) he says : "In some places I had water up to the knees. The time was dark, and, as I was not familiar with the roads of Surat, I thought

anything about an European who had come in this country about a hundred years ago, he replied : 'O yes, he is still remembered : Dastur Darab taught him Zend, and showed him in the disguise of a Parsee, the Sacred Fire,' a fact recorded by Anquetil himself in his *Voyages aux Indes Orientales* (Account of a Tour in Gujarat, by Martin Haug, Pl. D., undertaken in the cold season of 1863-64).

several times, that I had lost my way and was on the point of being drowned." He further on says, that, when he arrived at the temple "it was half-past six in the evening." If it was half-past six when he arrived at the temple itself, it must be a little earlier when he was in the streets. But for argument's sake, let us take, that it was also half-past six when he was in the streets. Now, on 20th June, the sun sets at 6-40 p.m., local time. So, it passes belief, that, however cloudy and rainy it may be at 6-30, i.e., about 10 minutes before the sun-set, it was so dark, that he could not see his way and was on the point of being drowned. It seems to be gross exaggeration to say so.

Again, he says, that he stayed at the Fire-temple for one hour, and patiently examined everything. If so, did he stay there in his Parsee dress wet up to the waist? If so, did not his condition surprise the other worshippers? A Parsee, all wet, who had just escaped being drowned, inquisitively questioning Darab on all religious points and examining everything, must draw the attention of many. He would raise curiosity which may lead to many questions to Darab which could reveal his identity. These considerations clearly show, that his statement about being on the point of being drowned was mere exaggeration and boast.

As another instance of his gross exaggeration or misrepresentation of facts, take his statement about an alleged visit of King Akbar to a Parsee Fire-temple and his desecrating the sacred fire. To give some importance to his visit to the Fire-temple he says : "If one excepts Shah Akbar, who, far from honouring the sacred fire by some offerings, had desecrated it with his saliva, no stranger had ever entered into the Dar-i-Mehar of the Parsees."

Both the above statements of Anquetil are incorrect. We know from no history of Akbar, that he ever entered into a Fire-temple. As to his desecration of fire, we have, on the contrary, the authority of his historians, that he held fire in esteem. His new religion had several elements of Zoroastrianism, and reverence for fire was one of such elements. Prof. Blochmann speaks of Akbar's religion, as "Monotheistic Parsi-Hinduism".¹ Again, he says, that "he was a Parsee by rites".² Comte de Noer calls it a sort of Parsee-Soufi-Hinduism.³ The

¹ Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 212.

² *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, No. 1 (1863), Contributions to Persian lexicography.

³ L. Empereur Akbar, par le Comte de Noer traduit de l'Allemand par G. Bonet Maury, Vol. I, p. 346.

Encyclopædia Britannica says, that "he adopted the creed of deism and a ritual based upon the system of Zoroaster."¹ Capt. Vans Kennedy says: "He adopted as intermediate objects of respect the sun and planets and as their representative the sacred fire The only ceremonies which were adopted were the principal annual festivals of the Zoroastrian."² Prof. Relitsch says "He (Akbar) revived the ancient Zoroastrian festivals, substituted their months for those of the Hijrah and also maintained sacred fires."³

Thus all these scholars say that Akbar was influenced by Zoroastrianism. One then cannot expect from such a person the offensive conduct towards Parsees attributed to him by Anquetil. But turn for a while from all these foreign writers upon the religion of Akbar to the Mahomedan historians themselves who write about Akbar. Akbar's Minister Abul Fazl, defending his king and his ways of adoration says: "But why should I speak of the mysterious blessings of the sun, or of the transfer of his greater light to lamps? Should I not rather dwell on the perverseness of those weak-minded zealots, who, with much concern, talk of His Majesty's Religion as of a deification of the sun and the introduction of Fire-worship? But I shall dismiss them with a smile."⁴ Badaoni in his Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh says: "He (Akbar) ordered Abul Fazl to make arrangements, that sacred fire should be kept burning at court by day and by night, according to the custom of the ancient Persian kings, in whose Fire-temples it had been continually burning; for fire was one of the manifestations of God 'a ray of his rays' From the New Year's Day of the twenty-fifth year of his reign (988), His Majesty openly worshipped the sun and the fire by prostrations, and the courtiers were ordered to rise when the candles and lamps were lighted in the palace."⁵ Abul Fazl says in his Ain-i-Akbari: "His Majesty maintains that it is a religious duty and divine praise to worship fire and light."⁶

Again, the Dabistan also supports the above Mahomedan writers. It says: "He (Akbar) delivered the sacred fire with care to the wise Shaikh Abu'l-Fazl, and established that it should be preserved in the interior apartment by night and day, perpetual henceforth, according

¹ Vol. I, p. 434.

² Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. II, pp. 277-78. Reprint of 1876.

³ The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Islam, consisting of passages from the Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh of Badaoni, translated by E. Rehatsek (1860). Translator's Preface, p. II.

⁴ Ain-i-Akbari by Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 135, 7th ed. Ain.

⁵ Translation by Blochmann, in "The Ain-i-Akbari," translated by him, Vol. I, p. 184.

⁶ The Ain-i-Akbari translated by Blochmann, Vol. I, pp. 45, 18th ed.

to the rule of the Mobeds, and to the manner which was always practised in the Fire-temples of the Kings of Ajem."⁽¹⁾

Thus, both, Badaoni and Abul Fazl, the two famous historians of Akbar's reign and his very contemporaries, speak of the reverence and esteem in which Akbar held fire. It is of such a person, that Anquetil says without any authority, that he desecrated the sacred fire of the Parsees. To represent his visit to a Fire-temple as an extraordinary and dangerous adventure, he attributes to Akbar, what was altogether contrary to the great King's belief.

Mr. Beveridge² supposes, that Anquetil perhaps referred to "Akbar's having smoked the *hugga*." But, Anquetil speaks of the fire as *sacred* fire. Even, if it were a reference to the *hugga*, as pointed out by Mr. Beveridge, if Mahomedan chroniclers are to be believed, Akbar never took to smoking.³

However, one may not attach much importance to this statement of Anquetil, as it is not very important, as far as the main question of Anquetil's visit to the temple, disguised as a Parsee, is concerned.

VII.

EXAMINATION OF EVIDENCE, PROVING THE INCORRECTNESS OF ANQUETIL'S STATEMENTS.

We will now examine Anquetil's statements about his seeing the sacred fire with Dastur Darab's clandestine consent and guidance. Let me say in the beginning, that some one or another of my pleas, doubting the veracity of Anquetil, may appear weak or unsubstantial to some one or another of my hearers or readers. But I most earnestly request them to suspend their judgment till they read all the pleas, and are thus, in a position to form a collective opinion. I believe, that when they will weigh all the pleas together they will come to the conclusion, that Anquetil has overstated or misstated his case. I pray to be excused for a repetition of some thoughts, here and there as it is unavoidable, in advancing different pleas.

I divide this branch of our subject under two heads :

1. Inside evidence, *i.e.*, evidence based on Anquetil's own statements.
2. Outside evidence, *i.e.*, evidence based on considerations other than those of Anquetil's statements about the visit to the temple.

¹ The Dabistan, translated by Shea and Troyer, Vol. III, pp. 98-99.

² "Calcutta Review," Vol. CIII, No. CCVI, October 1896, p. 106.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

INSIDE EVIDENCE.

We will first examine the inside evidence based upon Anquetil's own statements, and, in this examination, we will follow his statements in the order in which he has made them.

Anquetil says : " A small present and the hope of promenading in the city in my palanquin induced Darab to satisfy my curiosity." This is a gross libel upon an obliging teacher by an ungrateful pupil. It comes to mean, that Dastur Darab, who, in the words of Dr. Haug¹ was " one of the most learned Dasturs at Surat," accepted a bribe from Anquetil to show him secretly the sacred fire of a Parsee Fire temple.

(a) It is quite impossible to believe, that a Dastur of the learning and position of Dastur Darab should prove a traitor to his community. What is the bribe that Anquetil offers? A small present (un petit present). Anquetil himself, more than once, says, that Dastur Darab was afraid of his people and hesitated to teach him the sacred languages and scriptures. How can one believe, that a learned and respectable Dastur, who was afraid of teaching him Zoroastrian scriptures against the wishes of his people, could consent to show him clandestinely under the disguise of a Parsee his sacred fire, and that for a mere small present and a palanquin ride. Anquetil, more than once, represents Darab to be an ambitious person, asking from him high prices for his books. How can such an ambitious person, who wanted a heavy price for books, which, if he ever asked it, was an ordinary justifiable act, consent to show him the sacred fire of his community, whose anger and fury he ran the risk of incurring? One would naturally expect, that an ambitious person, as he is represented to be, should try to squeeze a large sum of money, instead of a small present, for doing a thing which was against the recognized custom of his people.

(b) Anquetil says, that another inducement for Dastur Darab to do a risky and wrongful act was the curiosity of a palanquin ride in the city of Surat. A statement like this could be possibly accepted as true by French and other European readers of his time for whom it was intended, but cannot be accepted here in India, by people, who know something about those times. Palanquins are not seen in our streets now, but, up to a few years ago, they were common both here and at Surat. They were to be then had on hire, just as we have victorias and taxi-cabs now. I remember having several times come to the Fort from Colaba, in my boyhood in a palanquin for six or eight

¹ "Essays on the Parsees," second edition, p. 17.

annas. Those were the days of palanquins. So, riding in a palanquin was no attraction for a learned Dastur to commit a breach of faith towards his community. If Darab had wished, he could have got for mere asking, the palanquins of many a rich Parsee. At that time, there were at Surat rich Parsees some of whom were the brokers and shufflers of the several European factories. These rich Parsees could have lent to Darab far better and handsomer palanquins than that of Anquetil, who, as he himself says, was, for want of funds, living in a poor well-nigh beggarly way and maintaining himself at times on mere *khichree*.

(c) Agnin, there is one important thing which we must bear in mind in this connection. The Fire-temple, whose sacred fire Darab is said to have allowed to be clandestinely desecrated, was his own temple. It was built and maintained by himself as said by Anquetil. So, how can we think that a religious-minded Dastur, of whom Anquetil himself speaks as a 'sincere' person, a Dastur of position and learning, could allow to be desecrated a temple built and maintained by himself?

(d) There is another thing to be borne in mind. At that time, the Parsee community was, as we saw above, divided into two sects, the Shahānshāhis and the Kadimis. There was active hostility between them. Darab was the High Priest of the new Kadimi sect. The hostility towards him personally on that account had risen to such a height, that, as said by Anquetil himself, he had at one time to go away to the Portuguese town of Daman for protection. It is not possible to believe, that, under such circumstances, in the teeth of active hostility, Darab could dare to commit a sacrilegious act for petty bribes of "a small present" and a palanquin ride.

Anquetil says: "I was dressed like a Parsee and was accompanied

2. Anquetil's
peon as a guide. by only one peon who was to keep himself at a certain distance from the gate of the Dar-i-Meher and who was to guide me from a sufficient distance, lest I may be found out." Then, a little further on, he says: "In some places, I had water up to the knees. The time was dark and as I was not familiar with the roads of Surat, I thought several times that I had lost my way and was on the point of being drowned."

(a) One cannot understand, what Anquetil means by these two statements which seem to be contradictory. If he had a peon to guide him, how can there be a chance of losing his way and be drowned in the water of the downpour of rain? This seems to have been invented by Anquetil to give to his visit to the Fire-temple an air of risk in the eyes of his countrymen.

Perhaps, one may say: "the peon, perhaps, did not know the Parsee streets sufficiently well to save Anquetil from losing his way and being drowned." If so, how did he guide Anquetil to the Fire-temple?

(b) Again, the visit was a clandestine visit, and Anquetil went disguised as a Parsee. If so, it was certain, that his peon knew of the visit. If he knew of it, the secret was likely to be divulged by a person like a peon, if not during Anquetil's stay at Surab, at least after his departure from India. But there was no disclosure.

(c) Again we learn a little later on from Anquetil's account of his journey towards the caves of Elephanta, that he had in his service a Parsee servant named Hirjee. So, if he went disguised as a Parsee, how did he escape the attention of that man? Or, why did he not take him into his confidence? If he succeeded, as said by him, in bribing a learned and respectable Dastur, he could have easily succeeded in bribing an illiterate Parsee servant, and would thus have been saved the inconvenience of taking with him a peon, whom he had to keep at a distance from him. The Parsee domestic could have walked with him, even into the fire-temple, without drawing the attention of any Parsee towards Anquetil.

(d) But one may say, that, in order to avoid the risk of the secret being disclosed by the Parsee domestic, who, as a Parsee, was more likely to divulge the secret, he took the peon into his confidence. But, as he had gone to the Fire-temple in the disguise of a Parsee, why was there at all the necessity of taking a peon with him? He could have very easily arranged with Darab and could have boldly walked with him to the temple without drawing any Parsee's notice. Thus, he could have also avoided taking the peon or any other person into his confidence. The peon was keeping himself at some distance from him. So, how could he point out to Anquetil the particular building as the Fire-temple, without both meeting together at some spots or without the peon pointing him out the place from the distance. All that involved the chance of being marked out by some Parsees. All that could have been avoided by his going to the temple with Darab himself. So, all these considerations show, that his statement of going to the Parsee Fire-temple clandestinely in a Parsee dress is not at all correct. He went openly, dressed in his usual European dress, and accompanied by a peon, as it was the practice at that time with Europeans to do, and was openly received by Dastur Darab and shown the temple from which the consecrated sacred fire was removed for the occasion.

Anquetil says : " When I arrived, there were a few people at the Dar-i-Meher. Darab came to receive me and took me to the fire chapel where his son was officiating."³ This statement of Anquetil is correct and it contradicts his above statement that he went clandestinely disguised as a Parsee.

(a) Anquetil says, that, when he went to the temple, there were some devotees who were saying their prayers there. These Parsees, seeing Darab going to the gate to welcome a Parsee, would have naturally inquired, why he should have done so. It is not the custom for the Dastur of a temple to go to the gate and welcome Parsee worshippers. Perhaps, one may say, that in the case of a distinguished Parsee worshipper who may go by appointment to a temple, the head priest in charge, at times, does, out of courtesy, go to the gate to welcome him. But, here, it was not so. Anquetil went clandestinely. So, Darab's going to the gate to welcome him would naturally draw the attention of the other worshippers and lead to inquiries and to the divulgence of the secret instead of keeping it. All these considerations show, that Anquetil went by appointment, as a foreign visitor, in his European dress, accompanied by his peon as usual, and the obliging teacher welcomed his pupil and showed him the temple from which the sacred fire was removed for the time being, and explained to him all the arrangements.

(b) Again there is one important thing which Parsees alone can understand and not Europeans. Anquetil says : " Darab came to receive him and took him to the fire chapel." No Parsee worshipper—and Anquetil is represented as going as a Parsee—would do that. He has, at first, to perform his Kusti-Pādycāh, i.e., to perform his ablutions by washing his face and hands and then to untie and re-tie his Kusti or sacred thread. For this purpose, all temples are provided with water utensils which generally are in the gate. Anquetil says, that he was straight off taken to the fire-chapel. If he went there as a Parsee, as he pretends to have done, this act would have at once drawn the attention of the other Parsees at the temple : they could not expect such a thing to be tolerated by a learned priest like Dastur Darab.

(c) Again, if Anquetil went disguised as a Parsee, we may take it, that the few other Parsees, who, as Anquetil himself says, were present there, must have taken him to be either a distinguished Parsee of Surat or a distinguished Parsee visitor from some other Parsee town. If the former, they would enquire, why was there the necessity of Darab taking him to the fire-chapel? A Parsee residing at Surat,

must know the place of the fire-chapel in the temple. If a foreigner, they may have supposed, that he required to be shown the chamber where the sacred fire was burning. But then, in that case, the attendance of a distinguished Parsee visitor from some other town should have naturally caused some curiosity or talk, both among the other visitors within the precincts of the temple and others outside. But we are told of nothing of the kind. So, all these considerations, connected with Anquetil's statement about Darab welcoming him, point to the fact, that Anquetil went as a distinguished European visitor and dressed as an European, as some inquisitive Europeans do even now when an opportunity occurs.

Anquetil says about the time of his visit: "It was half-past six in the evening in the Aiwisruthrem Gah." He also says, that "his (Darab's) son was officiating" at the fire-chapel. The date was, as he gives it, 20th June. Now we know, that on the 22nd of June we have the longest day. So, the sun would set at Surat on the 20th at about 6.40 p.m. local time. The ceremonial period of the day referred to by Anquetil as Aiwisruthrem Gah, must, on the 20th June, begin at Surat at some time about or after seven, at least not before 6.40 p.m. even if it were a cloudy and rainy day. But, one may say, that perhaps the day of Anquetil's visit—20th June 1760—was an unusually cloudy and rainy day, and so, the Aiwisruthrem Gah, with which the night is said to begin, may be taken to have set in early. So, perhaps, the exact time, when the Gah was supposed to have begun, may be held as presenting not a very important question. I am not inclined to press that point much.

But there is another thing which must be borne in mind. Anquetil says that Darab's son was officiating at the time in the fire-chapel. A Parsee and even a foreigner who has studied Parseeism knows, that this service in the Aiwisruthrem Gah in the fire-chamber is that known as Bui-devi (P. Bui-dādan, lit. to give perfumes), i.e., the service of feeding the sacred fire. This service is preceded by the recital of several prayers, viz., Kusti pādāyāb prayer, saros bāj, Aiwisruthrem gah, and Sarosh Yasht Vadi. The recital of these would take about 20 to 25 minutes. It is only after their recital, that the service of feeding the fire in the fire-chamber takes place. So, if Anquetil saw Darab's son performing the ceremony at 6.30, we must take it that the Aiwisruthrem Gah commenced at about 6 p.m., i.e., more than one hour before the regular time of the day. It is not possible to believe so, even taking it, that it was a cloudy day. At about 6 p.m. on the 20th of June, the sun is much above the horizon.

So, under all the circumstances, the facts seem to be these : Anquetil went to the temple as an inquisitive student in his usual European dress, accompanied as usual by his peon, and Darab welcomed him as his pupil and as a distinguished student, and straight off took him to the fire-chamber where he had arranged that his son, should perform the Bui-dâdan service—not the real service before the consecrated fire, but a mock service which can be performed at any part of the day to explain matters to Anquetil. Things of that kind are done, even now, in Bombay and elsewhere, by present Dasturs, to explain some religious ritual, &c., to European and American students of Zoroastrianism.

Anquetil's own notes throw great doubts upon the veracity of his statements. In the end of 1914, I had written to

Anquetil's own notes throw a doubt upon his statement.

Mademoiselle Menant of Paris, to kindly examine the papers of Anquetil which are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale and see, if there was any writing in Anquetil's hand like a diary, wherein he had taken notes of his alleged visit in the dress of a Parsee. She finds no notes about his disguise as a Parsee. We will speak of that fact, later on. But we will note one fact here, that in one place she finds the following note: "Le 20 juin J'allai.....à 8 hr. du soir au derimher du feu Aderan des Parsis....." i.e., "20th June. I went.....at 8 o'clock in the evening to Dar-i-Meher of the Aderan fire of the Parsees."

Thus, we see, that, while in his book written about 10 years after his visit to Surat, he gives 6-30 p.m. as the time of his visit to the Fire-temple, the real time, as given in his own notes taken at that time in Surat itself, was 8 p.m. This fact makes us doubt the statements of Anquetil as made in his book, 10 years after the visit. It clearly shows, that he has taken great liberty with real facts.

Anquetil says: "He (Darab) took me to be well-nigh a prose-lyte, for whom nothing was wanted, but the ceremonies of initiation; and I think that this idea soothed his conscience a little." At another place, he says: "When he saw that I wrote down all that he said, turned to him again and again for (the purpose of learning) all the sense and that I had heard all that he said with precaution, he was seized with a fear, because he thought that I was going to learn all the dogmas of his religion. (So) I did not see him for more than a month. He pretended that his death was certain if other Dasturs knew what he was doing with me. Kaus² argued that I was asking (to learn)

5. Anquetil's contradictory statements about the aims of Dastur Darab in showing him the Fire-temple.

² Miss Menant's letter of 21st January 1915.

³ Kaus, who was a cousin of Darab, also occasionally went with him to teach Anquetil.

from him several things which their conscience did not permit them to say."

(a) These two statements seem to be a little self-contradictory. If Dastur Darab thought it to be against his conscience to teach Anquetil all Zoroastrian dogmas, how can he show him his sacred Fire-temple, consoling himself that he was a likely proselyte? If Darab thought, that it was against his conscience to teach Anquetil all the dogmas of his religion, how can he reconcile his conscience to show him the sacred fire and thus do a great sacrilegious act for a small bribe?

(b) If, on the other hand, Darab showed him the temple consoling himself with the idea, that Anquetil was a likely proselyte, why did he object to his learning all the dogmas of his religion? If the act of proselytism was not wrong, how can the act of teaching the scriptural languages, the knowledge of which prepared the proselyte, be wrong? He would have openly said to his re-religionists: "Here is a person who would likely proselytise. So, I teach him our religion."

(c) Again, if Darab pretended that his death was certain if the other Dasturs came to know of his alleged, wrongful act of teaching religion to a foreigner, why did he not so pretend in the case of the more sacrilegious act of showing the sacred fire to a foreigner?

(d) Again, Anquetil, in his account of the visit to the Fire-temple, says: "Several times he had tried to make me give up my *hooka*, representing to me, that I had read in the Parsee books, that what came out of the body—the saliva, breath—contaminated the fire. Instead of contradicting him severely what would have disgusted him, I contented myself by replying, that 'I was a Christian.'" Now, if Darab saw, that Anquetil continued to smoke, in spite of his drawing his attention to the fact that it was opposed to Zoroastrianism, how could he possibly accept him to be a likely proselyte and thus console his conscience to show him the sacred fire.

(e) If it was a fact, that Darab took Anquetil to be a likely proselyte and therefore consoled his conscience and showed him the sacred fire, why did he sell his conscience in return of "a small present" and of a vulgar curiosity to have a ride in Anquetil's palanquin?

(f) If Dastur Darab remonstrated often with Anquetil for smoking the *hooka* on the ground of its defiling fire, how can it be expected from him that he should be party to desecrate the consecrated fire of his own Fire-temple?

Thus we see that Anquetil's own various statements and their various considerations contradict themselves and lead to show the impracticability of his misrepresentation, that he saw the Fire-temple clandestinely, disguised as a Parsee.

Anquetil says : " Darab demanded, if I would not make it (i.e., to the sacred fire) some small offering. I told him:

6. Darab's demand for an offering for the fire. ' Being a Christian I cannot do what you ask me to do'. Darab added, but with an embarrassed air mixed with something sinister, that some Muslims have, without having had the privilege of seeing the fire, made some presents to the Dar-i-Meher. The position was delicate. I was alone without any arm except my sabre and a pocket pistol, &c."

(a) Anquetil's visit was clandestine. If Darab's co-religionists who were present at the temple knew of it, Darab was in danger. How then, can one expect, that he would be so indifferent, and ask for a small offering to the fire, and when once refused, argue with Anquetil? If he did so, he was in greater risk than Anquetil of being exposed before his people there. The temples of those times, a like of which one can see in some old Parsee villages of Surat even now, were small buildings wherein, one can see and overhear what passes in any part of it.

(b) Then look to the amount of offering. The sum that a Parsee worshipper generally offers to the temple-priest even now, when the times are comparatively rich, varies from a pie to a rupee the most. It is very very rare when one gives more than a rupee. Generally, a two anna or a four anna coin is given. So, is it possible to believe, that a man like Dastur Darab would care to ask for, and even insist for, a bribe like an anna or even a rupee, and risk the danger of being found out by his people in the temple?

(c) If Darab, while showing him the Fire-temple, at all cared for a small gift, what was there to prevent him from demanding it beforehand when arranging the visit? Anquetil was in earnest to know something about the Fire-temple. So, knowing his earnestness, Darab could have squeezed him beforehand while arranging for the visit at Anquetil's house. There, he could have, without being overheard by others, stipulated from the very beginning to have a larger sum. As Anquetil himself says, Darab, while arranging for a visit to the temple at Anquetil's house, where he was alone, was satisfied with a small present and the idle curiosity of a palanquin ride, how can he ask and argue for a petty offering at the temple, running thereby the risk of being found out as a traitor to his community?

(d) There is another inconsistency in the statement of Anquetil. He, more than once, represents Dastur Darab as an exacting person, asking from him high prices for the writing or selling of manuscripts. If Darab was, as represented by Anquetil, ambitious and tried to exact beforehand high prices in the small matters of writing or selling manuscripts in which there was very little of danger to be afraid of from his people, one should naturally expect, that he should be more so and exact a larger sum for consenting to show him the Fire-temple clandestinely in a Parsee dress and not be satisfied with a small present (*un petit present*) before taking him to the temple and a small offering (*quelque petit offrande*) at the temple itself, a task which was full of risk.

We have read of some travellers having gone to some Mahomedan places of pilgrimage in the guise of Mahomedans. But we know, that such travellers, when once into the foreign sacred places, did not denur to small payments, but willingly paid them, in order to avoid detection. But here, Anquetil says, that he objected to even a small offering and even argued with Darab for his justification for non-payment.

We thus see that Anquetil's statements are full of inconsistencies and self-contradictions.

Anquetil says, that he had a sabre and a pocket-pistol with him.

If he went to the Fire-temple in the Parsee dress, how could he carry a sabre and a pistol without drawing the attention of the few Parsee worshippers who, as he himself says, were there. Perhaps, one may think, that a pocket-pistol can be concealed in a pocket; but how can a sabre, a kind of curved or bent sword, be concealed under a Parsee dress? If he had put on these over the Parsee dress in some way, they would most assuredly have drawn the attention of the Parsee worshippers and led to some inquiry as to who he was. But it is difficult to believe the truth of his statement. The fact seems to be, that he did go with a sabre and a pistol, which almost all foreigners carried in India in his time. But his statements, that he had put on a Parsee dress and that his visit was secret, are incorrect. Perhaps, one may say, that even some Parsees employed in the Nabob's Court at those times, carried swords. But they did not go to the temples for worship, so armed. Even, if they did, being a few familiar faces in Surat, they could easily be known. But a foreigner like Anquetil, if he was going there as a Parsee, would naturally draw inquiries as to who the Parsee was.

Anquetil's says that his visit "lasted for an hour."

8. Anquetil's inspection of the Fire-temple for about an hour. (a) If he went in as a Parsee and inspected the temple for about an hour, his inspection should naturally have drawn the attention of the Parsee worshippers there. They would have most naturally thought to themselves: "He is a Parsee and why should he go round in a Fire-temple and inspect it?" That may lead to an inquiry and detection.

(b) Perhaps, one may say, that a foreign Parsee, coming from another Parsee centre, may probably like to have a little careful look into the Fire-temple of a new city. But, in such a case, why an inspection for one hour? The Indian Fire-temples of the last and preceding centuries were not like the modern Fire-temples. Of the Fire-temple, which Anquetil saw, he himself says: "It is a building of wood, plaster and earth, of which the exterior form is not different from that of other buildings of Surat." We thus see, that from outside, it was a small place like other ordinary houses of Surat. One can have an idea, even now, of some of the old Fire-temples of the Parsees, from some of the present old Fire-temples of some of the villages round Surat and Broach. One can finish an inspection of them in two or three minutes. Even, the best of the modern Fire-temples of Bombay, can be inspected by a Parsee coming from the mofussil within 10 or 15 minutes the most. So, if Anquetil inspected the temple for one hour, his inspection must have excited the curiosity of the other worshippers who were there. They should naturally have inquired from Dastur Darab, as to who the foreign Parsee was, who inspected for nearly one hour the temple which can be seen within five or ten minutes the most. According to Anquetil, nothing of the kind happened. So, the real fact is, that Anquetil went as a foreigner in his national European dress—and not clandestinely dressed as a Parsee,—and openly examined the place and made all possible inquiries as a foreigner, and took notes and perhaps measurements. So, it is possible that the inspection took one hour.

Anquetil, in his account of his visit to the Fire-temple, says: "I examined everything. I entered everywhere and I impressed very clearly on my mind all that I saw in order to be able, on my return, to prepare the plan and the description, which one would see hereafter."
9. Anquetil's detailed description of the Fire-temple. W. second volume, pp. 368-372. He then gives, in the second he "a detailed description of the inside of the temple, even giving risk measurements of some parts. He also gives a plan (Plate XIII, 3

attached to p. 546). I do not give my translations of the details as that would not much interest all my hearers or readers, but I would strongly recommend them to have a little look at the above pages of Anquetil. They will soon find, even by a superficial look at them, and even without understanding the details, that Anquetil describes the inside of the temple very minutely. If they will look to the detailed description, I think, they will agree with me, when I say, that the first part of the above statement of Anquetil, *viz.*, that he examined everything and entered everywhere is correct, but the latter part, *viz.*, that he impressed on his mind all that he saw, in order to be able to prepare the plan and description on his return home, is not correct. It was not possible for him, a foreigner, to impress on his mind all that he saw, so as to be able to give all the details and the plan, as he has given them. The fact seems to be, that he saw the temple openly in his usual dress, and not clandestinely dressed as a Parsee, and that every opportunity was given to him by Darab to take notes and even measurements. In the matter of details, he gives, in one place, even the measurement of the diameter of the top of the Fire-vase as three feet. It is not possible to believe, that he could give such details, not of one thing but of a number of things, not of one instrument or utensil of religious ritual but of several, without taking notes and actual measurements, and if not measurements, at least without taking notes there and then. That a detailed inspection of these things carried on for about an hour, by a Parsee who is ordinarily expected to know, if not all things, at least a good many, was carried on without being observed by the other Parsee visitors of the temple, or, without leading to an inquiry, passes our belief.

Perhaps, one may say, that Anquetil observed and inspected all things very carefully and got the actual measurements and details afterwards from Dastur Darab. If so, Anquetil does not frankly say so. He makes his readers understand that he clandestinely went into the temple as a Parsee, bribing Dastur Darab with a small money present and with the hope of a palanquin ride, and that he went into the Yazashne-gah, though Darab hesitated and objected. He thus conceals facts and makes wrong statements in order to gain undue credit among people, unacquainted with Parsee matters, and separated from India by thousands of miles requiring a voyage and journey of about six months, of having performed an extraordinary feat or made an adventure. If one admits, that Anquetil made a wrong statement in this case, he must admit, that Anquetil is capable of making other false statements also about the visit to the temple in a Parsee dress.

Anquetil says : " I went near the place, set apart for the recitation of Yazashne. Darab made some hesitation to allow me to enter there, protesting that he would afterwards be obliged to purify it ; but I went in taking no notice of that "

What Anquetil says can easily be believed by his European readers of those times, but not by the Parsis or even by modern Europeans who know something of Parseeism. It is difficult to believe, that Darab, who did not hesitate to show to Anquetil the Atash-gah, *i.e.*, the fire-chamber, should hesitate to show him the Yazashne-gah, *i.e.*, the place where the Yazashne is recited, a place which is held to be less sacred than the Atash-gah of a Fire-temple. Even, at present, non-Parsees are more easily admitted in the Yazashne-gah for the purpose of repairs than in the Atash-gahs. In some temples, the Atash-gahs are whitewashed and repaired by Parsees. For example, it is said, that into the Atash-gah of the Atash-Behram or the great Fire-temple of Dadyseth in Bombay, no non-Parsee has ever entered since its foundation about more than 100 years ago.¹ What I mean to assert is, that it is inconsistent to believe, that, if Darab ever permitted Anquetil to see the sacred fire in the Atash-gah, he could, with any consistency, oppose his seeing the *Yazashne-gah*. It was only the other day, on the evening of Wednesday, the 22nd December of the last year, that Rev. Dr. Moulton, who is on a visit to India, and who studies modern Parseeism, walked with me into the Yazashne-gah of the Dadyseth Atash-Behram, one of the oldest great Fire-temples of Bombay. He did so in the company of a priest of the temple, who took him in, because the Yazashne-gah was being repaired and the ceremonial fire and the other requisites were removed. But the Sanctum Sanctorum where the sacred fire has been burning for the last 100 years, was closed to his inspection.

Anquetil says : " I found in the corner of the Izashna-khaneh, his Zend, Pahlavi and Persian books, and among others, the manuscripts, which, he had assured me, he had not. I knew that his Library was in the Dar-i-Meher."

(a) One must bear in mind, that at that time—about 150 years ago, of which Anquetil writes, when printing was not known in India,—manuscripts had great value. We learn from the

¹ After writing the above, I went to this oldest of Parsee Atash-Behrams, in the company of the learned archaeologist, Dr. Spooner, on 17th February 1916, and saw that arrangements were being made to remove the sacred fire from its chamber which required a thorough repair. An old priest, in a touchingly plaintive voice, did not like this removal.

colophons, etc., of several of them, how anxious the writers and the owners were about the preservation of their manuscripts. As one mortgages or pledges now his property or his household things to borrow money, so the owners pledged manuscripts which were held precious. So, it is not expected that Darab would keep his precious manuscripts exposed in an open place, like the Yazasneh-Khneh. He would keep them under lock and key.

(b) Again, Darab's visit was not a sudden visit, but a pre-arranged visit. If so, and if Darab had assured Anquetil that he had not a particular manuscript, one would naturally expect, that Darab, not to find himself exposed for having said an untruth, should have taken all possible care to conceal that particular manuscript.

(c) Again, if Darab was an ambitious or greedy man, ever ready to squeeze Anquetil, as Anquetil represents him to be, why did he deny to Anquetil the possession of this manuscript? A greedy man like him would have tried to dispose of his rare manuscript, squeezing a high price for it.

(d) But, if we take Anquetil's statement to mean, that Darab did not like to part with his manuscript, and so assured him that he did not possess it, how can we believe that a learned man like him, who valued his book more than money, could stoop to "a small present" and a palanquin ride to show the sacred fire of a temple, committing a breach of faith to his community.

(e) Anquetil's statement shows that he examined all the manuscripts in the Fire-temple, and in that examination found out the above manuscript. One may ask: Did not the presence of a Parsee stranger armed with sabre and pistol in a Fire-temple and his inquisitiveness to look into Zoroastrian manuscripts and his talk with Darab on the subject draw the attention of the few Parsee worshippers in the temple? A Parsee layman knowing anything of the Avesta or Pahlavi was an *avis rara* in those times. For example, as said by Anquetil himself,¹ even an intelligent person like Mr. Navroji, a son of the well-known Rustom Manock Seth, the first Parsee to go to England about 40 years before Anquetil's time, could not read an Avesta Manuscript shown to him at Oxford. Such being the case, a rare bird like Anquetil would most assuredly have drawn the attention of the Parsees in the temple.

Anquetil's statements seem to be full of inconsistencies. The fact seems to be this: "Anquetil had gone openly in the Fire-temple after previous arrangement in his usual European dress and was shown the

¹ Zend Avesta, Tome, I, p. XX, IV, Notice VI, p. IX.

temple from which the 'sacred fire' was removed. All the details were explained to him by Dastur Darab for which he may have taken notes there and then, or perhaps Darab supplied to him the details later on. At the same time Darab must have arranged to bring for Anquetil's inspection all his manuscripts there from his house adjoining the temple. The members of Dastur Darab's family still occupy a house in the Kanpit Bazar at Surat, which is known as the Juni Agiârî, i.e., the old Fire-temple. Dastur Darab's house and his Fire-temple were burnt in the great fire of Surat which occurred on 24th April 1837.

VIII.

OUTSIDE EVIDENCE.

We have, so far, examined Anquetil's allegation against Darab, on the ground of, what we have termed, the inside evidence of his own statements about the visit to the Fire-temple. We will now examine it on evidence other than that found in Anquetil's statement of the visit, on what can be termed outside evidence.

Dastur Darab was not an ordinary person. That he was a man of high position is seen from the following facts :—

(a) As seen above, we learn, that he was a Mobadân Mobad, one who had descended from a respectable family of Mobads or priests. One of his ancestors, the sixth in ascent "Dastur Shapur Herbad Kaikobad" was a known Dastur of Surat whose name was commemorated in the dhup-Nerang as that of a known departed worthy. Thus, he belonged to a Dastur family.

(b) He himself was a learned priest. He knew Avesta, Pahlavi and Persian. The Mobads or priests of his time who knew these languages were held in esteem. By the age of 24, he was sufficiently advanced in the knowledge of these languages, so as to write the colophons of Avesta manuscripts in Pahlavi and Persian. He had studied further under Jamasp Velayuti. He was one of the three eminent pupils of this learned Zoroastrian of Persia, the other two being the well-known Dastur Jamasp Asî of Naosari and Dastur Kamdin of Branch. Anquetil himself speaks of him as more learned than others (*plus instruit que les autres*). Again, Dastur Jamshed of Naosari, whom Anquetil met at Naosari, also spoke of him as the most able Dastur of India (*le plus habile Dastour de l'Inde*).

(c) He was an honest man who acted according to the dictates of his conscience. Anquetil himself once speaks of him as a "sincere"

person. He separated from his co-religionists, when he conscientiously thought that the Calendar of the Iranian Zoroastrians was right, and that of the Indian, wrong.

(d) He was appointed the Dastur or the High Priest of the new Kadmi sect for his learning.

(e) The *Itinerary* Revayet speaks of him as a Dindâr Dastur, *i.e.*, as a religious-minded Dastur. He was, besides being the teacher of a foreigner like Anquetil, the teacher of another distinguished pupil, Kâus, the well-known messenger who went to Persia carrying several questions for inquiry from the Parsees of Surat and who was the father of the well-known Moola Feroze of Bombay.

(f) At the time of Anquetil's visit, he was not a raw impulsive youth, but was, as Anquetil himself says, an old man (*vieux Darab*) of about 60 years of age.

All these facts show him to be an honest learned Dastur of high position, held in esteem both here in India and in Persia. Can we then possibly think, that a man of his position, learning, character, and age, a preceptor of learned disciples, a Dastur of the community, could commit an unlawful act of breach of faith to his people and show the sacred fire of the fire-temple to a foreigner for the trifle of "a small present" and the vulgar curiosity of a ride in a palanquin? Can we believe, that a Dastur like him would stoop to ask for a small offering (*une petite offrande*) from Anquetil, and to do a sacrilegious act? Had he chosen, he would have been more greedy and asked for higher prices for his manuscripts which he wrote for, or which he sold to, Anquetil. Had he chosen, he could have got for a mere asking, rides, more than one, and in palanquins far richer and better than that of Anquetil, who, as he himself says, at more than one place, was living from hand to mouth on beggarly payments from his Government and could therefore not afford to keep a rich palanquin. Considerations of these kinds condemn, as untruthful the statements of Anquetil who aimed at appearing us an extraordinary person in pursuit of knowledge.

We saw in the outline of Darab's life, that he was not living on friendly terms with Muncherjee Seth. His community was divided into two sects, and he was the ecclesiastical head of one sect. He had to live under a kind of active hostility, which went to such an extent, that he had, if what Anquetil says was true, to leave Surat and to go to Daman. We cannot possibly believe, that surrounded by a number of hostile eyes, he could

13. The hostility under which Darab had to live and work.

dare to do an act which could bring him and his sect into public disgrace,

Lay aside the question of the fear and hostility of enemies, and take the case of the fear of the community as a body. If, as said by Anquetil, Darab was afraid of his people for selling Zoroastrian books and for giving him lessons, how can it be believed that he would not be more afraid of the community in doing a hundred times more wrongful act, a sacrilegious act.

Anquetil seems to imply, that he had taken his peon into his confidence. He does not seem to have taken even his brother into his confidence. He does not say, that he mentioned the fact of his alleged visit to the sacred fire to anybody at Surat. So, it seems that his statement about the visit was a mere after-thought, suggested at a weak moment, to boast before his European readers as a great adventurer who saw the sacred fire of the Parsees at the risk of his life.

While studying the question again in 1914, it struck me, that if his statement about the visit of the temple under disguise, &c., was true, we must naturally expect, that he must have taken some notes of that visit in his diary or note-book. With that view, I wrote to Mademoiselle Menant, in 1914, to inquire on the subject. In her reply, dated 21st January 1915, she said: "There is no manuscript journal of diary as you suppose."¹ She further said: "There is no mention of the incidents of the visit."² In her above letter of 21st January 1915, she writes to me, that in some manuscript notes of Anquetil, there is a reference to the visit to the Dar-i-Meher, which runs thus: "20th June I went at 8 o'clock in the evening to the Dar-i-Meher of the Fire Aderan of the Parsees"³ In this reference, he says nothing about the alleged clandestine visit in Parsee disguise.

We thus see, that there is no diary or there are no manuscript notes taken at the time which could confirm what he says in his book. In one note, that is found, there is a reference to the visit, but it does not say that it was a clandestine visit. These facts show that the idea of a clandestine visit was an after-thought that occurred to him later. It was an after-thought, conceived on his return to Paris, conceived

¹ "Il n'y a pas de journal manuscrit de diary comme vous le supposez."

² "Il n'y a pas de mention des incidents de la visite."

³ "Le 20 Juin. J'allai à 8 hr. du soir au derinher du feu Aderan des Parsis."

with a weakness common to some travellers to exaggerate the importance of their work.

Again Anquetil had given an account of his voyage in India in two parts in a Paper read in 1762. It is published in the "Journal des Savants" (pp. 413 *et seq.* et 474 *et seq.*), under the heading of "Relations abrégées de voyage d'Anquetil." Mademoiselle Menant, on looking to the Papers of Anquetil, found these journals. She says, that it appears, that Anquetil had read the Paper in Paris on 4th May 1762. The first part of the Paper gives a short account of the journey and the second that of the Avesta manuscripts he had taken from here. In that Paper, there is no reference to his visit to the Fire-temple. Mademoiselle Menant writes to me in her letter, dated 28th January 1915, "Il n'y est pas question de la visite au Temple du feu," *i.e.*, "there is no question there of the visit to the Fire-temple". I am not in a position to speak with any force or authority on this subject, as these journals are not available here for my inspection. But it strikes one, that had the visit been such a perilous and adventurous one in the disguise of a Parsee, and requiring sabre and pistol, as Anquetil represents it to be in his book, he would have referred to it as a great event in his short account of his travels. But as it was not so and as it was an ordinary event, he did not refer to it. It seems that it was after this Paper, (1762), that he thought of giving the event an extraordinary colour (1771).

We learn from Anquetil's own statement, that he did not part with his teacher Dastur Dari in peace. Darab sued Anquetil for the money due to him for lessons and for the manuscripts. Anquetil was often inclined to threaten people. So, had there been any clandestine visit of a fire-temple, Anquetil, who, at first, complains of Darab's action, would have tried to silence him by the threat of an exposure. He did not do so. That very fact shows, that there was no clandestine visit at all. It was a sheer fabrication suggested to him at a weak moment, to give an undue importance to his visit.

Anquetil in his account of his visit to the Sabsette, refers to a Parsee servant named Irdjee (Hirjee). He speaks of him as a faithful servant (*mon fidèle domestique*). This fact of a Parsee being in his service suggests some thoughts on the subject of his alleged secret visit of the temple.

(a) Anquetil says, that Darab was afraid of his people and so went to him to give lessons, as it were, stealthily. If so, did not Irdjee

16. Anquetil and Darab did not part in peace.

17. Anquetil's domestic servant Irdjee.

notice Darab's presence? Did he not notice or learn anything of Darab being a party to Anquetil's disguise and to his secret visit of the temple? He must have seen a Parsee dress brought to his master's house. He must have seen him going out in a Parsee dress. If he did notice or learn all this, why did he not expose Darab before his co-religionists?

(b) Perhaps, it may be said, that as he was a faithful servant, he thought it was faithless to expose his master, and so, he concealed the fact from his co-religionists. But on Anquetil's own statement, we know of an instance, wherein, notwithstanding his loyalty to his master, he refused to do a wrongful act. He was careful of the religious feelings of Hindus. When in the cave temple of Jogeshri, near Andheri, with his master, Anquetil once asked him to lift up stealthily a Hindu idol from the temple. Irdjee refused to do so. Anquetil, therefore, had to get it taken up by a Mahomedan. So, if Irdjee was so much careful as not to do a sacrilegious act in a Hindu temple, how can he be expected to keep a secret when one of the fire-temples of his own religion was being desecrated?

(c) But, suppose for the sake of argument, that Irdjee, was very loyal, faithful and always inclined to obey his master's order, and that his refusal to do that order at the Hindu temple was an exceptional case of some momentary scruples not to do a sacrilegious act. If so, the question strikes us, as said above: Why did not Anquetil take him into his confidence during his alleged visit to the sacred fire-temple? He took a non-Parsee peon with him and he had to keep him at some distance to avoid detection. But, he could have easily taken with him this Parsee servant, who could have walked with him not in the street alone, but into the very fire-temple itself. All these above considerations point to the improbability of Anquetil's disguise as a Parsee.

Anquetil has told us that during his stay in Surut, Persian was

18. The Language of Conversation between Darab and Anquetil.

his medium of conversation with Dastur Darab. He had begun the study of that language at Utrecht in Holland and had continued it during his stay at Pondicherry and Bengal. Now, it was not all Parsees in those times that knew Persian.

Few, who were learned priests and who were connected with the Court of the Nabob or had to do something or other with some of the European factories, knew Persian. Even with these few, the language of correspondence and conversation among themselves was Gujarati and not Persian. So, the question is: Did not the very fact of Darab's conversing in Persian in the temple with Anquetil dressed as a Parsee, draw the attention of the other Parsees in the temple? They

ought to have been struck with the unusual occurrence of Darab talking with a strange Parsee in Persian. If they were so struck, did not that lead to an inquiry and an exposure? This circumstance points to the improbability of Anquetil's attending the fire-temple secretly in a Parsee dress.

Anquetil's subsequent account¹ of his stay and last days in Surat shows, that at the time of his departure from Surat, Darab was obliged to restrain his goods for non-payment of the debt due to him and his cousin Kaus for the manuscripts supplied to him. The financial affairs of the French factory at Surat during the last year of Anquetil's stay were so bad, that Anquetil was not paid, during the whole of the year, his regular fixed stipends. So, it is possible that he could not pay Dastor Darab for the manuscripts he purchased for him during the year and for the tuition he had from him. The visit to the Dar-i-Meher took place about nine months before the date of his departure from Surat. So, it seems, that at the time of the visit, Anquetil had stopped payments to Darab, both for any manuscripts written for him by Darab at the time and for the monthly stipends for tuition. Thus, Anquetil owed a debt to Darab at the time of the visit. That being the case, it passed beyond belief, that Darab, who magnanimously allowed the debt to grow, could stoop to ask for "a small present" to show the sacred fire to him clandestinely and to ask for a small offering at the temple.

I think, that we get a strong evidence of the untruthfulness of Anquetil's account of his alleged secret visit to the temple from the book of another traveller, Stavrinus, who was an officer of the naval fleet of the Dutch. He had travelled in the East and was in Surat in about 1777 A. D., i.e., about 16 years after Anquetil. Mr. Samuel Hull Wilcocke has translated in 3 volumes the accounts of his travels in the East. Stavrinus gives a long account of his visit to Surat, and therein, while speaking of the Parsees of Surat,² refers to their Towers of Silence. There he thus refers to Anquetil's visit: "I had been told, that the great curiosity of the brother of the French chief, De Briancourt, to behold the inside of one of these charnel houses, would have cost him his life, had not his brother come in time to his assistance with some military; he was

¹ Vol. I. P. I. pp. 434-5.

² *Voyages to the East Indies*, by Stavrinus, translated by Samuel Hull Wilcocke, Vol. II, pp. 50-11.

assaulted by a number of Parsees when he entered the gate, as he had been watched by them when he got up the wall."¹

Anquetil himself thus refers to his visit to the Towers of Silence: "Sometime afterwards (*i.e.*, after the visit to the Fire-temple), I went out of Surat to see the Dakhmes (the cemeteries) of the Parsees . . . Several Parsees who saw me from a distance murmured against my curiosity. In the meantime there came a funeral procession and I was obliged to withdraw. . . . On my return, the murmurs increased. In the streets of Surat, several Parsees said loudly that I had profaned the place of their sepulchre, but their complaints had no other consequences."

These two statements show, how, within the short space of a few years, about 20, facts got exaggerated and mis-reported. Anquetil says nothing of climbing over a wall, or of an assault, or of the military being called. But a subsequent traveller heard exaggerated reports of Anquetil's visit to the Towers. Now, what I mean to advance from the fact of Stavorinus's exaggerated account is this: There was the fact of Anquetil's visit to the Towers of Silence. His visit was confined to the surrounding ground or compound, his presence in which even was disliked by the Parsees who were expecting a funeral at the time.² What occurred at the visit was afterwards exaggerated and talked of in the town, and Stavorinus heard of the exaggerated report when he went there about 16 years afterwards. Anquetil must have told of his visit to the Towers, at least to his brother, Anquetil De Briancourt, who was at the head of the French Factory, because we find his (brother's) name associated with the story as Stavorinus heard it. In the same way, had the secret visit of the Fire-temple in the disguise of a Parsee been a fact, Anquetil would have told it, at least to his brother, who would then have, rather boastingly, told it to others and those others would have told it to Stavorinus, and the matter could have been talked of in the streets. Nothing of the kind has occurred. This shows, that the idea of giving, in the open visit of a fire-temple from which sacred fire was removed for the time being, the shape and form of a clandestine secret

¹ *Ibid.* p. 307.

² Even now, many Parsees do not like the presence of foreigners in the compound of the Towers as curious sight-seers at the time when funerals come in, and on occasions of the performance of religious ceremonies. The permits for visits to the Bombay Towers bear the following instructions to visitors: "Visitors are requested to withdraw from the compound when the funeral and other religious ceremonies are performed. Visitors will not be allowed to enter the compound on the day of *Farvarden*. Visitors are requested not to smoke, and not to carry any camera with them into the compound. This permit is issued free of charge. Nothing is to be paid at the Towers."

visit in a Parsee garb, seems to have occurred to Anquetil much later on, after leaving India.

Mademoiselle Menant in her lecture on "Anquetil Duperron à Surate"¹ believes Anquetil's statement as partly true, and gives the following reason for a learned and esteemed priest like Dastur Darab clandestinely showing the temple to an alien: "Darab croyait . . . À la conversion de jeune Ferengui, son élève, et il avait estimé sans doute que cette faveur suprême achèverait de faire tomber ses dernières hésitations." She quotes in italics Anquetil's few words in her support, though she sets aside his ironical remark, that Darab's belief was intended for a solace to his conscience.

Now, how can we take it, that Darab really believed, that Anquetil was a likely proselyte, (a) when there were long assertions by Anquetil himself, more than once, and in the temple itself, that he was a Christian, and (b) when he refused to give up smoking? The learned lady has taken only a very short passing notice of the question and has not said anything about Anquetil's contradictions and misstatements. She takes rather a sympathetic, appreciative and estimable view of the conduct of Darab; but, from her point of view also, Darab, though an esteemed Dastur in her eyes, seems to stand condemned for having done a wrongful act for the sake of money, &c. Again, how could Darab permit Anquetil to see the sacred fire on the mere hope, that he was likely to be a Zoroastrian proselyte, because proselytism was not known at the time? There were no known authentic instances of proselytism amongst the Parsees.

The day of Anquetil's visit to the temple was, as said by him, 20th June 1760. That corresponds to roz 6, Khor-dad, mah 9 Adar, Shâhânshâhi, 1129 Yazdazardi. I suppose that the fire-temple was consecrated on roz 9 Adar, mah 9 Adar, i.e., the Adirgân Jashan Day. Adar is the Yazata or angel presiding over fire. The 9th of the month bears that name and the 9th month of the year also, bears that name. So, the 9th day Adar, of the 9 month, Adar, is a holy day with the Parsees, especially, in connection with their esteem and reverence for fire. That being the case, whenever convenient, some fire-temples are founded or consecrated on that day; and so, the anniversaries of the foundation or consecration of those temples occur on that day of the Adargân festival in all subsequent years. For example, that is the case with the great and the oldest Indian Fire-temple at

¹ In 1907, p. 47

Udwādā. The same is also the case with the Banaji, Manockjee Seth, Ashburner and Dorabji Jamsi fire-temples in Bombay. I think, that similarly, the Adargān feast day was the consecration day of Darab's fire-temple. So, its anniversary in the year of Anquetil's visit 1760 (roz Adar, mah Adar, 1129 Shāhānshāhi Yazdazardi) fell on the 23rd of June. That being the case, Darab must have removed the sacred fire from its chamber to some other place to get the fire-temple repaired and white-washed for the occasion. This is usually done, even now, in the case of many fire-temples. Non-Parsees then go into the temple for the purpose of repairing and white-washing. Thus, we can understand, why Darab chose that day. Knowing before hand, that for the occasion of the coming anniversary of his fire-temple (on the 23rd of June 1760), he had to remove the sacred fire from the chamber for cleaning, repairing and white-washing the temple, he appointed the 20th of June as the day of the visit, so that, after the visit, he can get the place washed by Parsees and re-instate the sacred fire before the 23rd June.

There is one thing, which we must consider in connection with this matter. Anquetil says: "He (Darab) took for that visit a rainy day." This statement may be taken by some to imply, that Darab purposely preferred a dark rainy day for the clandestine visit. But that cannot be the case; the arrangement for the visit must have been made some days previously, at least a day or two previously. At least, Anquetil does not say, that it was made suddenly on a particular day. So, we take it, that it was arranged previously. Now, how can Darab predict or prognosticate, that the particular day—the 20th of June 1760—would be a rainy day? Even take it for granted, that the arrangement was not done previously, and the hour 6-30 p. m. was fixed on the same day, say in the morning or noon of that day. How can Darab prognosticate, that the hour of the visit would be rainy and dark? The probability is, that Darab, knowing that the fire-temple was to be white-washed for the coming anniversary of its consecration on the 23rd instant, appointed the third day before it for the visit and made all possible preparations, even a mock or counterfeit fire-service to show the temple properly to Anquetil. Everything was there in the temple in its proper place, except the sacred fire and some sacred requisites. After the visit, he must have washed the place as they do now, and brought in again the sacred fire and requisites. The day happened to be rainy, because it was the time when the Indian monsoons on the Western Coast just break in.

But, there is one thing, which one may possibly advance against me in the matter of this supposition. It may be said, that Darab was not a Shâhânsâhi. He was a Kadmi. So, naturally, he would be expected to consecrate his temple on the Kadmi Adargân Jashan day, which fell in May and not in June. But Anquetil himself helps us in meeting this objection. He says in another part of his book¹: "That Dar-i-Meher, which I am going to describe, is the only one which the Parsees have in Surat² (le seul que les Parsees avaient à Surate). It has been built about 35 or 40 years ago (il a été construit il y a trente cinq à quarante ans) and belongs to Dastur Darab and his family."

Let us with the help of this statement determine the date of the foundation or consecration of this temple. Anquetil says, that it was built 35 or 40 years before, but he does not say, whether he means 35 or 40 years before the time of his visit in 1760 or before the time when he wrote or published his book in 1771. But to be on the safe side, let us take it that he meant 1771, the date of his publication. Again to be still more on the safe side, of the two number, 35 or 40, let us take the lesser number 35. Thus, on his own statement, Darab's temple was built 35 years before 1771, i. e., in 1736. In that year (1736), Darab had not as yet turned Kadmi. He was then still Shâhânsâhi. It was in 1745, that he became Kadmi and became the head of the sect. Thus, we see the justification for the day of consecration and anniversary of his temple being the Adargân Jashan day, according to the calendar of the Shâhânsâhis.

IX.

CONCLUSION.

From all the above considerations, I come to the conclusion, that

What are the facts and what incorrect exaggerations? Anquetil's statement about the visit of the fire-temple is a mixture of facts and of incorrect exaggerations or hoastings, of what had actually occurred and of what Anquetil added from his own imagination to give a colour of a great risky adventure to his visit. The facts are the following :—

1. It may be true, that he saw the building of a Fire-temple from within, on 20th June 1760, probably a rainy day. It was a day, on which the sacred fire of the temple was removed, probably because the temple was being white-washed by non-Parsees for its coming anniversary on the 23rd of June 1760. Probably, Darab asked his son to perform the Bui-dâdan ceremony for feeding the fire, to give Anquetil an idea

¹ Zend Avesta, Tome II, p. 368.

² I. e., in the City itself, others being in the suburbs.

of the ceremony, an ordinary household fire being brought into use for the occasion. This is what is done and can be done even now.

2. It may be true, that he went in with a sabre and a pistol ; but he did that in his usual European dress, as almost all Europeans carried sword and pistol in those days.

3. It may be true, that he was accompanied by a peon as many Europeans used to be so accompanied in those days.

4. It may be true, that he inspected the temple for about an hour, and understood all things from Darab. He may have taken notes of what he saw, and perhaps even took measurements of the place, or the measurements, etc., were supplied to him by Dastur Darab at the time or later on.

But, all the following matters stated or implied by Anquetil are *not* true but are the results of his imagination and invented to give a colour to his visit:—

1. It is not true, that he went disguised as a Parsee and that Darab arranged for such a clandestine visit.

2. It is not true, that Darab consented to show Anquetil the temple for the trifle of "a small present" from him and for the hope of a ride in his palanquin.

3. It is not true, that Darab asked for a small offering for the fire, or that he tried to squeeze it out of him.

4. It is not true, that Darab hesitated to show him the Yazashneh-khāneh.

In short, Anquetil's visit was an open day visit and not a clandestine visit in a Parsee dress. What happened was, what would ordinarily happen, and what happens under similar circumstances even now. There was nothing for which Darab had the least reason to be ashamed.

About 50 or 60 years ago, the late Dr. Haug was given an opportunity to see many Parsee ceremonies and rites. I remember myself being at two such mock-services. One was arranged in 1886 or 1887 at the Appa Bag by the late Dastur Dr. Jamaspjee Minocherjee Jamaspasi, to be shown to the late Professor James Darmesteter, who was accompanied by Sir John Jardine, then a Judge of our High Court. I remember this instance, because I was asked by Dastur Jamaspji to explain the ritual, etc., to Professor Darmesteter when it was being

performed. The other instance was, I think, in 1901, when the late Mr. R. R. Kama had arranged to show the Yasna ceremony at the Dady Seth Fire-temple to Professor A. W. Jackson of the Columbia University of America. I remember having shown a Parsee Fire-temple in the Gola Lane in the fort in Bombay, to Mr. Kettridge of America, a few days before its second consecration when the temple was rebuilt. Not to go far in the past, take the case of Rev. Dr. Moulton, who is in our midst at present. He tells me, that he was given an opportunity to see a part of the Yasna ceremony at Kurachee by Dastur Dr. Dhulla, who got it performed at his place. As said above, Dr. Moulton, while attending at the Navjote ceremony of the child of my friend Mr. Rustom Burjorji Paymaster, on 22nd December last year, had an opportunity to see the inside, except the sanctum sanctorum where the consecrated fire was burning, of the oldest Parsee temple, the Dady Seth Fire-temple, a temple of the first grade (an Atash Behram) which was then being repaired. He even saw the Yuzashna-gah there.¹

I think that a similar thing was done by Dastur Darab. He must have called Anquetil to his Fire-temple from which the sacred fire must have been removed for the time being. Anquetil went there openly, dressed in his usual European dress, and was shown the ritual of *Bui-dâdân*, i. e., feeding the fire by Darab's son at the direction of his father; and that was done at a time earlier than that of the setting in of the *Aiwisruthrem gah*, the actual time when the sacred fire is fed with sandal accompanied by a religious service. I myself had done in 1901, a thing similar to what, I think, Darab did. The Seth Jejeebhoy Dadabhoy Fire-temple, of which I was then in charge, was under repair in March-April 1901. So, when the consecrated fire was removed from the fire-chamber to another place for the time being, to admit the non-Parsee labourers, I took to the fire-temple Mademoiselle D. Menant and Professor Jackson, who had, during that year, come to India to study Parseeism in its home in Bombay and Gujerat. I showed them the temple and also the fire-chamber with all its accessories, except the sacred fire, which was removed from it. I could have, had I liked, and if they had wished, even placed an ordinary fire upon the fire vase, to give them a complete idea of the fire-chamber with its fire. I had also my library in that year in the Fire-temple itself and I remember having shown it also to

¹ After writing the above and after reading this paper, I showed on 13th February 1916 to Dr. D. B. Spooner, the excavator of the Pataliputra Perseopolitan palace-rooms, the above Dady Seth Atash-Behram and the Manockji Seth's Adarân, which were both being repaired. I also showed the Dady Seth Atash-Behram on Wednesday, the 29th March 1916, to Rev. Henkys, Chaplain of a British Regiment.

the above visitors. I had also the pleasure of supplying a detail plan of this temple to the late Prof. James Darmesteter.¹

From all these facts, we see, that what can legitimately be done now, was done by Dastur Darab. But, Anquetil, to take some false credit of having done an extraordinary fact, gives the act an air of illegitimacy.

One could have perhaps easily contradicted Anquetil, had some of Darab's papers been available. But all his books, and papers were lost in the great fire of 1837 at Surat, when his Dar-i-Meher and his adjoining house, with all their furniture, books, and papers were burnt. It is said, that the inmates had to leave the house suddenly to save their lives, and saved nothing but the clothes in which they were clad.

All honour is due to Anquetil, and all our homage is due to his memory, for his great adventure of having enlisted as a soldier at first and started to come to India to study Zoroastrianism in its adopted home, and to be the first to open the eyes of Western Scholars to the ancient Persian lore. But, it is a pity, that in order to give some false brilliancy to his work, he overstated, exaggerated and even mis-stated facts and willingly or unwillingly defamed the good name of a learned Dastur.

¹ Vide "Le Zend Avesta," par James Darmesteter Premier Volume, p. LVIII, Plate I.

ART XVI.—*Ancient Pātaliputra. Dr. D. B. Spooner's
Recent Excavations at its site and the Question of the
Influence of Ancient Persia upon India.*

By

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., PH.D.

(Read on 3rd March 1916.)

I.

During the last year, our attention has been drawn to the great question of the Influence of Ancient Irān upon India, by two great archaeological excavations. The first excavation is that of the ruins of the ancient city of Taxāla by Sir John Marshall, and the second that of the ruins of the ancient city of Pātaliputra (modern Patna) by Dr. D. B. Spooner. The object of this Paper is three-fold.—

I. To give a brief account of the history of Pātaliputra and of its past and present excavations from an Irānian point of view.

II. To examine the general question of the influence of ancient Iran upon ancient India.

III. To present a few constructive observations on Dr. Spooner's literary evidence about the influence of Irān, from an Irānian point of view.

I want to speak on these subjects, not from any archaeological or architectural point of view, but from a literary point of view, and that from an Irānian point of view. I leave it to archaeologists to examine Dr. Spooner's archaeological evidences and to scholars of Indian literature to examine his evidences from Indian books.

Before speaking of Dr. Spooner's excavations at Pātaliputra, the subject proper of my Paper, I will say a few words on Sir John Marshall's excavations at Taxāla, where also the question of the influence of Irān on India is connected with the discovery of the ruins of, what Sir John calls, a Zoroastrian temple.

II.

The ruins of Taxāla are situated at a place called Kalika Surāi, near the village of Shah Dheri, about 24 miles from Rawalpindi. I had the pleasure of visiting the ruins on 16th July 1915, on my return journey from Kashmir. Thanks to the kindness and courtesy of Sir John Marshall, I was given an opportunity to see the ruins, though the actual excavation work was stopped owing to the hot weather. What I was most interested in, as a Parsee; in these excavations of Taxāla was the excavation of, the "Mound of Jhandial", so called from an adjoining modern village of that name. Sir John Marshall has excavated there a temple, which he calls "The Temple of Jhandiala," and which he thinks to be an ancient Parsee Fire-temple of the Parthian times.

We gather the following brief account of the temple, from the description, as given by Sir John Marshall, in his Lecture before the Punjab Historical Society¹ :
 The Account of the Temple of Jhandiala. It is a temple unlike any yet known in India but resembling a Greek temple. The Greek temple was surrounded by (a) peristyle or a range of columns, (b) a *pronaos* or front porch, (c) a *naos, or cella* or sanctuary and (d) an *opisthodomos* or a back porch at the rear. As in the case of some Greek temples, e.g., the Parthenon² at Athens, (e) "there is an extra chamber between the sanctuary and back porch." The Taxāla Temple has, (a) instead of a range of columns to support the building "a wall pierced by large windows at frequent intervals, with two Ionic columns between pilasters at the entrance." (b) It has a front porch : (c) then comes the sanctuary ; and then (d) a back porch. In place of the (e) extra chamber seen in a Greek temple, here, there is a tower of solid masonry with a foundation of about 30 feet. The temple is unlike any Buddhist, Brahmanical or Jain temple in India. So, it must belong to another religion. The tower was a sort of Chaldaen *Zikurrat* on the summit of which was a fire-altar. From all these considerations, Sir John Marshall thinks the building to be "a temple dedicated to the Zoroastrian Worship." "This is the only plausible hypothesis", he adds, "which seems to me to explain the peculiar structure of the solid tower in the middle of the building and the entire absence of any images. The Persians, as we know, set their fire-altars in high places, and raised on lofty substructures. We know, moreover, that the idea of

¹ Lecture by Dr. J. H. Marshall, C.I.E., delivered before the Punjab Historical Society, August 29th, 1914, p. 7.

² I had the pleasure of seeing the Parthenon at Athens on 3rd November 1880.

the Assyrian *Zikurrat* was familiar to the Persians, and there is nothing more likely than that they borrowed its design for their fire-temples.¹

I will quote here, what I have said elsewhere,² as my few observations on Sir John Marshall's account of the Temple :

"Not being a student, of archaeology, I do not venture to speak with any authority, as to whether Sir John's opinion about that temple is correct. But as an humble student of Zoroastrianism, knowing something about its fire-temples and the customs of the fire-cult, and having examined very carefully the structure of the Jhandiala Temple, I venture to say, that I observed nothing that could be said to go against Sir John's views about the building being a Zoroastrian Temple of old. On the other hand, in main principles, the structure even resembled some of our modern fire-temples.

"But there is one point, on which I have my doubts. The learned archaeologist thinks, that the tower is the seat of a fire-altar at the top, and takes, as the ground for this view, the fact that the Persians had their fire altars in high places. Of course, he has the authority of Herodotus, (Book I, 131). But, I think, that that view would not apply to later Parthian times—about 500 years after Herodotus,—to which Sir John Marshall attributes the Temple on archaeological grounds. If some further researches lead him to attribute the temple to more ancient times—say the time when Darius the Great invaded India with his large army of Persians and when he passed through this part of the Punjab—then his view of the use of the Tower may possibly, though not assuredly, be held to be stronger. What I mean to say is, that, at one time, when a Zoroastrian Temple stood in the midst of Zoroastrian surroundings, it was possible to let the sacred fire burn in an open place like the top of a tower, but not, when it stood in surroundings other than strictly Zoroastrian, in surroundings associated with Buddhists, Brahmins, Jains and others, as was the case when the Parthians occupied this part of the country at the time attributed to it by Sir John Marshall.

"So, I think, the *naos*, or sanctuary was the place of the fire altar and the dias or platform in it was the place of the utensils at the fire altar, and the place standing over which the priests fed the sacred fire. The tower itself had of course a religious purpose, *viz.*, that of saying prayers in praise of the Sun, Moon, Water, and the grand Nature which led a Zoroastrian's thoughts from Nature to Nature's God.

¹ The Times of India of 11th August 1915.

Of all the modern fire-temples of India, the one at present in the old Parsi centre of Naosari seems to suggest this view and seems to come nearer to the Taxîlâ tower. There, near the place of the sanctuary wherein the sacred fire is burning, there is a small two-storied building, reminding one of a tower, though not exactly a tower, on which the worshippers went to have a look at the distant Purnâ river and to say their Ardvîsura Nyâish, and even the Khorshed and Meher Nyâishes. It was a place which gave them a more open look of the whole of the surrounding nature. The Taxîlâ temple tower may have been intended for a similar purpose."

III.

I. PĀTALIPUTRA—ITS HISTORY. THE IDENTIFICATION OF ITS SITE. ITS EXCAVATIONS.

It is the second group of excavations, *viz.*, that at Pâtaliputra, financed by Mr. Ratan Tata, that has drawn more public attention. When the attention of us here in Bombay was first drawn to the subject, at the close of the year 1914, by a letter, dated 16th October, of the London correspondent of the "Times of India," published in the issue of 9th November 1914, in a para entitled "Parsee Dominion in India", I had the pleasure of writing in that Paper, in its issue of 12th November. I then said: "The Mahomedan Historian Firishhta speaks of the conquest, by the old Irânian Kings, of even further east.¹ Even the Vendîdâd speaks of the India of the Persians as extending to the East, and now the para in your Paper speaks of the modern excavations at Pâtaliputra (Patna), as pointing to an actual dominion of ancient Irânians in the east, further than Punjab; but further details will enable us to see properly whether the recent excavations point to an actual dominion extended up to there, or only to the influence of Persipolitan architecture on Indian architecture which is seen in more than one place."

Further details, mostly from a literary point of view, have now been given to us by the learned excavator, Dr. D. B. Spooner. His excavations led him to some inquiries, the result of which he has embodied in a Paper, entitled "The Zoroastrian period of Indian History," published in two parts, in the *Journal*² of the Royal Asiatic Society of England. This Paper of Dr. Spooner has, as it were, to use the words of the late Professor Maxmüller,³ used on a somewhat similar occasion

¹ *I.e.* further than Punjab.

² Issues of January and July 1915.

³ Prof. Maxmüller's article "The date of the Zend Avesta" in the *Contemporary Review* of December 1893, Vol. XLIV, p. 869.

of, what may be called, literary heresy, thrown a bomb-shell into the peaceful camp of Oriental scholars. This paper and some correspondence I had with the learned author,¹ has suggested to me the subject of this Paper, the main object of which is to show, that there are many facts or evidences which point to the conclusion, that, at one time, ancient Persia had very great influence upon India; and so, there is a great likelihood of Dr. Spooner's theory of an extraordinary influence being generally correct, though any particular argument or arguments or pleas, here or there, may be incorrect or weak.

Before giving the story of Dr. Spooner's excavations I will give here in brief:

- (A) The history of the old city of Pātaliputra.
- (B) An account of the attempts to identify its site.
- (C) An account of the Identification and Excavations of the ruins of its buildings, referred to by old writers like the Chinese travellers, Fā Hien and Hiuen Tsiang.

IV.

(A) THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF PĀTALIPUTRA.

The history of this city, as in the case of all old cities or countries, begins with its legendary history or origin. This legendary origin also gives us the meaning of its name.

Pātaliputra (पाटलिपुत्र), the modern Patna, is the Palibothra of Megasthenes, who was the Ambassador of Seleucus Nicator in the reign of King Chandra Gupta, about 300 B. C. It is situated on a confluence of the rivers Ganges and Son or Sena. It was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Magadha. It was also anciently known as Kusumpur (कुसुमपुर) and Pushyapur (पुष्यपुर), both meaning a city of flowers. The name, therefore, corresponds to the name of Florence, and the city is spoken of as "the Indian Florence."²

The name Pātaliputra is taken to mean "the Son (putra पुत्र) of Pātali (पाटलि)" i.e., the trumpet flower. The Legend, which describes the origin of this ancient city, and which explains the above meaning of its name, is thus related by the Chinese traveller

¹ Since then, I had the pleasure of two long interviews with Dr. Spooner in Bombay on the 15th and 17th of February 1916, when we had a long exchange of views.

² Dr. James Legge in his "Record of Buddhist Kingdoms," being an Account of the Chinese monk Fā-Hien of his travels in India and Ceylon, 399-414 A. D. (1886), p. 77, n. 1.

Hsien Tsiang¹ (about A.D. 629) :—" To the south of the river Ganges there is an old city about 70 li round. Although it has been long deserted, its foundation walls still survive. Formerly, when men's lives were incalculably long, it was called Kusumapura (K'u-su-mo-pu-lo,) ² so called, because the palace of the King had many flowers. Afterwards, when men's age reached several thousands of years; then its name was changed to Pātaliputra³ (Po-ch'a-li-tsu-ch'ing).

" At the beginning there was a Brahmin of high talent and singular learning. Many thousands flocked to him to receive instruction. One day all the students went out on a tour of observation; one of them betrayed a feeling of unquiet and distress. His fellow-students addressed him and said, 'What troubles you, friend?' He said, 'I am in my full maturity (beauty) with perfect strength, and yet I go on wandering about here like a lonely shadow till years and months have passed, and my duties (manly duties) not performed. Thinking of this, my words are sad and my heart is afflicted.' On this, his companions in sport replied, 'We must seek then for your good a bride and her friends.' Then they supposed two persons to represent the father and mother of the bridegroom, and two persons the father and mother of the bride, and as they were sitting under a Patali (po-ch'a-li) tree, they called it the tree of the son-in-law.⁴ Then they gathered seasonable fruits and pure water, and followed all the nuptial customs; and requested a time to be fixed. Then the father of the supposed bride gathering a twig with flowers on it, gave it to the student and said, 'This is your excellent partner; be graciously pleased to accept her.' The student's heart was rejoiced as he took her to himself. And now, as the sun was setting, they proposed to return home; but the young student, affected by love, preferred to remain.

" Then the other said: 'All this was fun; pray come back with us; there are wild beasts in this forest; we are afraid, they will kill you.' But the student preferred to remain walking up and down by the side of the tree.

" After sunset, a strange light lit up the plain, the sound of pipes and lutes with their soft music (was heard), and the ground was covered with a sumptuous carpet. Suddenly an old man of gentle mien was

¹ Si-yukki, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, translated from the Chinese of Hsien Tsiang (A. D. 629) by Samuel Beal (1884), Vol. II, pp. 82-84.

² "Explained in a note to *hsien Hsiang-hu-kong-ch'ing*—the city or royal precinct of the scented flower (kusuma).

³ "The text seems to refer the foundation of this city to a remote period, and in this respect is in agreement with Herodotus, who says (*lib. II, cap. 39*) that this city was founded by Heracles."

⁴ That is they made the tree father-in-law of the student; in other words he was to marry daughter of the tree, a Patali llover (*Bignonia suaveolens*).

seen coming, supporting himself by his staff, and there was also an old mother leading a young maiden. They were accompanied by a procession along the way, pressed in holiday attire and attended with music. The old man then pointed to the maiden and said: 'This is your worship's wife (lady).' Seven days then passed in carousing and music, when the companions of the student, in doubt whether he had been destroyed by wild beasts, went forth and came to the place. They found him alone in the shade of the tree, sitting as if facing a superior guest. They asked him to return with them, but he respectfully declined.

"After this he entered of his own accord the city, to pay respect to his relatives, and told them of this adventure from beginning to end. Having heard it with wonder, he returned with all his relatives and friends to the middle of the forest, and there they saw the flowering tree become a great mansion; servants of all kinds were hurrying to and fro on every side, and the old man came forward and received them with politeness, and entertained them with all kinds of dainties served up amidst the sound of music. After the usual compliments, the guests returned to the city and told to all, far and near, what had happened.

"After the year was accomplished, the wife gave birth to a son, when the husband said to his spouse, 'I wish now to return, but yet I cannot bear to be separated from you (your bridal residence); but if I rest here I fear the exposure to wind and weather.' The wife having heard this, told her father. The old man then addressed the student and said, 'Whilst living contented and happy why must you go back? I will build you a house; let there be no thought of desertion.' On this, his servants applied themselves to the work, and in less than a day it was finished.

"When the old capital of Kusumapura was changed, this town was chosen, and from the circumstance of the genii building the mansion of the youth the name henceforth of the country was Pātaliputra-pura (the city of the son of the Pātali tree)."

It seems,¹ that, at the place, where, later on, there arose the city of Pāṭaliputra, stood a village of the name of Pātali or Pātali-grāma. It was situated on the confluence of the Ganges and the Son. Sakya-mouni, the Buddha, in about the 4th or 5th century B. C., on his way from Rajgrīha, the old capital of the district,

¹ I give this early account of the old city, as collected by P. Vivien de Saint Martin in his "Étude sur la Géographie Grecque et Latine de l'Inde" (1838), Troisième Mémoire Appendix V Pātaliputra, pp. 439 et seq.

to Vasali, on crossing the Ganges, passed by this town. On seeing the village, he predicted that the village was destined to become a great city. The words of the prophecy, as given by Col. Waddell, run thus :

'Among famous places, busy marts and emporiums, Pātaliputra will be the greatest; (but) three perils will threaten it—fire, water and internal strife.'¹ Rājā Ajātasatru, the son of Bimbisāra, who had become the king of the country, about 8 years before the death of Buddha, had his capital at that time at Rajgir (Rajgriha). He got this village or town of Pātaligrāma duly fortified with an eye to the future, as it was in the midst of several provinces and small republics. It stood at a point of great commercial and strategical importance at or near the confluence of all the five great rivers of Mid-India, namely, the Ganges, the Gogra, the Rāpti, the Gandak and the Son.'²

The Vāyu Purāṇa attributes the real foundation of Pātaliputra to Rājā Ajāta Sātru's grandson, Udaya or Udayācva. It was he who first removed the capital there from Rajgriha. This happened then during the last part of the 6th century B. C., because Udayā came to throne in 519 B. C., about 24 years after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha. Ajāta Sātru is said to have fortified the old city with a view to check "the rigorous invading Aryans," who were the Lichhavis of Mithila.

Both, Megasthenes (about B. C. 300-302), the ambassador of Seleucus Nicator at the Court of Chandra-Gupta, and Chanakya, Chandra-Gupta's minister, have left us some accounts of the magnificence of the royal court at this city in the time of Chandra-Gupta (the Sandrakottos of the Greeks, Sandrakoptus of Athenæus, and Androkottos of Plutarch's *Life of Alexander the Great*). In the same way as some supernatural or divine powers were associated with the founding of this city, some divine powers were attributed to the rise of Chandra-Gupta to the throne from an humble origin.³

3. Its History in the time of Chandra-Gupta, as described on the authority of Megasthenes by (a) Strabo and (b) Arrian.

¹ Buddha's prophecy, quoted by Col. Waddell at the beginning of his Report on the Excavations at Pātaliputra (1903) p. 1. cf. Buddha's way of describing the city, and its curses or evils with the way in which Ahura Mazda describes the foundation of the 16 Iranian cities in the first chapter of the Vendidad, wherein, with each city, a mention is made of the accompanying evil or curse.

² "Report on the Excavations at Pātaliputra" by Dr L. A. Waddell (1903), p. 2.

³ Col. Waddell's Report on the Excavations at Pātaliputra (1903), p. 3.

Strabo, in one place, includes Megasthenes, from whom the Greeks knew much of India, among "a set of liars,"¹

(a) Strabo, and says, that no faith can be placed in him.

He coined "the fables concerning men." Strabo seems to have condemned Megasthenes and with him also Deimachus, the Greek Ambassador in the Court of Altirochades, the son of Sandrocottus, (Chandragupta), because they coined or described many fables. In another place, he follows the account of Megasthenes without showing any doubt about that account. He thus speaks of Palibothra: "It is in the shape of a parallelogram, surrounded by a wooden wall pierced with openings through which arrows may be discharged. In front is a ditch, which serves the purpose of defence and of a sewer for the city. The people, in whose country the city is situated are the most distinguished of all the tribes, and are called Prasii. The King, besides his family name, has the surname of Palibothrus, as the king to whom Megasthenes was sent on an embassy had the name of Sandrocottus."²

Arrian speaks thus of Pataliputra and the Manners of the Indians:

(b) Arrian, "It is further said that the Indians do not rear monuments to the dead, but consider the virtues which men have displayed in life, and the songs in which their praises are celebrated, sufficient to preserve their memory after death. But of their cities it is said, that the number is so great, that it cannot be stated with precision, but that such cities as are situated on the banks of rivers or on the sea-coast are built of wood instead of brick, being meant to last only for a time—so destructive are the heavy rains which pour down, and the rivers also when they overflow their banks and inundate the plains—while those cities which stand on commanding situations and lofty eminences are built of brick and mud; that the greatest city in India is that which is called Palimbothra, in the dominions of the Prasians, where the streams of the Erannoboas and the Ganges unite, the Ganges being the greatest of all rivers, and the Erannobos being perhaps the third largest of Indian rivers, though greater than the greatest rivers elsewhere; but it is smaller than the Ganges where it falls into it. Megasthenes informs us that this city stretched in the inhabited quarters to an extreme length on each side of eighty stadia,³ and that its breadth was fifteen stadia,⁴ and that a ditch encompassed it all round, which

¹ The Geography of Strabo, Book II, Chapters I. 9. Hamilton and Falconer's Translation, 1854, Vol. I, p. 108.

² *Ibid.* Book. XV, Chapter 1, 36, Vol. III, p. 97.

³ *I. e.*, 9.2 miles.

⁴ *I. e.*, 1.7 miles.

was six hundred feet in breadth and thirty cubits in depth, and that the wall was crowned with 570 towers and had four-and-sixty gates. The same writer tells us further this remarkable fact about India, that all the Indians are free, and not one of them is a slave. The Lakedæmonians and the Indians are here so far in agreement. The Lakedæmonians, however, hold the Helots as slaves, and these Helots do servile labour; but the Indians do not even use aliens as slaves, and much less a country-man of their own."¹

Pātaliputra seems to have risen to its zenith in the time of Chāṇḍi-gupta's grandson, the great Asoka (about B. C. 250), "the greatest of Indian Emperors,"² the contemporary and ally of Antiochus II of Syria, Ptolemy of Egypt, Antigonus Gonatus of Macedon, Magas of Cyrene, and Alexander of Epirus, as referred to in some of his (Asoka's) inscriptions. Stone is not found in plenty in this part of India. So, most of the royal buildings of the preceding times were built of wood. It is Asoka, who introduced the use of stones. Col. Waddell thus speaks on the subject: "The buildings previous to his epoch, as well as the walls of the city, seem all to have been of wood, like most of the palaces, temples and stockades of Burma and Japan in the present day. The change which he (Asoka) effected to hewn stone was so sudden and impressive and the stones which he used were so colossal, that he came latterly to be associated in popular tales with the giants or genii (*yaksha*) by whose superhuman agency it was alleged he had reared his monuments; and a fabulous romantic origin was invented for his marvellous capital. It was possibly owing to Asoka's gigantic stone buildings that the Greeks ascribed the building of the city to Hercules, for they had several accounts of it subsequent to the time of Megasthenes. It is also possible that this legend of the giants may have partly arisen through Asoka having made use of sculptured figures of the giants to adorn his buildings."³

With the downfall of the dynasty of Asoka, the city also had its downfall due probably to fire, flood and internal quarrels, the three curses or evils said to have been prophesied by Budha. The older wooden buildings of the city may have led to frequent fires, and the peculiar position of the city on, or near the place of, the confluence of several rivers may have led to frequent floods. From the

¹ The India of Arrian X (Ancient India, as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, Translation by J. W. McCrindle 1877, pp. 204-8).

² Dr. Waddell's Report of the Excavations at Pātaliputra, p. 6.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

third to the fifth century A. D., it continued, however fallen, to be the capital of Gupta kings, some of whom patronised Buddhism.

Fa-Hien, who had visited it (about B. C. 399-414), thus speaks of

6. History in Fa-Hien's time. "the town of Pataliputra in the Kingdom of Magadha, the City where Asoka ruled": "The royal palace and halls, in the midst of the city, which exist now as of old, were all made by spirits which he employed, and which piled up the stones, reared the walls and gates, and executed the elegant carving and inlaid sculpture-work in a way which no human hands of this world could accomplish." Though fallen, Pataliputra was still a seat of learning, and as such, it was visited by him. He stayed and studied there for three years.

We have given above the account of Hiuen Tsiang (639 A. D.) on the supposed origin of Pataliputra; which also

7. History in Hiuen Tsiang's time. gives the meaning of the name. This Chinese traveller saw the city in ruins. He further says: "To the north of the old palace of the king is a stone pillar several tens of feet high; this is the place where Asoka (Wu-Yau) rājā made 'a hell'. In the hundredth year after the Nirvāṇa of Tathāgata, there was a king called Ashoka (O-shu-kiā),² who was the great grandson of Bimbisāra rājā. He changed his capital from Rājagṛīha to Pātali (pura) and built an outside rampart to surround the whole city. Since then many generations have passed, and now there only remain the old foundation walls (of the city). The Saṅghārāmas³, Dēva temples and stūpas which lie in ruins may be counted by hundreds. There are only two or three remaining (entire)."⁴ Hiuen Tsiang then describes, how Asoka, on ascending the throne, was, at first, a cruel tyrant, and how he constituted here a hell for torturing people, how a pious Sramana escaped death at the hell, feeling the boiling caldron as cold as a cool lake, how king Asoka himself, having inadvertently come at the place, narrowly escaped being killed at the hell in conformity to his own order "that all who came to the walls of the hell should be killed", and how he at length destroyed the hell. In Hiuen Tsiang's time, the city, though in ruins had a circuit of about 12 to 14 miles.

¹ A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms, being an account of the Chinese Monk Fa-Hien, translated by Dr. James Legge (1890), p. 77. Chap. XXVII. Diodorus, the Sicilian (Hist. III, 3) also refers to its supernatural foundation thus: Hercules "was the founder of no small number of cities, the most renowned and greatest of which he called Palibothra."

² "O-shu-kiā is the Sanskrit form of Wu-yau; the latter in the Chinese form signifying 'sorrowless'."

³ i.e., the monasteries.

⁴ Si-yu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World, translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A. D. 639) by Samuel Beal (1884), Vol. II, pp. 83-86.

Coming to Mahomedan times, we find that it continued to remain deserted for a number of centuries. It was Shir Shāh, who, in about 1541 A. D., occupied it again as a royal city and built a fort there. It then came into importance under its modern name of Patna (Sansk. पटना) *i.e.*, the town or city. It is even now the capital of Behar.

V.

(B) AN ACCOUNT OF THE ATTEMPTS TO IDENTIFY THE SITE OF PĀTALIPUTRA.

Pliny, among the ancients, was the first to point to a particular place as the site of Pālībothra. He placed the city at 425 miles from the confluence of the river Jomanes (Junna) and Ganges.¹ He thus speaks of the city: "More famous and more powerful than any nation, not only in these regions, but throughout almost the whole of India, are the Prasii, who dwell in a city of vast extent and of remarkable opulence, called Palibothra; from which circumstance some writers have given to the people themselves the name of Palibothri, and, indeed, to the whole tract of country between Ganges and the Indus. These people keep on daily pay in their king's service an army consisting of six hundred thousand foot, thirty thousand horse, and nine thousand elephants, from which we may easily form a conjecture as to the vast extent of their resources."² Thus we see, that Pliny placed Palibothra (Pātāliputra) somewhere about 425 miles below the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamna.

European scholars began to attempt the identification of the site of Pātāliputra in the latter half of the 18th century.³

The first European in the field of identification was the well-known French Geographer D'Anville (1697-1782), who published in 1768, his "Géographie Ancienne Abrégée." This work was translated into English in two parts in 1791, under the name of *Compendium of Ancient Geography*. D'Anville, who erroneously identified the river Erannoboas, mentioned by the Greek writers who referred to Palibothra (Pātāliputra), with the Jamna, instead of with the river Son, placed Pātāliputra somewhere near Helibus (Allahabad). He was misled to this mistaken identification also by the name Prasii, which, according to the Greek writers,

¹ Pliny's *Natural History*, Book VI, Chap. 21. Bostwick and Riley's Translation (1855), Vol. II, p. 42.

² *Ibid.*, Chapter 22, p. 45.

³ Col. Waddell gives us a short account of these attempts in his "Report of the Excavations at Pataliputra" (1903), p. 9, *et seq.*

was the name of a great nation living there. He took this name Prasi to be the same as Prayē (Prayāg), which is another Indian name of Allahabad.¹ D'Anville said: "Palibothra, the most considerable city of India. It was situated on the Ganges, at the place where this river received a contributory stream, which appears the same as the Jumnes," although called Erannobas.² To this position corresponds that of Hetabas,³ which by the vestiges of antiquity, and the tradition of having been the dwelling of the parent of mankind, is a kind of sanctuary in the Indian paganism. The most powerful nation of India, the Prasi occupied the city under consideration; and the name of Prayē,⁴ which we find applied to Helabas, seems to perpetuate that of the nation.⁵

Rennell (1742-1830), the most celebrated of English Geographers, who has been held to be to England, what D'Anville was to France and Ritter to Germany, was the first to identify the site of modern Patna as that of the ancient Pātali-putra, (Palibothra). In his "Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan," published in 1788, he says, that, at first, he thought that Canoge (Kanauj) was the ancient Palibothra, but he gave up soon that first erroneous identification. He says: "Late enquiries made on the spot, have however, brought out this very interesting discovery, that a very large city, which anciently stood on or very near the site of Patna, was named Patel-poot-her (or Pātali-putra according to Sir William Jones) and that the river Soane, whose confluence with the Ganges is now at Moneah, 22 miles above Patna, once joined it under the walls of Patel-poot-her. This name agrees so nearly with Palibothra, and the intelligence altogether furnishes such positive kind of proof, that my former conjectures respecting Canoge must all fall to the ground."⁷ Later on, he confirms this and says "Pliny's Palibothra, however, is clearly Patna."⁸

Thomas Pennant (1726-1798), a known antiquary, began publishing in 1798, a work entitled "Outlines of the Globe." Thomas Pennant. He published only two volumes. The other two were published by his son David Pennant in 1800. He, agreeing with

1 "Compendium of Ancient Geography" by Monsieur D'Anville, translated from the French (1791), Part II, p. 543.

² Jamna.

³ The Greek form of Hira myabaha, i.e., "The Golden-armed," the ancient name of Son.

⁴ Allahabad.

⁵ Prayāg.

⁶ D'Anville, p. 543.

⁷ Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan by James Rennell (1828), p. 50.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

Rennell, identified the site near modern Patna with the ancient Palibothra or Pātaliputra. He said: "Mr. Rennell very justly places it near Patna, and supposes, not without reason, that the Soane had once flowed near its walls and that Palibothra was seated on the forks of both rivers"¹ (the Ganges and the Son).

Col. Willford, at first, in 1798, thought that Palibothra was the same as Rāj-griha (lit. the royal mansion) which was at first the capital city. One Bala-Rama "rebuilt it and assigned it as a residence for one of his sons, who are called in general Baliputras or the children of Bala. From this circumstance it was called Baliputra, or the town of the son of Bali; but in the spoken dialects it was called Bali-putra, because a putra, or son of Bali, resided in it. From Bali-putra, the Greeks made Pali-putra and Pali-botlra."² Tien, in 1822, he thought that Palibothra and Pātaliputra were two different towns, though near one another. He said "Palibothra and Pātaliputra now Patna.....these two towns were close to each other exactly like London and Westminster."³

Col. W. Francklin in 1815, identified the site of Pātaliputra with Bhagulpoor. He thus summed up his discussion: "If the evidence afforded by the hills which appear in the neighbourhood of the town and through a very great extent of what formerly constituted the Prasian kingdom, prior to the expedition of Alexander the Great; if these and other connecting circumstances, as well local and historical as traditional, be conceded, it will, I think, be also conceded to me, that they apply, in every instance throughout the discussion, as more naturally indicative of the town of Bhagulpoor possessing the site of Pālihothra and the metropolis of the Prasii, than either Rajmahal, Patna, Kanouj or Allahabad."⁴

In 1808, Dr. Buchanan Hamilton collected information from the priest near Patna which seemed to confirm Rennell's identification. This information was, that the oral tradition of the priests said, that the ancient name of the place was Pātaliputra.

After this time, there came to light the two itineraries of the Chinese travellers who were Buddhist monks, Fa Hien and Huen Tsiang.

¹ "Thomas Pennant's *Outlines of the Globe*," Vol. II. *The View of Hindoostan*, Vol. II. *Eastern Hindustan* (1793), p. 224.

² *Asiatic Researches* (1798), Vol. V, p. 269.

³ *Asiatic Researches* (1822), Vol. XIV, p. 380.

⁴ "Inquiry concerning the site of ancient Palibothra," by William Francklin (1817), part II, Preface p. III.

Their accounts of Pātaliputra have been referred to above. The details of their accounts about Pātaliputra, which they had visited as ancient seats of Buddhist learning, confirmed Rennell and Buchanan Hamilton's views that Patna was the site of the ancient Pāṇliputra. Though the topography of the place has been much changed, most of the geographical particulars of the Chinese travellers confirmed the above view and it was taken that the river Son¹ formerly joined the river Ganges at this place. The old bed of the river is still known as Mar-Son, *ie.*, the dead Son.

VI.

(C) AN ACCOUNT OF THE IDENTIFICATION AND EXCAVATIONS OF THE RUINS OF THE BUILDINGS, REFERRED TO BY THE CHINESE TRAVELLERS.

The site of the old city of Pātaliputra being settled as that at Patna, the next question was that of identifying the old Mauryan buildings referred to by old writers and by the old Chinese travellers, Fa-Hien and Hsuen-Tsiang. Col. Waddell gives an interesting brief narrative of these identifications. "

(a) In about 1845, Mr. Ravershaw declared that the mounds near Patna, known as Panch Pahari (*lit.* five mountains or hills) were the ruins of the bastions of the city of Pataliputra. The general opinion of the officers of the Archaeological Department at that time, was, that, though old Pātaliputra stood close to modern Patna, the traces of the old city did not exist at all, being carried away by river Ganges.

(b) In 1876, whilst digging a tank in a part of Patna, "the remains of a long wall" and "a line of palisades" of timber were first discovered.

Mr. McCrindle notes this discovery in his *Ancient India*² (1877).

(c) In 1878, General Cunningham, who has left his mark in the annals of the Archaeological Department of India, differing from the general view of his department, affirmed, that most of the remains of the old city did still exist at Panch Pahari and Chhoti. He assigned the ground between these two places as the site for Asoka's old palaces, monuments and monasteries. The above-said general view continued to exist in spite of Cunningham's opinion. (d) But Col. Waddell, as the result of a hurried visit in 1892, with the aid of the accounts of the above-mentioned two Chinese pilgrims, confirmed Cunningham's view, that most of the remains of Pātaliputra remained and were not washed

¹ The *Erranobas* of the Greeks. *Hira aiyabaha* or the Golden-Armed, the ancient name of Son, seems to have given to the Greeks the name *Erranobas*.

² Report on the Excavations at Pataliputra.

³ *Ancient India*, as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, by J. W. McCrindle (1877).

away by the river Ganges. He not only confirmed Cunningham's view, but also identified the sites and land-marks of some of the buildings of the old city,¹ such as Prince Mahendra's Hermitage Hill, the Raja's Palace, Asoka's Palace, etc. He made two visits in 1892. His further excavations in subsequent years further identified many ancient buildings.² Mr. P. C. Mukerjee also had made some preliminary investigations.

VII.

THE STORY OF DR. SPOONER'S EXCAVATIONS.

The story of the excavated building, as described by Dr. Spooner in his accounts of the Excavations³ is briefly as follows :—

Dr. Spooner's excavations have been made at a place known as Kumrahar at Patna, where, about 24 years ago, Col. Waddell⁴ had carried on some operations and had found some fragments of an Asokan column. He had then identified the spot, as that of one of the two Asokan pillars, referred to by Hiuen-Tsiang⁵ as the Nili⁶ Column. His discovery led the Government to think of further excavations at Pātaliputra. The costliness of the work caused some hesitation which was removed by Mr. Ruttan Tata's generous offer of an annual gift of Rs. 20,000 to the Government of India on certain conditions. It was resolved to spend this sum at Pātaliputra, and Dr. Spooner was entrusted with the work there. Col. Waddell, in his preliminary survey of the site, had, in a field near the village of Kumrahar on the south of Patna, found some fragments of polished stone with curved surfaces, which he thought were those of Mauryan pillars of Asoka. The reference, in the statements of the abovementioned two Chinese travellers, to two inscribed pillars of Asoka at Pātaliputra, had led Col. Waddell to this identification.

¹ Discovery of the exact site of Asoka's Classic Capital of Pātaliputra by L. A. Waddell, (1892).

² Report on the Excavations at Pataliputra (Patna), (1903).

³ Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, for 1912-13, 1913-14 and 1914-15.

⁴ "Discovery of the exact site of Asoka's classic Capital of Pātaliputra, the Palibothra of the Greeks, and description of the superficial remains" by L. A. Waddell (1892), p. 12.

⁵ "To the north of the old palace of the King is a stone pillar, several tons of feet high; this is the place where Asoka (Wu-yao) Rāja made 'a hell'.....The Saṅghārāmas, Deva temples, and stupas which lie in ruins may be counted by hundreds. There are only two or three remaining (entire)" (Buddhist Records of the Western World, by Beal, Vol. II, pp. 85-86).

⁶ *Vide* Ibid, Vol. I, Introduction, p. LVIII.

Dr. Spooner began his excavation on 6th January 1913, and soon found, that the polished fragments did not belong to any inscribed edict-pillar of Asoka, but to a Mauryan building. He then located the columns of such a building which was a large pillared-hall, the massive imperishable portions of which had disappeared by sinkage, due to the softness of the underground, the result of sub-soil water rising higher in later times. The perishable wooden portions, *viz.*, the roof, the floor, etc., were destroyed by fire as evidenced by layers of ash, found there. This ash was specially noticeable in the vertical spaces of the columns that had sunk. The tangible evidences of the existence of a pillared-hall, as seen at present, are few, but it is on what are called stratigraphical evidences that Dr. Spooner has based his inquiry. For example, he found that (1) heaps of pillar fragments lie in rows at regular intervals across the site, (2) that underneath these, heaps of stone, descending holes occur, filled from above, and (3) that these holes are always round and of fixed diameter, and regularly spaced. From these and similar evidences he traces the existence of a pillared-hall on the site. As Dr. Spooner says, "the actual structure of the Mauryan hall has almost, if not entirely, disappeared. The excavation is thus thrown back upon the minutest possible scrutiny of the soil itself and those portions of debris which remain, for a determination of both the nature and position of the Hall and the process of its decay."

Dr. Spooner, at first, located eight rows of monolithic polished pillars. Subsequently, he found a ninth row and hopes to find a 10th row as well. Each row has 10 pillars. As said above, all the pillars have disappeared by sinkage and their existence and position are determined only by the above said stratigraphical evidences. But, fortunately, one of the pillars has escaped sinkage. It has been recovered and supplies data, (a) not only for measurements for the rest, but (b) also for the nature and design of the lost palace. Thus, from the tangible evidence found on the site and from the tangible evidence of the one pillar that has been recovered and from the stratigraphical evidence, what is seen and determined is as follows: It seems, that at some time about the third century B. C., one of the early kings of the Mauryan dynasty built at Kumrahar several buildings within his palace enclosure. One of such buildings was this hundred-columned hall. The stone columns "presumably square" were arranged in square bays¹ over the entire area. They were 3 ft. 6 in. in diameter at base and about 20 ft. in height, placed each at the distance of 15 ft. or 10 Mauryan cubits from the other in rows

¹ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, for 1913-14*, pp. 45, 46.

² *i.e.*, principal compartments or divisions marked by some leading architectural features, such as buttresses or pilasters, on the walls, the main arches or pillars, &c.

which also were 15 ft. apart. The building, as shown by the ground plan, that was determined by the excavations, was one unlike any other ancient building in India. The superstructure was of sal wood. The building was in use for several centuries. At some time, in one of the early centuries after Christ, the building met with some mishap. One of the many columns seems to have fallen. Even after the mishap, the building was used, though restrictedly. Latterly, the building seems to have been destroyed by fire at some time about the 5th century A. D. The lower portions of the columns were somehow saved from the fire. Subsequently, attempts seem to have been made for some further use of the floor, and for that use, the stumps or the unburnt portions of some of the columns seem to have been forcibly broken by the new occupants. These broken portions were further broken into smaller fragments for pavement and for other building purposes by the new builders. Thus, the site was built over in Gupta times, at some time in the 8th century after Christ.¹ But, as with the advance of time and with the upward advance of the sub-soil water, some of the stumps of the columns, which were saved, sank below, the walls of the Gupta buildings built over the site gave way, and the site again became desolate. Since the fall of the Gupta houses, which, in many cases, must have been sudden, and which must have looked mysterious, the site has not been much built upon.

Such a building was unparalleled in ancient India. If so, the natural conclusion is, that it must have been modelled on some building of a foreign country. What was that foreign country and which was that building?

Now, it has long since been known, (a) that Asoka's edicts were on the model of the edicts of the Achaemenian Darius of Persia (b) and that the style of the sculptured capitals² of his buildings was modelled on that of Darius' capitals at Persepolis. (c) Again, it has been, since some time, inferred, and that especially by Sir John Marshall from the Sarnath³ capital, that the stonework of the Mauryan buildings was worked by foreign masons. That being the knowledge and experience of Indian archaeologists, from the facts, (a) that the plan of the excavated building was altogether un-Indian or foreign and (b) that its "columns showed the peculiar Persian polish," Dr. Spooner thought, that, (c) in its design also it must have been influenced by Persia.

¹ Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, for 1913-14, p. 49. At first, Dr. Spooner (Report of 1912-13) thought, that this happened in the 5th or 6th century, but, after subsequent re-consideration in consultation with Sir John Marshall, he has modified his first view.

² From capital the head. The heads or the uppermost parts of columns, pilasters, &c.

³ In the N. W. Provinces, Benares district.

Among the obligations, which Dr. Spooner so gracefully acknowledges in his Reports and papers, one that draws our special notice is that to his wife. It shows, how an educated wife, who participates in the noble aspirations of her husband's life work and studies, can, besides being helpful to her husband individually, be also helpful to the public generally. Her husband's plan of the Mauryan building, which he excavated, reminded Mrs. Spooner of what she had seen in the plan of Persepolis. Her suggestion easily led Dr. Spooner to a comparison of the plan of his building with "the so-called hull of hundred columns at Persepolis, the throne-room of Darius Hystaspes." He soon noticed several similarities, of which the following are the principal ones :—

1. There was a square hall with 10 rows of 10 columns evenly spaced in square bays (*i.e.*, with equal spaces between).
2. The Orientation or the process or aspect of fronting to the east and determining the various points of the compass was similar.
3. The mason's mark on the one column that has been recovered is similar to the mason's mark on Persepolitan columns.
4. The distance between the columns was regular. Darius's columns were 10 Persian cubits apart. The Mauryan columns are 10 Indian cubits apart.
5. The intercolumniation, *i.e.*, the space between two columns in the Indian building, though not identical, was one essentially Persepolitan.
6. Though no capitals or pedestals have been recovered at Patna for comparison, the stratification suggests (perhaps bell-shaped) pedestals of Persepolitan type, round in plan and about 3 ft. high.

These and other evidences of similarity suggested to Dr. Spooner for his operations, a working hypothesis, *vis.*, that the Pātaliputra building had a Persepolitan building for its model.

7. The next thought, that suggested itself to Dr. Spooner was, that, if the Indian building was on the Persepolitan plan, it must not be isolated but must have other buildings near it, just as the Persepolitan palace of Darius had. Speaking in the known Roman style of *veni, vidi, vici*, we may say, he conceived, he measured and he conquered. With the plan of the Persepolitan palace, given by Lord Curzon in his monumental work on Persia,¹ in his hand, he measured, he dug and

¹ Persia and the Persian Question, Vol. II, p. 150, plan of Persepolis.

he soon found that the Indian palace or Sabha had some buildings equally distant from the main building as in the case of the pillared palace of Darius. He determined this fact from (a) the discovery of several mounds which were in positions equally distant from the site of the pillared hall, as were the other buildings of Darius from his Persepolitan Hall. (b) Again, these buildings stood on a raised area corresponding to the artificial terrace at Persepolis. (c) The whole plateau seemed to have been surrounded at one time, by a moat. These, and other matters showed, that this Indian palace and the surrounding group of buildings had several essentials that were common to the Persepolitan palace and its surrounding group.

On the strength of some of these and other similarities, Dr. Spooner thought: "Enough was clear, however, to show us that not only was our original pillared hall strongly reminiscent of the Persian throne room, even in matters of detail, but that its surroundings also showed a parallelism to the Achaemenian site which could not possibly be explained except by the assumption that the one reflected the other definitely."¹

8. Dr. Spooner says, that stone not being easily procurable in this part of the country, wood was used. Arian, as said above, assigns another reason for the use of wood. But according to Fergusson, wooden architecture was the characteristic of Persia. He says: "We know that wooden architecture was the characteristic of Media, where all the constructive parts were formed in this perishable material; and from the Bible we learn that Solomon's edifices were chiefly so constructed. Persepolis presents us with the earliest instance remaining in Asia of this wooden architecture being petrified, as it were apparently in consequence of the intercourse its builders maintained with Egypt and with Greece. In Burma, these wooden types still exist in more completeness than, perhaps, in any other country. Even if the student is not prepared to admit the direct ethnographic connection between the buildings of Burma and Babylon, he will at any rate best learn in this country (Burma) to appreciate much in ancient architecture, which, without such a living illustration, it is hard to understand. Solomon's house of the forest of Lebanon is, without mere difference of detail, reproduced at Ava or Amarapura; and the palaces of Persepolis are reduced infinitely more intelligible by the study of these edifices."² It appears from this, that the builder of

¹ *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, January 1915, p. 69. The discovery of the line of rampart was made subsequent to the date of the article. *Vide the Annual Report of 1914-15.*

² *A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture by the late James Fergusson, revised and edited by James Burgess and R. Phené Spiers (1910), Vol. II, pp. 369-70.*

the Mauryan palace, in using wood for a greater part of the work, did not depart from the practice of the Achæmenians.

Such is the interesting story of the excavations of Dr. Spooner; and we, laymen, read the story with wonder and amazement,—wonder and amazement, not only for all the events in the history of the building and its surroundings, but also for the daring flights of thought with which the comparatively modern science of archaeology advances at present. The attempts of some of the archaeologists at tracing the history and meaning of some buildings are, if not equal, at least akin, to the wonderful attempts of deciphering the cuneiform inscriptions by men like Rawlinson.

The meaning of this "Mauryan replica of Persepolis" was this:
 The influence of Iran upon India was much more than it is ordinarily supposed. This newly recovered building presented the monumental evidence of this influence in a much more stronger light than hitherto presented. Several known archaeologists had, ere this, seen monumental evidence, in various matters, such as the capitals, pilasters and what is called *motifs*. But, compared to what Dr. Spooner now presents before us, these are small matters. The evidence produced by Dr. Spooner's excavations is on a grand or monumental scale. In addition to these, Dr. Spooner produces literary, numismatic, and other evidences, to show, that there was the probability, well-nigh amounting to certainty, of a very powerful influence of Iran upon India.

VIII.

THE GENERAL QUESTION OF THE INFLUENCE OF ANCIENT IRÂN UPON SURROUNDING COUNTRIES.

Scholars often discuss the question, as to how far, in ancient times, the West was influenced by the East, and the East, influenced by the West. The "East and West" are comparative terms. Greece and Rome formed the West, in comparison with Persia and India. In the case of these two latter countries, Persia formed the West and India the East. So, questions like these also have often arisen: "How far India was influenced by Greece and how far by Persia? How far these two were influenced by India? How far Persia was hellenized and how far Greece was iranized? How far India and Persia jointly or singly influenced Greece and Rome, and through them the western countries?" Scholars differ to some extent in these various

questions. The special question for us to-day is that of the influence of ancient Persia upon India. In order to better understand this particular question, we will first examine the general question of the influence of ancient Persia upon the countries with which it came into contact.

Ancient Persia had a great influence upon the countries with which it came into contact. It had its influence on Greece, Rome, Egypt, India and other adjoining countries. Among other influences, one was that of their religion, and, in this matter, they are spoken of as "The Puritans of the Old World."

I have spoken at greater length on this subject in my paper "Zoroastrianism. Its Puritanic Influence on the Old World."

Herodotus, while speaking of the Persians, says: "They have no images of the Gods, no temples nor altars and they consider the use of these a sign of folly. This comes, I think, from their not believing the Gods to have the same nature with men, as the Greeks imagine." In this passage, Herodotus seems to point to the superiority of the ancient Persians over the Greeks, in this, that, while the Greeks imagined their gods to be like men, the Persians did not believe so, and that, while the Greeks had images of their numerous man-like gods, the Persians had none. Here, we see, as it were, a germ of the appreciation of the Puritanic influence of the ancient Persians.

On the possible influence of the purer faith of Persia upon Greece, had Persia won in its war with Greece, the late Prof. Max Muller said as follows: "There were periods in the history of the world, when the worship of Ormuzd threatened to rise triumphant on the ruins of the temples of all other Gods. If the battles of Marathon and Salamis had been lost, and Greece had succumbed to Persia, the State religion of the empire of Cyrus, which was the worship of Ormuzd, might have become the religion of the whole civilized world. Persia had absorbed the Assyrian and Babylonian Empires; the Jews were either in Persian captivity or under Persian sway at home; the sacred monuments of Egypt had been mutilated by the hands of Persian soldiers. The edicts of the great King—the king of kings was sent to India, to Greece, to Scythia

¹ "Alexandria and her School" by Rev. Charles Kingsley, (1854), p. 11. *Vide* for a similar view, "A Narrative of the operations of Capt. Little's Detachment" by Lieut. E. Moor (1791), p. 384.

² This paper was read before the first Convention of Religions, held in Calcutta in 1910. *Vide* my "Dante papers" pp. 92-122.

³ Bk. I, 131. Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. I, p. 269.

and to Egypt; and if 'by the Grace of Ahura Mazda', Darius had crushed the liberty of Greece, the purer faith of Zoroaster might easily have superseded the Olympian fables".¹

Iran's puritanic influence on Greece, and through Greece on other Westerners, though checked by the defeat of Persia, from spreading itself on a grand scale, had its limited effect. It seems to have continued even after the downfall of the Achæmenians under Alexander the Great. Persia had two great libraries, (1) the Daz-i-Napishit (*i.e.*, the Castle of Archives) at Persepolis, and (2) the Ganji-Shapigān or Shaspigān (*i.e.*, the treasury of Shapigān) somewhere near Samarkand. The first was destroyed in the fire set to one of the royal palaces by Alexander. Many of the books of the latter were, according to the tradition recorded in Parsee books, translated into Greek.² These translations may have exerted some puritanic influence upon the Greek mind and prepared the way for Christianity.

Before the time of Cyrus, it were the Semitic people who ruled the East. Cyrus made the rule Iranian or Aryan. Mr. G. B. Grundy, while speaking of the importance of the Median Kingdom of Persia, thus refers to the change of rule in the East: "Its chief importance in history is, that its kings are the first of that series of Iranian dynasties which, whether Median, Persian or Parthian, were paramount in the eastern world for many centuries. From this time forward, the Iranian took the place of the Semitic as the Suzerain of the East".³ It was King Cyrus, the founder of the Achæmenian dynasty, who, as it were, paved the way for the subsequent greater influence of Persia over India. His policy, to a certain extent, aimed at gathering together in unity most of the Aryan races against the Semitic races. Mr. Grundy thus refers to this policy: "His (Cyrus's) campaign in the East was a prolonged one. He seems to have extended the borders of his empire to the Thian-shan and Suleiman ranges, if not into the plains of India itself. His aim can hardly have been the mere acquisition of these enormous areas of comparatively unproductive territory. The reason lying beyond his policy was, in all probability, the fact that the races of this region were near akin to his own, and that he wished

¹ "Chips from a German workshop," and Ed. (1880), Vol. I, p. 162.

² Vide my Paper on the Cities of Iran, as described in the old Pahlavi treatise of Shatroihā-i-Airan (Journal B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XX, pp. 161-62). Vide my Asiatic Papers, Part I, pp. 153-154.

³ "The Great Persian War and its Preliminaries," A study of the Evidence, literary and topographical by G. B. Grundy (1901), pp. 15-16.

to advance against the Semitic peoples at the head of a forced confederation of the Iranian races".¹

On the subject of the influence of Persia under Cyrus and his successors upon Greece, Mr. Grundy says as follows: "The hardy races from the mountains of Iran had many natural customs which were in strong contrast to the typical civilization of the Euphrates plain. Though far from ideal, there were certain grand elements in it, which struck the imagination of some of the finer minds of Greece, and which, through them, must have influenced Greek life, though in ways which it is not possible now to trace. Had the Greek come much under its influence, that influence, though it would have been disastrous in many respects, would not have tended wholly for evil. The civilization was, indeed, essentially of an eastern type..... The Medo-Persian was a strange product for an Asiatic soil. He was an Asian apart. His religious belief was alone educated to make him remarkable among his contemporaries. The Asiatic of this time had a natural tendency towards polytheism. The monotheism of even the Israelites was spasmodic. But with the Persian, monotheism was the set religion of the race. It had a legendary origin in the teachings of Zarathushtra, or Zoroaster, as he appears in Western History. Ahura Mazda was the one God. There were, indeed, other objects of worship,—the stars, the sun, the moon, and fire, beautiful and incomprehensible works of Ahura Mazda; but he was God alone. Other spiritual beings there were, too, represented as deified virtues and blessings—Good Thought, Perfect Holiness, Good Government, Meek Piety, Health, and Immortality; and these stood nearest to Ahura Mazda's throne."²

Dr. Cushman on the Influence of Iran upon Greece. Dr. H. E. Cushman divides the time of Greek philosophy into three periods:³ 1. The Cosmological Period 625—480 B. C. 2. The Anthropological Period 480—399 B. C. 3. The Systematic Period 399—322 B. C. Of these, it is the second, *viz.*, the Anthropological period, that is very important. As Dr. Cushman says: "It starts with a great social impulse just after the victories of the Persian wars (480 B. C.)..... The period is called Anthropological, because, its interest is in the study of man and not of the physical universe."⁴

After the battle of Marathon, there sprang up a distinct impulse towards knowledge all over Greece. What makes the Persian wars particularly important is that they are the starting point in the mother-

¹ "The Great Persian War and its Preliminaries," by G. B. Grundy, p. 32.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

³ A Beginner's History of Philosophy, by Dr. Cushman, Vol. I, p. 13.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 13.

land of the movement in the study of man and human relations. Dr. Cushman, while giving an account of the ancient philosophy of the early Greek, thus speaks of the hold the Persians had upon Greece in the Achæmenian times. "The sixth century was a momentous one for Greece. In both, the East and the West, there arose mighty empires, that threatened to wipe out its civilization. The expansion of the Persian power (on the one hand) had suspended a stone of Tantalus over Hellas, and it seemed likely that Greek civilization might be submerged in an Oriental Monarchy."¹ Cyrus had laid the foundation of Persia by taking Media in 550 B. C., Lydia in 546 B. C., Babylonia in 538 B. C. Egypt was added by Cambyses in 528 B. C., and Darius organized the Great Persian possessions in his long reign from 528 to 486 B. C. On the west, Carthage was threatening the Greek cities of Sicily, and, at the close of this period, was acting in conjunction with Persia to obtain possession of the Mediterranean.²

Count Gobineau, the celebrated French writer on the History of Persia, seems to regret that Greece triumphed over Persia at the battle of Marathon, and says, that Persia under the Achæmenian Darius gave to the Greeks much that was good. He says :
 "Darius made great things. He instituted a powerful organization. The West had never seen anything like that..... That, which it had only in the Augustan century, is an intellectual development of a value analogous to that which determined the formation of Mazdeism and animated the philosophy and the arts of antiquity. All that which the Greeks learnt, all the serious things which Plato taught, all that which the archaic schools produced of masterpieces, had, at the time of Darius, its home and its prototype in Western Asia. But that which the Romans did not know and never practised, not even in the most celebrated reign of Antony, was the systematic kindness shown in governing the people, which became the rule since (the time of) Cyrus, and to which Darius showed himself faithful (*i.e.*, which he followed faithfully). Not only were the subjects treated with particular care, but (even) the rebels found extended to them an indulgence which circumstances permitted."

In the war with Alexander, though Persia was conquered, it was not hellenized, but, on the contrary, it iranized Greece. It continued its influence on Greece, which it had begun in its previous wars with that

¹ "A Beginner's History of Philosophy, by Dr. H. E. Cushman, Vol. 1, pp. 15-16.

² Bury, History of Greece, p. 311.

³ I Translate from his "Histoire des Perses" Vol. II, p. 143.

country. Professor Darmesteter¹ considers the victory of Greece over Persia, not only the victory of Greece, but the victory of humanity. But still, he admits, that though Greece conquered, her victory was only material, not intellectual or spiritual. He says : " In the war of revenge Greece did not win sufficiently. Her victory over Persia has been only a material victory, out of which she herself has suffered more than her victim. Alexander dreamed of uniting the West and the East. He succeeded only half ; he Persianised Greece ; and he did not hellenise Persia."²

Similarly, in Egypt, Persia had prepared the soil for Ptolemy the First's " New Deity." The object of this Egyptian monarch, known as Ptolemy Soter, *i.e.*, Ptolemy the Saviour, was to supplant the old Egyptian deities and to create " a new deity," by means of which he could consolidate his new rule in the country. He tried to do in Egypt, what Akbar tried to do, several centuries later, in India. He succeeded where Akbar failed. In his attempt, Akbar tried to assimilate directly in his new religion some of the elements of the Zoroastrian faith. Ptolemy did not do anything of the kind, but rested on the silent work of the Iranian Mazdayasnans, who had preceded him, as rulers in Egypt. Rev. Charles Kingsley thus speaks of his work : " He effected with complete success a feat which has been attempted, before and since, by very many princes and potentates, but has always except in Ptolemy's case, proved somewhat of a failure, namely, the making a new deity. Mythology in general was in a rusty state. The old Egyptian Gods had grown in his dominions very unfashionable, under the summary iconoclasm to which they had been subjected by the Monotheist Persians,—the Puritans of the old world, as they have been well called."³

Though Greece, and, through it, Europe escaped from the direct influence of what Max Muller calls " the purer faith of Zoroaster," both had some indirect influence exerted upon them through the Greek colonies in the East, with which the ancient Iranians came into more frequent contact. It was this influence, however indirect or small, that paved the way for Christianity. Christianity was a puritanic improvement upon the religion of the Greeks and Romans, and the early Iranians had a hand in that improvement, inasmuch as it prepared the soil for Christianity. Later

¹ Coup de œil sur l'Histoire de la Perse, par Darmesteter (1885), p. 21.

² " Il a porté la Grèce, il n'a pas hellénisé la Perse " *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³ Alexandria and her Schools, by Rev. Charles Kingsley (1854), pp. 10-11.

on, Persian Mithraism, though a rival of Christianity, further prepared the soil. As said by Dr. Adeny, Mithraism brought about what he calls "the awakening" and "religious revival" which made the way of Christianity a little easier.¹ This Mithraic influence was exerted even up to the shores of England. The late M. Renan said: "If the world had not become Christian, it would have become Mithraistic."²

IX.

THE SPECIAL QUESTION OF THE INFLUENCE OF IRĀN UPON INDIA.

The above short survey of the Influence of Irān upon Greece and Egypt, prepares us for the consideration of the present question of the Influence of Irān upon India. If, as said by Darmesteter, Irān, though conquered by Alexander, was in a position to iranize Greece instead of being hellenized, it is much more likely, that it should iranize, to some extent, a country like India that was conquered by it, and that was more nearly akin to it.

Many writers have referred to the influence of Irān upon India. Dr. V. A. Smith on the influence of Iran upon India, Smith, who is one of the best authorities on the History of Ancient India, is of opinion, that the Achaemenian Persians had a great influence upon Mauryan India.³ The Sassanians had also exerted great influence,⁴ but we have not to deal with that later influence in the present case. Dr. Smith thus speaks of the Achaemenian influence in the times of Chandragupta and his immediate successors:

"The Maurya Empire was not, as some recent writers fancy that it was, in any way the result of Alexander's splendid, but transitory raid. The nineteen months which he spent in India were consumed in devastating warfare, and his death rendered fruitless all his grand constructive plans. Chandragupta did not need Alexander's example to teach him what empire meant. He and his countrymen had had before their eyes for ages the stately fabric of the Persian monarchy, and it was that empire which impressed their imagination, and served as the model for their institutions, in so far as they were not indigenous. The little touches of foreign manners in the court and institutions of Chandragupta, which chance to have been noted by our fragmentary authorities, are

¹ "Greek and Eastern Churches" by Dr. Adeny, pp. 10-11.

² *Ibid.* p. 10.

³ "The Early History of India from 600 B. C. to the Muhammadan Conquest including the Invasion of Alexander the Great" by Vincent Smith, 2nd edition (1908), pp. 136-37, 153, 225. *Ibid.* also his article entitled "Persian Influence on Mauryan India" in the *Indian Antiquary* (1905), p. 201.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 253-255.

Persian, not Greek; and the Persian title of satrap continued to be used by Indian provincial governors for ages, down to the close of the fourth century A.D. The military organization of Chandragupta, shows no trace of Hellenic influence".¹

Dr. Smith has pointed out several evidences to show, that Achæmenian Iran had a strong influence on Mauryan India. Some of these are the following :—

1. Influence of Iranian architecture on Indian architecture.
2. The Achæmenian practice of inscribing on pillars and rocks and the style of the inscriptions, which were followed by Asoka in his inscriptions.
3. The Kharoshthi script came to India from the Aramaic clerks of the Achæmenians.
4. Some of the features of the Mauryan administration and polity were taken from the Achæmenians.
5. Some of the Mauryan court customs were taken from the Achæmenian Iranians.

It has been long since known, that the Mauryan architecture was, to a certain extent, influenced by Iranian architecture. This is seen in several ways. (a) The style of some of the sculptured capitals of Asoka had its origin in the capitals of the Persepolitan palace of Darius. (b) The style of the huge monolithic sand-stone and other pillars of Asoka is also Persian. (c) The bas-relief sculpture of some of the Mauryan buildings, resembles that of the Persepolitan Persians.

Fergusson specially points to the capitals in the caves at Bedsa, about 10 or 11 miles south of Karlé, near Lonavla, and says: "Their capitals are more like the Persepolitan type than almost any others in India, and are each surmounted by horses and elephants, bearing men and women."² The Hindu artists, from their natural aptitude for modifying and adapting forms, very soon replaced the bicephalus (i.e., two headed) bull and ram of Persian columns by a great variety of animals, sphinxes and even human figures in the most grotesque attitude."³

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 136-7.

² *Vide* Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised and edited by James Burgess and P. Spiers (1910), Vol. I, p. 139. Woodcut No. 61.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 138, n. 2.

According to Fergusson, the other caves or places, where capitals of the Persepolitan type are seen, are the following :—

1. At Bhaja, about 4 miles south of the Karlé cave, near Lanovla.
2. At Jamalgarhi, about 36 miles, north-east of Peshawar, where side by side with columns having classical capitals and bases, there are forms of Perso-Indian pillars.¹ Here "the capitals of the old Perso-Indian type have new forms given to them—the animal figures being changed, whilst the pillars themselves are placed on the backs of crouching figures with wings."²
3. The Tātvā-gumpha caves near the Khandgiri hill in Orissa, where, "the doors are flanked by pillasters with capitals of the Persepolitan type."³

Mr. J. Kennedy, in his interesting article on "The Early Commerce of Babylon with India, 700—300 B. C.," thus speaks on the subject of the style of the monoliths and bas-relief: "If the elementary conceptions of the art and architecture (of India) was purely indigenous, there was abundant scope for the borrowing of detail; and as a matter of fact, most of the details were borrowed from Persia. The pillar, indeed, was the only lithic form Persia had to "lend." It survives at Bharhut and in Asoka's monoliths, and it re-appears in the case of Western India. . . . The borrowings in sculpture are much more numerous. The lotus and honeysuckle, the crenellations and mouldings, the conventional methods of representing water and rocks, are all taken from Persia. . . . But the debt of India to Perso-Assyrian art is most strikingly apparent from two general observations.

"*First*.—The sculpture of India proper—the India of the Gangetic valley—is mainly bas-relief. . . . The Indians apply their bas-reliefs after the Persian fashion. Their sculpture is lavished chiefly on the doors and vestibules, and the most important single figures guard the entrance of the gateways in India, as in Persia; the sculptured users of the Jamalgarhi monastery recall, the inclined ascents to the palaces of Darius and Xerxes. Even the inscribed bas-reliefs of Bharhut—unique alike in Indian art—have their counterparts at Persepolis and Nineveh.

¹ *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 178. Woodcut No. 97.

² *Ibid.* p. 215.

³ *Ibid.* Vol. II, pp. 17-18.

"*Second*.—The decoration of the late Vihāra caves. . . . was Persian, and that not so much after the fashion of the Sassanians as of the Achæmenians."

Asoka followed Darius in various ways in the matter of his edicts. (a) It was the practice of Darius to erect stelæ or pillars in the different countries which he conquered or through which he passed. For example, we learn from Herodotus, that in his march against the Scythians, he "surveyed the Bosphorus, and erected upon its shores two pillars of white marble, whereupon he inscribed the names of all the nations which formed his army." Again, we know of Egypt, that while digging the modern Suez Canal, some stelæ or pillars of Darius have been discovered near the canal, the inscription on one of which has been pretty well deciphered.¹ Asoka in his pillar edicts has followed this practice of Darius.

(b) Darius also inscribed on the sides of mountains. The best known instance is that on the rock of the Behistun mountain. Asoka also has some of his inscriptions on rocks; for example, the one at Junagadh, at the foot of the well-known hill of Girnar.²

(c) Among the several points of similarity suggested between the form of the inscriptions of Darius and the form of those of Asoka, there is one which strikes us most. It is that of the introductory sentences. Darius commences every part of his edict with the words "Thatiy Darnyavaush Khshâyathiya, i.e., "Thus sayeth Darius the King." Compare with these, the words of Asoka, introducing the different parts of his edict: "Thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King."

(d) Again, as pointed out by Dr. Smith, "the idea of inscribing ethical dissertations on the rocks in the guise of royal proclamation seems to be of Persian origin. In the matter of the second mutilated inscription of Darius at Naksh-i-Rustam, Sir Henry Rawlinson thought that it contained "The last solemn admonition of Darius to his countrymen with respect to their future conduct in polity, morals and

¹ Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1898, pp. 283-86.

² Herodotus, Book IV, 87. Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. III, p. 80.

³ *Vide* "Le Stèle de Chalouf" by M. Menant. *Vide* my Paper on "The Ancient History of the Suez Canal", read before the B. B. R. A. Society on 15th April 1915, Vol. XXIV, No. 2, pp. 163-184.

⁴ I had the pleasure of seeing this rock inscription on 27th October 1909.

⁵ "The sculptures and inscriptions of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistun in Persia," by the Trustees of the British Museum (1907), p. 2, *et seq.*

⁶ The Edicts of Asoka, by Dr. Vincent Smith, p. 3, *et seq.*

religion." The language of the inscription on the "stèle de Chalouf" on the Suez Canal is altogether religious. It is in the line and spirit of the prayer of Grace to be recited at meals, as given in the 37th Chapter of the Yaçna.¹

The Kharoshti script of writing was introduced in India by the Achaemenian kings through their Aramaic clerks.² The Kharoshti writing seen on the coins of the Western Khshapās (satraps) of Śaurāṣṭra (Kathiawad) point to the northern origin of the kings.³

Some of the features of Mauryan administration and of the society of the times, as described by Megasthenes, are Persian in their character. Dr. Vincent Smith thus speaks on the subject: "The civil and military institutions of the Mauryan Empire as described by Asoka in his edicts and by the Greek writers were essentially Indian, modified in some particulars by imitation of Persian practices." Dr. Smith adds: "The Mauryan sovereigns and their subjects were open in many ways to the influence of Iranian polity and civilization." Kautilya's Artha-Shastra, which was written by Chandragupta's Minister Chanakya, spoken of by Professor Jacobi as the Indian Bismark,⁴ shows that Megasthenes had, for the source of his account of the court of Chandragupta, not only his own experience in the Indian Court, but also an Indian work like the Artha-Shastra. This book shows us that the Hindu nation of the time had, not only some dreaming spiritualists among them, but also some practical economists.⁵

Dr. Vincent Smith⁶ points to two court customs of the Mauryas, as having been taken from the Achaemenian Kings. One of these is the custom of observing hirth-days by the kings. Herodotus, while speaking of the Persians, says: "She (Amestris, the wife of King Xerxes) waited, therefore, till her husband gave the great Royal banquet, a feast which takes place once every year, in celebration of the King's hirthday. 'Tykta', the feast is called in Persian tongue,

¹ Vide my Paper on the Ancient History of the Suez Canal read on 15th April 1915, J. B. R. R. A. S., Vol. XXIV, No. 2, pp. 163-84.

² Vide the Mysore inscription, by Mr. Rice, p. 11.

³ Vide The catalogue of Indian Coins, by Professor Rapson, Introduction, p. 100.

⁴ Asoka Notes, by Vincent A. Smith, in the Indian Antiquary of September, 1905, Vol. XXXIV, p. 200.

⁵ Vide Law's Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity. Vide also the recently published books "Public Administration in Ancient India," by Pramadbanath Banerjee.

⁶ *Ibid.* Introduction, p. XX.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. X.

⁸ The Indian Antiquary of September 1905, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 202-3.

which in our language may be rendered 'perfect'—and this is the only day in all the year in which the King soaps his head, and distributes gifts to the Persians. . . . The law of the feast . . . required that no one who asked a boon that day at the King's board should be denied his request."¹ This passage of Herodotus on the subject of the King's birthday requires some remarks.

Firstly, according to Herodotus, the observation of the birthday as a great day was common among all Persians. He says: "Of all the days in the year, the one which they celebrate most is their birthday. It is customary to have the board furnished on that day with an ampler supply than common. The richer Persians cause an ox, a horse, a camel, and an ass to be baked whole and so served up to them: the poorer classes use instead the smaller kinds of cattle. They eat little solid food but abundance of desert, which is set on table a few dishes at a time."²

Secondly, as to Tykta, the word for the King's birthday feast, George Rawlinson says: "No satisfactory explanation has been yet given of the word."³ I think that the word is some old Iranian form, from which comes the modern Persian تخت (*takhta*, a board), a table. This word *takhta* itself is a form that comes from Pahlavi takht, modern Persian *takht* تخت *i.e.*, a throne, a seat. The Pahlavi *takht*, Persian *takht* is derived from Avesta *thwakhshta*, which itself comes from the Avesta root '*thwakhsh*,' Sans. *tvakhsh* (त्वक्ष), 'to pare, hew, cover. If we take the word Tykta, not for the birthday feast, but for birthday itself, I think (a) the word can be derived from the Avesta root tak, Sans. (तक), from which comes the modern Gujarati verb (તકવું) to endure, to continue, to last. So, the word 'Tykta' may mean 'the day of having continued or lived in this world for a particular period, *viz.*, a year.' (b) Or the word may be derived from the same root (P. تاختن) which means to flow, to run, to hasten. Thus the word would mean 'the period of life which has run,' *viz.*, "a year." (c) Or perhaps it is some old Iranian word from which comes the Pahlavi word *takht*, Persian *takht* تخت throne; and it means a particular day in honour of the occupant of the throne, *i.e.*, of the King.

¹ Book IX, 110-11. Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. IV, pp. 473-474.

² *Ibid.* Book I, 131. Vol. I, p. 273.

³ Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. IV, p. 473. n. 3.

⁴ *I'de* Mr. Steingass's Persian Dictionary, the word 'takht.'

⁵ Mr. Apte's Sanskrit-English Dictionary (1890), p. 552.

⁶ Ardai Viraf, Chap. II, p. 26.

Thirdly, as to the importance of the day, on which the king has an unusual bath and soaps his head, I think, it is a reference to a sacred bath. Upto a few years ago, many Parsees had, and even now, some in Bombay and many in the Mofussil have, a sacred ceremonial bath (*nān sans स्नान*) once a year. Now-a-days, it is generally taken on the Parsee New Year's day or the preceding day of the New Year's eve, or taken by some during any one of the last 10 days of the year. A few take it on their own birthday. In this sacred ceremonial bath, they apply to their body consecrated *nirang* or urine and a little sand. Herodotus refers specially to the head. Now, the Vendidad,¹ when it refers to the sacred bath for purifying the body, says that the washing should begin from the head (*baresnu*). A particular sacred bath is, from that fact, still known as *Baresnum*. The place, where that bath is given, is known as *Baresnum-gāh*.

This above-mentioned custom is believed² to have been the source from which the following Indian custom referred to by Strabo was borrowed: "Historians also relate that the Indians worship Jupiter Ombrus (or the rainy), the river Ganges, and the indigenous deities of the country; that when the King washes his hair, a great feast is celebrated, and large presents are sent, each person displaying his wealth in competition with his neighbour."³

Strabo thus speaks of the Indians of the time when Megasthenes was in India: "The Indians wear white garments, white linen and muslin, contrary to the accounts of those who say that they wear garments of a bright colour; all of them wear long hair and long beards, plait their hair and bind it with a fillet."⁴ This Indian custom of keeping long hair among the Mauryan Kings is believed by Dr. Smith to have been taken from the Achaemenian Iranians. The ancient Iranians kept their hair long. They seldom cut them. Even now, the priests are enjoined to keep beards which they are not to cut.⁵ Old Iranian sculptures show that the Iranians kept long beards.

Herodotus thus refers to the Iranian custom of keeping the hair long: "For once upon a time, when the Argives had sent to Delphi to consult the God about the safety of their own city, a prophecy was given them, in which others besides themselves were inter-

¹ Chap. VIII, 40.

² Dr. Vincent Smith. Indian Antiquary of September 1905, Vol. XXXIV, p. 202.

³ The Geography of Strabo Book, XV, Chap. I, 69. Hamilton and Falconer's Translation, Vol. III, p. 117.

⁴ Strabo Bk. XV, Chap. I, 71. Hamilton and Falconer's Translation, Vol. III, p. 118.

⁵ Vide for further particulars my "Presidential Address," Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. X, No. 5, p. 343. Vide my "Anthropological Papers," Part II.

ested ; for while it bore in part upon the fortunes of Argos, it touched in a by-clause, the fate of the men of Miletus. I shall set down the portion which concerned the Argives when I come to that part of my history, mentioning at present only the passage in which the absent Milesians were spoken of. This passage was as follows :—

‘ Then shalt thou, Miletus, so oft the contriver of evil,
Be to many, thyself, a feast and an excellent booty :
Then shall thy matrons wash the feet of long-haired masters ;
Others shall then possess our lov’d Didynian temple ‘

Such a fate now befel the Milesians ; for the Persians who wore their hair long after killing most of the men, made the women and children slaves ¹

We find an allusion in the Vendidad also to show that the ancient Persians kept their hair long. There, while speaking of a ceremonial bath of purification, it is mentioned that the hair and the body may be cleansed by *Nirang*. The fact, that the hair and body (*vareçaoscha tantmcha*)² are spoken of separately, is significant. We generally take it, that “ hair “ forms a part and parcel of “ body “ and so when body is spoken of, hair is included in it. But here, the washing of the hair and body is spoken of separately. Thus, we see that the washing of the hair had its own special signification.

X.

THE LITERARY PART OF DR. SPOONER'S RESEARCHES ON THE SUBJECT OF THE INFLUENCE OF IRAN UPON INDIA. THE WAVE OF PERSIAN ADVANCE IN INDIA, AS SHOWN BY INDIAN LITERATURE.

The principal interest of Dr. Spooner's above-mentioned paper consists in its literary part, which seems to have thrown a bomb-shell, as said above, in the camp of Orientalists. In support of the discovery, that the Mauryan building at Pātaliputra was copied from an Iranian building, he advances a good deal of literary evidence. That evidence is intended to show, that “ upon the threshold of the historical period, a dynasty of almost purely Persian type ³ ruled over India. That dynasty was the Mauryan dynasty, the founder of which, Chandragupta, “ the first great Indian Emperor ⁴ was a Persian Aryan, a Parsi. ⁵ He had Persepolis as his ancestral home. The

¹ Herodotus Book VI, Chap. 19.

² Vendidad, Chap. VIII, 11, Ś. B. E., Vol. IV.

³ Journal Royal Asiatic Society of January 1915, p. 72.

⁴ *Ibid*, July Number, p. 416.

⁵ *Ibid*, July, p. 429.

Mauryan dynasty was Zoroastrian.¹ Not only that, but Dr. Spooner, further on, says,² that Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, was an Iranian sage and as such was Persian.³ He affirms, that the palaces referred to in the Mahābhārata are the Mauryan structures at Pātaliputra, that the Asura Maya, to whose supernatural powers the construction of the structures is attributed, is the Ahura Mazda of the Zoroastrians, whom Darius often invokes in his Persēpolitan inscriptions. He attempts to show, that the influence of Iran upon India was much more than what is ordinarily believed in by scholars. It was not confined to architecture. It was also in matters of religion. Buddha, the founder of Buddhism and Chāndragupta, the founder of the Mauryan dynasty of India, and even his Minister Chanakya, were Persian, if not by birth at least by descent.

Dr. Spooner traces in the Mahābhārata a reference to the attempt of the Mauryans, to build an Indian palace under the superhuman auspices of the Iranian Deity, Ahura Mazda. This reminds us of other attempts to trace references to Persia in the Rigveda and even of attempts to trace therein, the influence of Persia.

(a) According to J. Kennedy,⁴ Dr. Brunnhofer has, in his "Iran und Turan", turned the first three strophes of Rigveda V, 13, into a song of triumph over captured Babylon by the Medes, who were Iranian Aryans.

(b) Again, according to Mr. A. B. Keith,⁵ Dr. Carl Schirmer "finds in the Rigveda, the work of 'three peoples', the first of whom were the Iranians, "whose influence is seen in the second, fifth and seventh books." He "decides that books II and III were first composed by the Iranians and the mixed people (the second of the above three peoples)." In support of this theory, "Brunnhoffer's theory, that the dog is Iranian, is accepted as proving that Grtsamada Saunaka, and therefore the second book of Rigveda are Iranian."⁶

In connection with Dr. Spooner's assertion, about Buddha being an Iranian sage, there is one fact which requires to be noticed. It is this: "The story of Buddha is said to have passed to the West through Persia, in later times. In some of the various versions of the transference of that story, Abenner, a king of the Indians, is the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 409.

² *Ibid.*, p. 406.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 453.

⁴ Journal, Royal Asiatic Society of 1898, p. 263.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Journal of 1910, p. 218.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

⁷ *Ibid.*

father of Joseph (Buddha). According to Joseph Jacobs, in the particular form of this Abenner's belief, "clear reference is to be found to the tenets of Mazdeism under the later Sassanides of Persia. The idolaters are spoken of as Chaldeans, and their faith as worship of the elements. There is a chief of the Magi referred to, whose relations with the king of the 'Indians' exactly corresponds to the position of the supreme Mobed in the Sassanide kingdom."¹

What are said to be the "tenets of Mazdeism" in the Sassanian times, may be the tenets of old Zoroastrianism of the Achæmenian times. Anyhow, the father of Joseph (Buddha), an Indian King, is said to have some relation with a Chief Magi, a Mobadan Mobad. Thus, we see, that, in the later version of the story of Buddha on his way to the West, we find a reference to his connection with ancient Persia. A Chief of the Magi, a Mobadan Mobad, an Archimagus was in his Durhâr. Perhaps, he was to Buddha's father what Chânakya (taken to be Persian by Dr. Spooner) was to Chandragupta.

The Parsees have, on the one hand, reason to be proud to know, that their motherland of Irân had such an influence on their country of India, which their forefathers of the 8th century adopted as their own. On the other hand, if all that Dr. Spooner advances as the result of his literary studies be true, they have, as well, a reason to be sorry that the early followers of their faith, like Buddha and Asoka or their fathers, seceded from the stock of their parental belief. We know good deal of the three Magis, who, from their literal belief in the tradition of the coming apostle Sioshyos, went from Persia to see infant Christ and were converted. But, if all the new theory of Dr. Spooner be true, in Buddha, Chandragupta and Asoka, we have, including the doubtful case of Chandragupta, an early secession, previous to that of the three Magis of the Christian scriptures. Seceders though they were, they exerted a great Iranian influence upon India, especially as they were in the company of not a few but hundreds and thousands of Persians, who had, as it were, colonies of their own in India.

One of Dr. Spooner's main points, based on various literary evidences, is, that bands of Persians had in old times, even in times anterior to Asoka and Chandragupta, spread in India and had gone even up to Orissa and Assam. The temple records of Jagannath, says: "That the Yavanas invaded Orissa" between 458 and 421 B. C. and again in the period between 421 and 300 B.C." Dr. Spooner tries to show that these Yavanas "were Zoroastrian tribes

¹ Barlaam and Josaphat, by Joseph Jacobs, (1896), Introduction, pp. XXI-II.

² Journal Royal Asiatic Society, July 1913, p. 433.

from some part of the Persian realm."¹ In connection with this matter, it is interesting to note, that according to Fergusson, the Tātva Gumpā caves near the Khandgiri hill in Orissa, have doors "flanked by pilasters with capitals of the Persepolitan type."²

Dr. Spooner adds Assam also to "the list of early Magian centres."³ In short, the theory, depended upon by Dr. Spooner, on the authority of Indian evidence, i.e., evidence from Indian literature, is this, that the ancient Persians had, long before the Mauryan dynasty, settled in various parts of Northern India, from the frontiers of Punjab in the west to Assam and Orissa in the east, and from the valley of Ner-budba in the south to the valley of Kashmir in the Himalayas to the north.

XI.

IRANIAN EVIDENCE IN SUPPORT OF THE INDIAN EVIDENCE.

Now we find, that there are several, what may be called, Iranian or Persian evidences which tend to support this theory of the presence of Iranians in India long before the Mauryan dynasty. These evidences are the following :—

- I. The Old Avesta Writings.
- II. The Cuneiform inscription of King Darius the Great.
- III. The History of Herodotus.
- IV. The Numismatic evidence of the Punch-marked coins.
- V. Later Pahlavi and Persian Writers.

XII.

In this connection, I would like to refer my readers to a paper of mine, entitled "India in the Avesta of the Parsees",⁴ read before the Bengal Asiatic Society at Calcutta, on 2nd July 1913. I have shown there, that India is referred to in the old Avesta writings in four different places—(1) the Vendidad, Chapter I, 19; (2) Yaçna (Sarosh Yasht) LVII, 29; (3) Meher Yasht 104; and (4) Tir Yasht, 32. Of these four, the reference in the Vendidad is the oldest and the most important.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 434.

² History of Indian and Eastern Architecture of Fergusson, revised and edited by Burgess and Spiers (1910), Vol. II, pp. 17-18.

³ Journal R. A. S., July 1915, p. 434.

⁴ Journal Bengal Asiatic Society, November 1913, Vol. IX, No. 10 (N. S.), pp. 425-436.

To the Iranians of the times of the Avesta, five countries of the then world were known. They were roughly speaking Irān (Airyanām dakhyunām), Turān (Tuiryanām dakhyunām), Rum or Asia Minor and Eastern Europe (Sairimanām dakhyunām), China (Sāninām dakhyunām), and the country of the Dāhæ, a people of Central Asia (Dāhinām Dakhyunām).¹ Among these five, the first, Iran, the country of the Āryas or Āryas, included several places or countries. Out of these, the principal 16 are named, the first being Airyana-Vaeja or Irān Vēj, the Irān proper, and the 15th, or the last but one, being Hapta Hindu or India.

Now the question, why India is mentioned as the 15th in the list, depends upon the question, as to what the first chapter of the Vendidad, wherein the 16 places are mentioned, is intended for. Scholars differ on this subject, and on the subject of the order in which the places are mentioned. Rhode, Lassen; Haug, Baron Bunsen and others thought, that the 16 places were the places to which, one after another, members or sections of the great Aryan or the Indo-Iranian race migrated. Spiegel thought that this first chapter of the Vendidad was merely a list of the countries known to the ancient Iranians. Darmesteter took it as an enumeration of the countries belonging to Iran (*Ces seize contrées appartiennent toutes à l'Iran*).² Others like Heeren, and Bréal took it to be a list of the places of the march of Iranian colonists, commencing from somewhere in Central Asia.³ Harlez said that the first chapter of the Vendidad, wherein these places are mentioned one after another, is merely an enumeration of inhabited places (*une simple énumération d'endroits habités*)⁴ and the writer only meant to establish the principle of his doctrine, that Ahura Mazda was solicitous for his people, but that Ahriman meant harm for them. Again, he adds, the writer had the object in view of giving the list of the countries in which Zoroastrianism had spread at this time. (*Tout en poursuivant ce but il nous donne la liste des contrées dans lesquelles le Zoroastrisme s'était propagé à cette époque*). I agree with Harlez in this, that it may be an enumeration of places, where, one by one, Zoroastrianism spread. I think, that this view may be held even with that of the idea of migration. The very fact, that the

¹ Farvardin Yasht (Yt. XIII), p. 144.

² *Le Zend Avesta*, Vol. II, p. 1.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Le Zend Avesta*, p. 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*

writer says, that, besides these 16 places named, there were other beautiful prosperous places (*henti anyāoschit asāoscha shoithrāoscha srīrāoschia*),¹ shows, that the writer has typically selected for mention the names of those famous places where Zoroastrianism had more or less spread. Thus we see that, as said by Harlez, India was one of the places where Zoroastrianism prevailed at the time when the Vendidad was written. The question is what was that time?

The Vendidad, more especially the first chapter of it, wherein India is referred to, seems to be as old as about 1200 B. C. I will quote here, what I have said in the above paper about the antiquity of this writing.

"As stated by Dr. Haug, at least two facts lead to show, that the Vendidad, in which the name of India occurs as Hapt-Hindu, was written many centuries before Christ.

"Firstly, we learn from Herodotus, that Darius of Media had founded Ecbatana (Agabatana, Hamdan). That was in B. C. 708. This great city of ancient Persia is not mentioned in the above list of the cities of the Vendidad. This fact, therefore, shows that the Vendidad, or at least this chapter of the Vendidad, was written long before B. C. 708.

"Secondly, the city of Balkh, which is named as Bāklidi in the Vendidad, is spoken of there as the city of "Eredhvo-drafsbām", *i.e.*, the city of the exalted banner (drapeau). This statement shows, that it was still at that time the capital city of Bactria, and carried the royal banner. Now, we know that Bactria fell into the hands of the Assyrians at about B. C. 1200. So then, this particular chapter (Chap. I) of the Vendidad must have been written long before B. C. 1200, when its exalted banner fell at the hands of the Assyrians. These facts then show, that India was known to the ancient Iranians as Hapt-Hindu, *i.e.*, as "the country of the seven rivers of the Indus, a long time before 1200 B. C." Major Clarke also, in his article on Merv in the Encyclopædia Britannica, places the Vendidad "at least one thousand two hundred years before the Christian era."² Anyhow we can safely say that it was written long before the time of Buddha.

¹ Vendidad, Chapter I, p. 27.

² 9th edition, Vol. XVI, pp. 44, Col. 1.

The general consensus of opinion among Iranian scholars is, that the extant Avesta is a faithful remnant of the Grand Avesta of the Achæmenian times. A few scholars doubted its antiquity. The late Professor James Darmesteter was spoken of by Professor Max Muller as throwing a bomb-shell in the camp of Oriental scholars in this matter, inasmuch as he said, that, in some parts, the Avesta was post-Alexandrian.¹ But even he admitted, that the Vendidad belonged to the Achæmenian times or even to earlier times. Under the heading of Achæmenian and earlier elements he says: "There are essential doctrines in it (Zoroastrianism), the existence of which can be traced back far beyond the Parthian period and the Greek conquest, with historical evidence. One may, with certain accuracy, distinguish in Zoroastrianism what is old, pre-Alexandrian, or Achæmenian in form from what is late, or post-Alexandrian. The fundamental basis of Mazdeism, the belief in a Supreme God, the organiser of the world, Ahura Mazda, is as old as anything we know of Persia." He then adds: "The Vendidad may be taken as the best specimen of the texts imbued with the pre-Alexandrian spirit, as its general laws are Achæmenian in tone, and a great part of it may be interpreted by means of classical testimonies regarding the Achæmenian age." He gives some principles or elements which determine, from his point of view, which particular part of the Avesta is Achæmenian and which not. Among such principles, one is that of the so-called dualism. He says: "The principle of dualism is pre-Alexandrian. This is implied, in the time of Darius, by the great king stating that Ahura 'created welfare (shiyâtim) for man'; in the time of Herodotus, by the religious war waged by the Magi against the ants, snakes, and other noxious creatures, which shows that the distinction of Ormazdian and Ahrimanian creatures was already in existence. Moreover, at the end of the Achæmenian period, Aristotle knows of a Good Spirit and the Evil One, Zeus—Oromazdes and Ares—Ahrimanios."²

Now, this principle of two conflicting supreme powers, one good and the other evil, Ormazd and Ahriman, is seen to be prominent in the Vendidad, and pre-eminently prominent in its first chapter which treats of the 16 countries belonging to Iran. For every good thing associated with the 16 countries, Ahriman associates an evil. In the

¹ Vide my Paper on "The Antiquity of the Avesta", Journal, B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XIX, pp. 263-87. Vide my "Asiatic papers", Part I, pp. 41-126.

² S. B. E., Vol. IV, 2nd edition, p. LX.

³ S. B. E., Vol. IV, and edition, Introduction, p. LXV.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. LXI.

case of India, the 15th in the list, the evils are that of the state of early abnormal menses in women and excessive heat, which we find even now. Thus, we see, that even if the Vendidad be placed not so early as the time before the 12th century B. C., it has been placed in Achæmenian or pre-Achæmenian times by a scholar like Darmesteter who doubted the antiquity of the extant Avesta as a whole.

The very name by which the country of India, the Bharata varsha or Bharat's continent, was and is known to the civilized world, points to a very old connection between the two countries and to the influence of Iran upon India. We know, that the river Indus first gave its name to the country watered by it and its tributaries, as Indushtan or Hindustan. At first, only the country of Punjab and the country surrounding it, which was and is watered by these rivers, was known by that name. Even now, it is not rare to hear people, coming here from the North, from the Punjab and the neighbouring country, say, that they came from Hindustan. Then, latterly, the name began to be applied to the whole peninsula.

Now, the Sanskrit, or what may be called the indigenous name of the river, Indus is Sindhu, not Hindu from which the word Indus has come. The Rigveda¹ speaks of the Indus with its tributaries as Sapt-Sindhavās (i.e., the country of the seven Sindhu rivers), not as Hapt-Hindavas. It is the ancient Iranians, the followers of the creed of Zoroaster, who first spoke of the river as Hindu and called the country as Hapta- Hindu.² We read in the Vendidad :

Panchadasēm asanghāmcha shōthranāmcha vahishtem frātweresem, azem yō Ahurō Mazdāo, yō Hapta-Hindu, hacha ushastara Hindva ava daoshatarem Hindōm. Aat ahē paityārem frākerentat angrō mainyush pouru-mahrkō arathwyācha dukhshta arathwimcha gāremām.

Translation :—I, who am Ahura Mazda, created, as the fifteenth best place and country, (the country of) Hapta Hindu, (which extends) from the East of the Hindu (river, i.e., the Indus) up to the West of the Hindu. Then, the evil spirit created therein, as counter-acts (against its excellence), excessive menstruation and excessive heat.

¹ Mandala (Book), IV, Hymn 28 अहिं अरिणान् सप्तसिन्धुन. Vide Max Müller's Text of the Hymns of the Rigveda (1873), p. 286, Book IV, Hymn 28, vide "The Hymns of the Rigveda" by Ralph T. H. Griffith (1890), Vol. II, p. 140.

² Allied with thee in this thy friendship, Soma, India, for man made waters flow together. Slew Ahi, and sent forth the seven rivers (Sapta Sindhu), and opened as it were the obstructed fountains."

³ "Hapta Hindu répond aux Sapta Sindhavas des Vedas" (Le Zend Avesta par Darmesteter, Vol. II, p. 14, n. 42).

We learn from this passage of the Vendidad, the following facts about India :—

- (1) That India was the fifteenth of the 16 Āryan countries known to the early Iranians, as created or blessed by God.
- (2) It was known as Hapta Hindu.
- (3) The country watered by the Indus formed India, and its boundary latterly extended further both ways, towards the East and the West.
- (4) It had, as it were, two curses or miseries associated with it.

Let us now examine these facts. We find, that the country is known, not only by foreigners but by the people of the country itself, not by its old indigenous name which should be *Sindhustān*, but by its Iranian or Zoroastrian name *Hindustān*. The people of the country also are known by their Iranian or Zoroastrian name, 'Hindus,' and not by its old indigenous name which should be *Sindhus*. 'India,' the western or the European name of the country was first taken up by the Greeks from the Iranians, who called it 'Hindu.' The Greeks gave the name to the Romans. These two countries subsequently gave it to the whole of the western world.

In the old Testament of the Bible, the country of India is thus referred to : " Now it came to pass in the days of Ahasuerus (this is Ahasuerus which reigned, from India even unto Ethiopia, over an hundred and seven and twenty provinces)."¹ In the original of this version, the old Hebrew word for India is *Hoddu*. The Hebrew form *Hoddu* is said to be contracted from *Hondu*,² another form of *Hindu*, the Avestaic name of the Indus or the *Sindhu*. Again, we must note, that in this book of the Old Testament, the Persian king Ahasuerus (Xerxes, B. C. 485-465) is believed to reign over India.

From all this, it follows, that, if ancient Persia gave its Iranian or Zoroastrian name to India and replaced its indigenous name, it must have had very great influence upon the country in various spheres of its activity.

¹ The book of Esther, Chap. I, 1. *Vide* also Chap. VIII, 9.

² *Vide* the word India in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible.

XIII.

Next to the Avesta, we have the authority of the Cuneiform Inscriptions to say, that India had come under the influence of Irān as one of the satrapies of Darius the Great. In his two inscriptions, those of Persepolis,¹ and Nakhs-i-Rustam,² Darius mentions, among his conquered countries, the name of India as Hidush³ or Hindush. The fact of this mention in his inscriptions suggests, that with its conquest, Persia must have exercised a great influence upon India.

XIV.

Next to the Cuneiform inscriptions, we have the authority of Herodotus to say, that India was one of the satrapies, and that the richest, of Darius, and that as such, it must have been under the powerful influence of Iran. Herodotus says: "The Indians who are more numerous than any other nation with which we are acquainted, paid a tribute exceeding that of every other people, to wit, three hundred and sixty talents of gold dust. This was the twentieth satrapy."⁴

The value of a talent differed in those times in different countries. Rawlinson says: "If the later Attic talent was worth £243 15s. of our money, the Euboic (silver) talent would be £250 8s. 5d. and the Babylonian £292 3s. 3d."⁵ Taking it, that the Persians counted by the Babylonian standard, the Indian tribute to Darius came to (360 by £292 3s. 3d.) £105,178 1s., i.e., Rs. 15,77,670-12-0, i.e., in round figures to about 16 lacs of rupees. Thus, India which paid the largest tribute to Persia, must have come under some powerful influence of the paramount power.

We must remember, that Darius was not a flying conqueror of India, who overran the country, amassed wealth and retired. No, he wanted to explore and to retain the country for the good of his own country of Persia and of his conquered country of India. He directed his Admiral Scylax to explore the whole country watered by the Indus from Cashmere down

¹ Dr. Tolman's Guide to the old Persian Inscriptions, pp. 77 and 141.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 79 and 146.

³ The Hebrew old Testament gives the name of India as Hoddu. In the inscriptions as given by Tolman, the letter 'a' is included in brackets. Is it that the letter is omitted by the engraver by mistake? and if so, is it that the writer of the book of Esther followed that mistaken engraving?

⁴ Book III, p. 91, Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II, p. 425, 5 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 481, n. 5.

to the sea, and from there along the coast to the Persian Gulf. He developed commerce between Persia and India. With that object, he connected the Red and the Mediterranean seas, by a canal, ending at this extremity at Suez. His was the first complete Suez Canal, which ran from one sea to the other, *via* a branch of the Nile.

XV.

Punched or Punch-marked coins, *i.e.*, the coins in which the design is punched into the metal, are long since referred to as pointing to Iranian influence in India.

IV. Punch-marked coins.

Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji said on the subject of these coins: "Some of the Sassanian Kings (between the 6th and 8th centuries) may have established their rule somewhere in these districts (Malwa) and had their currency issued, and their successors (the Chauda and Chalukya of Anhilwāda) retained and copied the same type for their coinage."¹ A similar influence is inferred from the Godhara coins of India. But it is now pointed out, that the punch-marked coins belong to the monetary system of the Achæmenides who are believed to have taken the type from the Babylonians.

Mr. J. Kennedy speaks of these punch-marked coins as Purāṇas and gives an interesting account of "the Babylonian shakels, punched for giving and receiving" in which they had their origin *via* Persia.² In connection with this matter, Mr. J. H. Decourdemanche, in his Paper on "The Ancient punch-marked coins of India"³ says that the Persians had some relations with India even before the conquest of India by the Achæmenides. He thinks that the introduction of the system of punch-marked coins into India⁴ from Persia may have taken place even before the Achæmenian conquest. The conclusion, which this writer comes to on several grounds, is this: "Nous croyons avoir démontré que les *punch-marked* d'argent et de cuivre constituent simplement une variété hindoue du monnayage perse achéménide. Cette variété ne diffère de celui-ci que par l'empreinte."

¹ Vide my paper on the Ancient History of the Suez Canal, Journal, B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XXIV, No. 2 (1913).

² Journal, B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XII, pp. 523-526.

³ Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of England of 1898. Article on "The Early Commerce of Babylon with India" pp. 277-82.

⁴ "Note sur les Anciennes Monnaies de l'Inde dites 'punch-marked' coins et sur le système de Manou," by M. J. A. Decourdemanche. Journal Asiatique Dixième série. Tome XIX 1912, pp. 127-132.

⁵ Punch-marked silver and copper coins have been recently found at Rajgir in the district of Bihar (Journal, Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. II, pt. I, p. 3).

The punch-marked coins have the following symbols : (1) A single solar symbol ; (2) A complex solar symbol, containing the "taurine" as an element ; (3) A branch ; (4) A humped bull with taurine ; (5) and a chaitya. Dr. Spooner explains the symbolism of some. Of the second symbol, he says : "What the second complex symbol is, I cannot say, but it contains the taurine element." I will here explain the symbolism from a Zoroastrian point of view.

Two symbols refer to the Sun. If we take them to be Zoroastrian symbols, they represent the Khorshed and the Meher, the Hvarekhsaeta and the Mithra of the Avesta. The Parsees, when they recite their prayers of adoration to the Sun every morning, recite the Khorshed and Meher Nyâeshes together. Khorshed is the presiding Yazata over the Sun himself. Mithra or Meher presides over light, both physical and moral. A Parsee never recites the prayer in honour of Khorshed alone. Such a recital is incomplete. The prayer in honour of Meher or Mithra must also be recited. Both go together. "Khorshed Meher karvi" (lit. to do Khorshed Meher) is a colloquial form for reciting the daily prayers of the three day-periods. The symbolic connection of Mithra with bull is well-known. Mithraic bulls played a prominent part in Iranian sculpture.²

Dr. Spooner takes the third symbol of the branch to represent Haoma. But it must be taken to represent the Barsam which is still used by Parsee priests in liturgical services. At one time, they were made of the twigs of a tree, but, now-a-days they are made of metallic wires, which may be of copper or even of silver or gold. They are used now in the long prayer of grace (Baj) which the Parsee priests recite before meals when they hold the *khub* for a higher liturgical service. It appears from Firdousi and Nizami, that the ancient Persian kings used this Barsam as a religious requisite when the prayer of grace was recited on the royal table. Such a use by Chosroes II (Khushru Parviz), in the presence of a Christian Ambassador from the Court of his Royal father-in-law Maurice, the Emperor of Rome, had led to a conflict.³

The humped bull, I think represents the Moon, which is spoken of in the Avesta as *gao chithm*, i.e., cow-faced or with the origin of cow.

² J. R. A. S. of July 1915, p. 412.

³ Even in some visions of St. Michael, whose account resembles somewhat that of Mithra, we find references to bulls. Vide my Paper "St. Michael of the Christians and Mithra of the Zoroastrians," *Journal Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. VI, No. 5, pp. 37-53. Vide my "Anthropological Papers," pp. 175-190.

⁴ Vide my "Glimpse into the work of the B. B. R. A. S. Society during the last 100 years," pp. 83-92.

The crescent of the moon represents, as it were, a figure formed by the uplifted horns of a bull.¹

The last symbol is the Chaitya which is taken to demonstrate a mountain. That is possible from a Zoroastrian point of view. A mountain may be taken to symbolize land or earth. The *Jamyād Yasht*, (Yt. XIX), which, according to its name, refers to land, contains an enumeration of mountains of the then known world. It also principally refers to the *Kharenangh* or *Khorch*, i.e., the Glory or Nimbus of the Iranian kings. As such, then, the symbol of a mountain, which in its turn symbolizes land or the earth, can very appropriately be represented on the coins of kings. Thus, we see, that the symbols of the punch-marked coins, which are traced from the Achaemenian kings of Persia, represent the grand objects of Nature,—the Sun, Moon, Light in general, the earth and the great vegetable world, which all, as grand objects of Nature, lead the mind of a Zoroastrian from Nature to Nature's God.

Though the punch-marked coins had their first origin in Babylon, as far as the punching or marking was concerned, it were the Achaemenians that modelled the Indian coins. One can easily find this from the account, given by Mr. J. Kennedy, in his above article of the Babylonian coins. The symbols in the punch-marked coins of India are more Zoroastrian than Babylonian.

The conclusion that we come to from the consideration of the above four evidences of the Avesta, the Cuneiform inscriptions, Herodotus, and the Punch-marked coins, is, that India was under a strong influence of Persia long before the Mauryan dynasty of Chandragupta. These evidences support the view of Dr. Spooner, that Persia had greater influence upon India than what is ordinarily supposed. Persia had that influence not only upon India's architecture, but also upon its people, its administration and polity, and upon its religion.

XVI.

The fifth class of evidence, upon which I am now going to speak, may be held, and that very properly, not to be very important. In itself, some may hold it to be very weak. But still it requires some consideration, because, though it may appear weak in itself, standing alone, it has a value of its own in connection with the above

¹ Vide Dr. Louis H. Gray's very interesting paper on "Māouha Cāuchāra" in the Spiegel Memorial Volume, edited by me, pp. 160-68.

evidence as showing the tradition of later times in the matter of the connection between Persia and India, and of the consequent influence. At first, we will examine the Pahlavi writings of the Parsis.

Of course, looking to the times in which they were written, they cannot be taken as an authority upon a subject of older times—Achaemenian or pre-Achaemenian—writers. But we must bear in mind, that they had some older books before them—some of the lost *nasks* or parts of them—for their materials. So it is worth collecting and examining some passages of the Pahlavi books.

Some Pahlavi and Persian writings speak of a future Zoroastrian apostle, Behrām Varjāvand, as coming from India. In the Pahlavi *Mādgān-i-Binā-i-Farvardin Yum-i-Khordād*,¹ this future apostle (*Vāhrām-i-Varjāvand*) is predicted to appear from among the Hindus (in *Hindukān*). The Pahlavi *Bahman Yasht*,² also refers to this passage

I think the whole passage referring to this coming apostle is worth quoting. It may lead to some inquiries and investigations from an Indian point of view :

"Aôharmazd spoke thus : O Zarātōshtr, the Spītāmān ! when the demon with dishevelled hair of the race of Wrath (Aisham or Khusham or Hasham) comes into notice in the eastern quarter, first a black token becomes manifest, and Hūshēdar, son of Zarātōshtr, is born on lake Frazdān. It is when he comes to his conference with me, Aôharmazd, O Zarātōshtr, the Spītāmān ! that in the direction of Chinistān, it is said—some have said among the Hindus—is born a prince (*kai*) ; it is his father, a prince of the Kayān race, approaches the women and a religious prince is born to him ; he calls his name Vahrām the Varjāvand, some have said Shahpūr. That a sign may come to the earth, the night when that prince is born, a star falls from the sky ; when that prince is born the star shows a signal. It is Dād-Aôharmazd who said that the month Āvān and day Vād is his father's end ; they rear him with the damsels of the king, and a woman becomes ruler. That prince when he is thirty years old—some have told the time—comes with innumerable banners and divers armies, Hindu and Chini, having uplifted banners—for they set up

¹ The Pahlavi Text by Dastur Dr. Jamaspji Minoocherji, p. 106, ll. 7-8. I use the K. R. Cama Memorial Volume (p. 127.) edited by me, for the translation by Dastur Kaikobadshah.

² Chap. III, 14, S. B. E. V., p. 220. The Text of the Pahlavi Zand-i-Vohuman Yasht by Dastur Kaikobad Adarbad, p. 15, l. 5.

their banners—having exalted banners, and having exalted weapons; they hasten up with speed as far as the Veh river,—some have said the country of Bambo,—as far as Bukhâr as the Bukhârâns with its bank.”¹

The Persian Zarthosht-nameh² of Zarthosht Behram Pazdô also speaks of the future apostle (Behram Varzâvand) as appearing from India. He will, at the age of 21, take an Indian army to Persia and spread peace and plenty.

I think, that the fact, that the Pahlavi writers expected, perhaps on the authority of some older writings, the appearance of an apostle in the land of India, shows, that they took it as granted, that at one time, India, or at least a large part of it, was Zoroastrian, and therefore a likely place to give birth to a new apostle.

The Pahlavi Dinkard³ (book IV, p. 26) speaks of some Zoroastrian books as “scattered among Hindus,” and of Shapur I, the son of Ardeshir Babegân (Artaxerxes the founder of the Sassanian dynasty) collecting them for his work of the Iranian Renaissance. This fact also shows, that India was looked at as a country that had passed under some Zoroastrian influence, and therefore in a position to contain some Zoroastrian writings.

There is one other subject in the Pahlavi-Pazend books, which draws our special attention, and that is that of King Gustasp sending his son Asfandyâr and his brother Zarir to India to spread Zoroastrianism. This subject is recorded in the Pahlavi Shikand Gumanik Vijar.⁴ There we read “Kai Spudakht Spendîdad-u-Zargâr (Zarir). . . . Hindukân hî-keshwar pa din ravânîdâri farnâfî hend”, i.e., “Princes Asfandyâr and Zarir roamed about out of their country to the country of the Hindus for the spread of religion.” This statement of the Pahlavi book is supported by Firdousi’s Shâhnâmeh and other Persian books, and it shows, that from the very time of the prophet and immediately after, the Zoroastrian religion was believed to have begun exerting some influence on India.

¹ The Bahman Yasht, Chap. III, 13-17. West, S. B. E., Vol. V, pp. 220-221.

² L'ide "Livre de Zoroastre de Zartushtri Bahrâm ben Pajdô, publié et traduit par Frédéric Rosenberg, St. Petersburg, 1904, pp. 76-77 for the text; pp. 76-79 for the French translation.

³ S. B. E., Vol. XXXVII, Pahlavi Texts, Part IV, p. 414.

⁴ Chap. X, pp. 67-68, Dr. Hoshang and West's Pazend Sanskrit Text (1887), pp. 74-75. S. B. E., Vol. XXIV, p. 171.

XVII.

After having examined the Pahlavi writers, all of whom were Parsees, we will now examine some Persian writers,
(B) Persian writers. some of whom were Parsees and some Mahomedans.

There is the tradition of an Indian Brahmin, named Changragâch, having gone to Persia to oppose Zoroastrianism.
(a) The Tradition of Changragâch. It may be connected with the above tradition of the work of Asfandyâr. When the learned Brahmin saw Persians coming to India to turn his people to the faith of Zoroaster, he, as it were, thought of carrying war into the enemy's country. He went to oppose, but returned convinced about the new faith. The tradition is referred to by the Desatir and the Dabistan, and recorded at some length in a Persian treatise known as Changragâch-nâmeh by Zarthusht Behram Pazda. This treatise is believed to claim a Pahlavi source for its materials.¹ The tradition² says that Changragâch returned to India, fully convinced, and, in his turn, converted about 80,000 Indians into Zoroastrianism.³

In view of this tradition of Changragâcha and in view of the present theory of Dr. Spooner, that the Mauryans were Zoroastrians, may I put forth the suggestion of the equation of Changragâcha and Chandragupta? Pahlavi scholars can very easily understand, that the first part of these two names can be read both as Chandra and Changra, because the Pahlavi 'd' can be read 'g' also and *vice versa*. Then the 'p' of the latter part of the Indian name Gupta can also be read as 'ch'. Then the last 'ta' can be taken as dropped. We have several instances of such omissions. For example, the Avesta Takhmarupa has latterly become Tehmuraspa and then Tehmuras in Persian, the last 'p' being dropped. Thus the equation of Chandragupta and Changragâcha can stand well. Pahlavi readers can well understand the equation, step by step, thus:—Chandragupta=Changragupta=Changragachta, Changragacha.

But one may point out this difficulty, that tradition connects Changragâcha with the times of Zoroaster, while Chandragupta belongs to later times. But that does not present much difficulty. The

¹ Vide Professor Jackson's "Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran," p. 85.

² *Ibid.*, p. 86.

³ Anquetil Du Perron in his "Vie de Zoroaster" makes much use of this Persian book according to which, Jamasp, the minister of Gushtasp, had, at first, taken acmelemons from him on miscellaneous subjects. (Zend Avesta, Tome I, Partie II, pp. 47-53.)

tradition of later times may have taken Changragācha (Chandragupta) to earlier times. We have the instance of an event of the reign of king Minocheher. When the Pahlavi Bundelesh¹ connects the event of the king's confinement in the fort of Padashkivārgar with king Minocheher, the Persian Shah-Nameh² connects it with his successor king Naotara or Naodara. Cases like this often happen, especially in the case of great historical personages. Events that have happened in later times are attributed by the people of subsequent times to eminent personalities of the preceding ages. For example, take the case of the very Persepolitan palace of Darius which is shown to have served as a model of the Mauryan palace at Pātāliputra. In later times, people began to attribute that palace to king Jamshed, and the ruins of the buildings are still known by the Persians as those of Takht-i-Jamshed, i.e., the throne of Jamshed. Jamshed was a great monarch of the Peshdadian times. Many an institution of old Persia had been founded by him. So, in later ages, people who had forgotten much of what Darius had done, attributed his and his successors' palatial buildings, which they thought no ordinary human beings could build, to the great Jamshed.

History supplies another instance of this kind in Alexander the Great, who was a great personality of his times and whose exploits had left a powerful mark upon the minds of many. People attributed to him some divine origin and he himself allowed that belief to be spread. The extraordinary works of many a person of later ages have been attributed by tradition to Alexander. For example, we find from Anquetil Du Perron,³ that the Brahmins in the Salsette, attributed the caves of Jogeshri, Monpeser and Kanneri, situated at about 15 to 20 miles from Bombay, to Alexander the Great.⁴ The Brahmins even said, that their books said so.⁵ Many a wise saying of later times, have been attributed to King Solomon and to other great kings. Thus, it is no wonder, if the tradition of a later age, of Chandragupta (Changraghācha) being an Iranian or Zoroastrian, has been carried subsequently to the earlier times of Zoroaster himself.

¹ Chapter XXXI, pp. 2072, S. B. E., Vol. V, pp. 235-36.

² Muhl, Vol. I, p. 421.

³ Zend Avesta Tome, 1, Partie I, p. 392.

⁴ Vide my Paper "Anquetil Du Perron, Bombay, as seen by him," Journal, B. B. R. A. Society, XXIV, No. 2.

⁵ "Les Brahmes prétendent qu'il est écrit dans leurs Annales, que les excavations de Djegueseri et de Monpeser, ainsi que celles de Keneri, sont l'ouvrage d'Alexandre le grand; mais ils ne produisent pas ces Annales; et leur folie est d'attribuer à ce Prince ou aux Dieux, ce qui leur paroît au-dessus des forces ordinaires de l'homme (Zend Avesta, Tome I, Partie I, p. 392).

One may doubt the authority of the *Chungragāch-nāmeḥ* of Zarathušht Behram Pazdu, as being that of a later Persian writer. But we must know, that though he is a later writer, he had materials of a much earlier age before him. He was also the author of the traditional life of Zoroaster in Persian, known as *Zarathušht-nāmeḥ*. We know by comparison, that most of what he said about the traditional life of Zoroaster, has been confirmed by Pahlavi books like the *Dinkard* and *Zadspāram*, written in Persian long before him.¹ Take a specific instance. He says, that while all children wept on birth, Zoroaster laughed.² Now, that matter has been referred to, not only by the Pahlavi *Dinkard*³ and *Zadspāram*⁴ but also by other Persian writers like those of the *Shahrastāni*, *Dabistān*,⁵ and *Rauzat-us-safā*.⁶ It has been also referred to by Pliny⁷ and Plato⁸ and also by the writer of the *Scandinavian Eddas*.⁹ These facts show, that one is not to disregard altogether the traditional statement of a writer like Zarathušht Behram Pazdu, simply because he was a comparatively much later writer.¹⁰

The *Dabistān* thus refers to the tradition of *Chungragācha*: "Zarathušht Behram, the son of Pazdhū, relates that, at the time of the promulgation of the pure faith in Iran, there lived in India a sage of profound learning, named *Jangraughāchah*,¹¹ whose pupil Jamasp had been during many years, a circumstance which procured him great distinction. On being informed of Gustasp's conversion, he wrote an epistle to the great king, to dissuade

¹ *Vide* the S. B. E., Vol. XLVII.

² *Vide* F. Rosenberg's *Levra de Zoroaster*, t. 187. *Vide* p. 10 for the Persian text, p. 9, for the French translation.

³ Bk. VIII., Chap. III, pp. 2 and 25. S. B. E., Vol. XLVII, pp. 35, 43.

⁴ Chap. XIV., 12, *Ibid* p. 142.

⁵ Shen and Troyer's Translation, 1843, Vol. I, p. 219.

⁶ *History of the early kings of Persia from the Persian of Mirkhond*, translated by D. Shea, p. 286.

⁷ *The Natural History of Pliny*, Book VII, Chap. 13. Bostock and Riley's translation (1855), Vol. II, p. 135.

⁸ *Schollon on the first Alcibides*.

⁹ *Vide* Jackson's *Zoroaster*, pp. 286-287.

¹⁰ The tradition about *Chungragācha* is referred to in the *Dabistān* and the *Desatir*. It appears doubtful, whether to include the writers among Parsee writers or Mahomedan writers. The name of a Mahomedan, Mohsan Fani, is connected with the *Dabistān*, but that seems to be more as a compiler or a collector or publisher than original writer. However these books are permeated with some later Parsee thoughts—with the thoughts of a particular sect of Parsees.

¹¹ Troyer thinks that it is a Persian corruption of Sankara Acharya.

him from the profession of the pure faith. By the king's command this sage came to Iran to hold a disputation with Zardusht. When he heard the solutions of his questions he adopted the pure faith."¹ The *Desatir*² also refers to this matter.

The Dabistan and the *Desatir* on the tradition of the Indian *Biās* becoming a Zoroastrian.

Besides, Changraghācha, there is another Indian sage, *Biās* (*Viās*) by name, who also is traditionally said to have been converted to Zoroastrianism. The Dabistan thus speaks of this sage:

"When the report of Jangrāghācha's having adopted the faith was published abroad, a sage, by name, *Byāsu*,³ came from India to Iran. Byāsu listened to the words of God, and having made profession of the pure faith, returned to Hindustan."⁴

The *Desatir* thus speaks of the traditions of Changraghācha and *Biās*: "Changragāch was a sage. He was known for his wisdom and intelligence. When he heard about Zarthush Asphēntāman, the prophet of God, he came to Iran to overthrow (Zoroaster's) good religion. When Changragāch saw such marvels, he entered into the good religion and returning to the country of India, he remained firm in this auspicious religion. They say when *Biās*, the Indian came to Bulkh, Gustasp called Zarthoshi. When he heard the replies of all that he asked and understood all, he bowed before God, and entered into the good religion and returned to India."⁵

Of course, we must not attach to these later books an importance more than what they deserve. But their authority is useful so far as they record a tradition that is supported by what we read in older works of the spread of Zoroastrianism in India.

Coming to Mahomedan Persian writers, we have several, whose writings refer to the tradition of the ancient connection between Persia and India, and of the consequent influence of Persia over India. We will not refer to all, as our subject will then be very long. Firdousi's *Shah-nameh* stands in the front rank. There are numerous references in it to the subject of the connection between Persia and India. We will not enter into all, but simply say that he begins the connection of India with Persia from the time of the Peshāddim Faridun. Faridun's

¹ The Dabistan, translated by David Shea and Anthony Troyer, Vol. I., pp. 276-77.

² The *Desatir* with a Gujarati Translation by Mulla Kaikobad bin Muncherjee (1848), p. 448.

³ Troyer thinks that this name is Indian Vyasa.

⁴ The Dabistan, translated by Shea and Troyer, Vol. I., pp. 280-283.

⁵ I give my translation from the text, given in the *Desatir* by Mulla Kaikobad bin Muncherjee (1848), pp. 237-48, and p. 280. *Vide* also for the text quoted, Dastur Peshotan B. Sarjana's *Zarthosht-nameh*, 2nd edition, (1902), pp. 87-88. *Vide* an edition of *Desatir* by Mr. Halaṭia (1887), pp. 147 and 156.

mother Frānak, sent her infant child, Faridun, to Hindustan to save him from the murderous hands of Zohāk, who invaded and conquered Persia.

The Āin-i-Akbari gives the following account of the kings of Persia who had come to India : Hoshang, the founder of the Peshadadian dynasty, the author of the *Jāvidān-i-Kherad* (Eternal Wisdom), was the first Iranian monarch to come to India. The second Iranian king, who visited India, was Jamshed. He is said to have gone to China from India *via* Bengal. The next king was Zohāk. Then came Kershāsp and then Asfandyār. Nariman son of Kersasp, Sam son of Nariman, Zal son of Sam, Frāmroz son of Rustam, and Bahman son of Asfandyār, are also mentioned as having come to India, for conquest. It is said, that Kersasp was told by his astrologers, that his heirs' rule over Zaboulstan would be overthrown, and that his and his heirs' remains would be disinterred by somebody. So, to avoid this mishap he had ordered that his remains may be buried at Kanauj in India. This was done. His example was also followed in the case of Nariman, Sam and Rustam ; Bahman, after overrunning Zaboulstan and killing the members of the family of Rustam in revenge of the latter killing his father Asfandyār, came to Kanauj in India to destroy the remains of the above Zabouli grandees, all of whom had a lot of treasure buried with them and had tablets on their tombs, beseeching the conqueror not to meddle with their remains. Bahman was so overcome with the rich gifts and the exhortations, that he did not disturb the remains. He abstained from his original intention of destroying the remains in revenge.

Ferishta, who represents Krishna, as the first known Indian Raja, makes him a contemporary of King Telmuras of Persia and says that there existed good relations between these Indian and Persian kings.¹ A nephew of this Maharaja Krishna had sought shelter with King Faridun. This Persian king sent his General Kersasp bin Atrud² to India and compelled the Maharaja to give a portion of his territories to his nephew.³ After this time, Sam Nariman invaded Punjab at the direction of the

¹ Jarrett's Translation, Vol. III, p. 315 *et seq.*

² "Padshah ba padshahān-i Irān ta'likh-i mubtāt va dād mas'uk midāsh" (Naval Ki-shore's Lithographed Text of Tarikh-i-Ferishta, p. 10, l. 26).

³ Kersasp Atrat of the Namaghaan of the Afringān prayers of the Parsees. Briggs, in his translation of Ferishta's History represents Kersasp as the son of Faridun. That is a mistake. Ferishta does not say so. Briggs does not seem to have properly understood this name.

⁴ Briggs gives the name of the nephew as Dongersen. I do not find that name in Naval Ki-shore's text. (Briggs Ferishta, I, Introduction).

Persian king. He was opposed by one Mahraj Mulchand, who at last sought peace. From this time forward, Punjab remained in the hands of the descendants of Faridun. It was governed by Kersip¹ and by the members of his family, the ancestors of Rustam. It formed a part of the country of Kabul, Jabul,² Sind and Seistan, which was under the federal sway of Rustam's family. Kesurāi, the successor of Rājā Māhārāj, had asked the help of King Minocheher against some of his rebel kings. Minocheher sent Sam Nariman to his help. He met Kesurāi at Jallander³ and helped him in subduing his tributary kings. Kesurāi was succeeded by Firujrac.⁴ He turned ungrateful to Iran. Taking advantage of its weakness during the times following the death of its great general Sam Nariman,⁵ when Afrasiab invaded Iran, he rebelled against the suzerainty of Persia, and freed Punjab from its yoke. He took Jallander under his own sway⁶ and then sending messengers to the Court of Afrasiab, offered his allegiance to him. Up to the time of King Kaikobad, Panjab remained independent under its Indian kings. Rustam then invaded India, and the Indian Raja, the successor of Firouzshāh fled to the mountains of Tirhoot. The Raja fled to the countries of Chcharkhand and Kundvareh and died there. Rustam placed one Suraj on the throne. It was in his time, that Hindus who hitherto revered the sun like the Persians, became idol worshippers at the instance of a Brahmin. Later on, Kedar Raja paid a tribute to Kaus and Kaikhusroo. Ferishta then traces the connection of Persia with India from the time of Ardeshir Babegan to that of Khushro Parviz.

The statement of Fireshta about the occasional conquests and rule of the Persian monarchs over India is supported by

The tradition about the rule or influence of the pre-Achemenians on India, heard at Jamrud.

the tradition, heard on the frontiers in connection with the name of the fort of Jamrud in the Khyber Pass. I had the pleasure of going up to Ali Masjid in the Khyber in the spring of 1887, and on my way there, of seeing the fort of Jamrud."

While there, I heard the tradition, that the fort was connected with

¹ Navil Keshore's Text of Ferishta's History, p. 11, l. 6. Briggs' copy gives the name of "Tibet" instead of Jabul.

² *Ibid.*, p. 11, l. 14.

³ Briggs' Manuscript gives the name as Monika.

⁴ Briggs attributes the weakness of the country to the death of Minocheher, but that seems to be a mistake, as it was in the time of Minocheher that Afrasiab had invaded Persia.

⁵ "Jalalunder nā dar mamalik khud sākhi".

⁶ In a short account of my travels in Northern India in 1887, given by me in the "Jame-Jamshed" of Bombay, I have given the traditional etymology of the name of Jamrud. Later on, I gave it in a paper, read before "La Société Asiatique" of Paris and entitled "L'Étymologie populaire des noms des étapes entre Pichaver et Kabul" (*Journal Asiatique*, Huitième série, Tome, XIV (1889), p. 527.

the name of King Jamshed of the Peshdadian dynasty of Persia. The late Professor James Darmesteter, when he was in India, visited the place, when at Peshawar a short time before me, and he records as having heard the same tradition.¹

XVIII.

Professor Satish Chandra Vidyabhusana, in his interesting Paper, entitled "Persian affinities of the Licchavis,"² says: "That there was intercourse between Persia and Tibet in the ancient days, is evident from Kalidasa's (Sanskrit) *Raghuvamśa*, Canto IV (verses 60—81), in which the foreign conquests of Raghu are described. Raghu, after describing the Pārsika (Persians), Huna (Huns), and Kamboja (the inhabitants of the Hindukush mountains, which separate the Gilgit valley from Bulkh), ascended the Himalayas This conquest of Raghu is perhaps a mere fiction, but it shows that in the days of Kālidasa, about 500 A. D., the people of India were aware of a route existing between Persia and India on the one hand and Persia and Tibet on the other."³ According to this Professor, some Tibetan books speak of the earliest kings of Tibet as belonging to the *Li-tsa-byi* race. This word *Li-tsa-byi* is "a modified form of Licchavi." "It is possible that during the occupation of Sogdiana,⁴ and the neighbouring places by Alexander the Great, by the Bactrian Greek kings, and subsequently by the Scythians (the Yue-chi) about 150 B. C., some Persian people from Nisibis (off Herat)⁵ immigrated to Tibet into the Himalayan regions, where they established a monarchical system of Government on the model of the Government in Persia."⁶

Mr. Vincent A. Smith says of this Licchavi tribe, that they are a Tibetan tribe, but Professor Sarat Chandra Vidyabhusana says that "they were a Persian tribe, whose original home was Nisibis, which they left for India and Tibet in the 8th century B. C. and 4th century B. C. respectively".⁷ This Nisibis is thought to be the *Niçaya* of the Vendidad,⁸ the curse of which city was scepticism (*vimāno*, Pahl *gomān*, Persian *gumān*). The Professor adds: "The earliest reference to the people of Nisibis in Indian writings occurs

¹ *Vide* his *lettres sur l'Inde*. Huitième lettre. La Coupe de Djemchi, pp. 153-75.

² *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXVII, March 1908, pp. 78-80.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁴ The Sogda of the Avesta, Vendidad I. p. 5.

⁵ The Harayu of the Avesta, Vendidad I. p. 9.

⁶ The *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXVII, March 1908, p. 79.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁸ Chap. I, p. 8.

in the famous Brahmanic Sanskrit work, the *Manusmṛiti* (Chap. X, verse 12), in which they have been designated Nicchibi, which is, no doubt an Indian form of the Persian word Nisibis.¹ Manu describes the Nicchibis as *Uṛāya-ksatriyas*, or an outcaste royal race, and names them along with Khasa, Karana and others. In the *Bhaviya Purāṇa*, Chapter 139, verses 33-65, Niksubhā is described as a daughter of the sage Rijisvā of the Gotra or Solar clan, and under the name of Hāvani as married to Surya, the Sun-God. I imagine that Niksubhā represents the name of a Persian girl of Nisibis, who worshipped the Sun-God, like other members of her race. In the Indian Pali works, they have been called Licchavi or Licchivī,² which is only a softened form of Nicchibi or Nisibis, and have been mentioned as living in a large number in Vaisālī (in Magadha).³

The learned Professor attributes to the presence of the ancient Persians, the following three facts in connection with Tibet:— (a) "The Bam-yik variety of the Tibetan alphabet" which, he thinks, derives its name from Bāmyān* (off Nisibis) which was visited by the Chinese traveller Hiuen-Tsiang in 630 A. D. (b) The custom of exposing the dead before flesh-eating animals. (c) The ancient Bon religion, supposed to have been originated from the Tajiks who were Persianized Arabs. The magical arts, exorcism, witchcraft, &c., of the Tibetans are said to have come to them from the Magi of Persia. "Sen-rah, who was one of the most prominent Bon teachers, had among his spiritual descendants a Persian sage, named Mu-tso-tra-he-si."⁴

It is very likely, that even in later Buddhistic times, Persia may have had some influence on Tibet. Mr. R. F. Johnston says on the subject: "Chinese Buddhism has drawn its doctrines from many sources and from many schools of religious and philosophic thought. India, Central Asia, Persia, and China itself have all contributed to the final result."⁵ We know that the Haoma plant, referred to in the Avesta, had as its home, among other countries, the country of Western Tibet.⁶

¹ The original Avesta form of the name is Niçaya.

² The letter 'N' of the word Niçaya (Nisibi) when written in Pahlavi, can be read as 'L'.

³ Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXXVII, p. 79.

⁴ The Bamikān mountain of the Pahlavi Bundehesh, Chap. XX, p. 24.

⁵ Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXXVII, March 1908, p. 80.

⁶ "Buddhist China" by Reginald F. Johnston, p. 15.

⁷ Yasna, Chaps. IX, XI.

⁸ Vide my Paper on the "Haoma in the Avesta" Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. VII, No. 3, pp. 202-221. Vide my Anthropological Papers, p. 230, n.

In connection with the question of an early connection or relations of Tibet with ancient Persia, there is one other story to be noted. Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur, in his interesting article, entitled "Contributions on the Religion, History, etc., of Tibet," while speaking of the early history of Tibet (Chap. I), relates a story of Nuh-thi-tempo, "the first of the Tibetan kings, who established universal sway over Tibet" that, "the parents packed it (the child) up in a copper vessel and floated it away on the river Gangā. A farmer finding it, carried it to his wife, who nursed it." One can compare the story of this marvellous escape of the first King of Tibet with that of Cyrus, the founder of the Achaemeni dynasty of Persia, who, as a child, was exposed to death, but was saved.

When Persia is believed to have influenced the Buddhism of the further East, of Tibet, of China, it is possible it may have influenced the country of the nearer East, India.

We thus see from a number of different evidences—the Avesta, the Cuneiform inscriptions of Persia, Herodotus, the Old Testament, Punch-marked coins of India, Pahlavi and Persian writers, the tradition as recorded in the Changragach-nameh, the tradition heard at the fort of Jamrud and the intercourse between Persia and Tibet—that the ancient Persians had a close connection with the Indians, not only in the Achaemenian times but long before. These evidences prepare us for the theory of Dr. Spooner, that the Mauryans may be Persians.

XIX.

III.—A FEW CONSTRUCTIVE OBSERVATIONS ON THE LITERARY PART OF DR. SPOONER'S PAPER.

The *Māhābhārata*² speaks of certain Indian palaces as "the palaces of the Dānavas". They are spoken of as being built by Asura Maya. Dr. Spooner says that (a) this reference is to the Mauryan palaces at Pāṭali-putra, (b) that the Asura Maya is the same as Ahura Mazda of the Persians, (c) that the Dānavas of the *Mahabharata* were the Achaemenian kings of Persia, who, he says, spoke of themselves as Airayavo-Danghavo and (d) that the *Mahabharata* Dānava is the same as the Iranian or Achaemenian Danghavo (Airyavō Danghavi), thus taking the meaning of the word Danghavo to be a race or people. He takes all these matters to support his theory, that the *Mahābhārata*

¹ Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. L, Part I (No. 3, 1881), p. 213.

² *Mahābhārata* II, 1, pp. 14-17.

refers to the Pātaliputra buildings, and says, that they were built by Asura Miya (Ahura Mazda) for the Dānavas (the Airyavō Danghāvō) who were Iranians. Let us examine, how far Dr. Spooner's deductions or assumptions are correct, and, if all are not correct, which are correct. In the case of those that are not correct, let us see, whether they go against his theory or can be otherwise explained.

In the first place, Dr. Spooner¹ lays aside as apocryphal and unsatisfactory, the Indian explanation of the derivation of the name Maurya from the name of a Sudra woman Murā, supposed to be the mother of Chandragupta. He connects the name with Mount Meru of the Purāṇas, which, as said by him, the Encyclopædia Britannica seems to identify with Merv, the Mourva of the Vendidad. According to the first chapter of the Vendidad, it is one of the 16 places of the Iranian migration, where, one by one, Zoroastrianism flourished. In his theory of comparing the hundred-columned buildings of Chandragupta at Pataliputra with the hundred-columned building of Darius at Persepolis, Dr. Spooner tries to locate Merv, not at the modern Merv (Avesta Mouru), but at Persepolis itself where we find the name in Mervdasht or the plain of Murgab.² But looking to the fact, that, in the Vendidad, Mouru (Merv) is mentioned together with other places like Irānvez, Sogd (Sogdiana near Samarkand), Harōyu (Herat), Bākhdi (Balkh), &c., it is certain, that, at least the Mouru of the Vendidad is the Central Asian Merv and not the Merv of the Mervdasht or Murgab in the West. It is more probable, that the Hindus may have localised their Mount Meru in a nearer place like that of modern Merv in Central Asia, than a more distant place like the country of the Mervdasht or Mergab near Persepolis. It is certain, that the Vendidad Mouru or Merv is not the Persepolitan Merv, but the Central Asian one. It is true, that, as pointed out by Mr. Oldham who is quoted by Dr. Spooner, Merv "is merely an oasis" on the edge of a desert, remote from any mountains of importance; but one must remember that the physical geography of Central Asia now is not what it was in those early times and the present boundaries of places and districts also are not the same. The country of modern Merv has now lost much of its former fertility. Considerations like those, suggested by Mr. Huntington's interesting book "Pulse of Central Asia," make us pause, before coming to any hasty conclusion on the ground of the present physical con-
dition of places.

¹ Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of July 1915, p. 406.

² *Ibid.*, p. 400.

Again, I think, that when Darius speaks of Margu (Merv) in his Behistun Inscriptions, he refers to the Merv far away from his capital than to any Merv near Persepolis. He speaks of it in one place (Behistun III, 3) thus: "There (is) a region Margus by name: it became rebellious to me; one man Frada, a Margianian, him they made chief; afterwards I sent forth Dadušis by name, a Persian, my subject, satrap in Bactria against him, &c."¹ Darius would not have spoken of it in this way, had he in his mind any Merv near his home and capital. He speaks of sending the satrap of Bactria, which was near Central-Asia Merv, to suppress the rebellion. This fact, and the style of the order, both show that Darius referred to the distant Merv and not to any place of that name near his capital. Spiegel, Rawlinson and Tolman all take the Inscription-Merv to be the Central-Asian-Merv.

I think that the names Merv-dasht and Murghāb, which we find applied to places near Persepolis, are more modern, not Achæmehian or old Iranian. It is possible, that, just as new settlers now-a-days give to their new settlements, the names of old countries, e.g., New England, New York, &c., the later Iranians—whether conquerors or settlers—may have given the name of the old Central-Asian-Merv to their new country near Persepolis. But even if it is shown, that the names Mervdasht or Murghāb, which on their face seem to be later, are old, I think that the references to Mount Meru in the Indian books and to Mouru in the Avesta and to Margu (Merv) in the Behistun Inscriptions, are not to the Western Merv in Mervdasht but to the Central-Asian-Merv.

But all these considerations do not necessarily, in my view, vitiate the theory of Dr. Spooner, that the Mauryan palaces of Pātaliputra had the Persepolitan palaces for their models, though one of his arguments to prove that theory does not seem to me to be correct.

The Mahābhārata attributes some Indian structures, such as those that form the subject of Dr. Spooner's excavations, to the demon Asura Maya. Dr. Spooner thinks, that this Asura Maya of the Mahābhārata is the Ahura Mazda of the Iranians. Just as Darius the Great attributed his exploits and his works to Ahura Mazda, the Mahābhārata attributed such buildings to Asura Mayā. He says: "The equation of Asura with Ahura needs no defence. That much is palpable enough. Nor does the equation of Maya with Mazda involve

¹ Tolman's Guide to the old Persian Inscriptions (1892), p. 128.

any serious difficulties."¹ Then, after explaining some phonetical changes, he further says: "This, then, justifies us in re-writing the form of Asura Maya as Ahura Maza, and the closeness of this to Ahura Mazda thus becomes apparent. Given Ahura Mazda in the mouths of imported masons, Asura Maya with a j sound, is what might normally have been expected as the indianized form of the name."² I think that Dr. Spooner's equation is quite possible. The final 'da' in Ahura Mazda is dropped, even by Parsees in their later books, wherein the name is found as Hormaz (هرمز). Some Persian dictionaries give the word as Hormaz. The name latterly began to be applied to places and to persons also in a contracted form. Take, for example, the name of the town of Hormuz or Ormuz in the Persian Gulf. Here, the final 'd' is dropped. Again some Iranian kings had their names as Hormaz. In the modern Parsee name of Hormaz (ji) or Horma (ji), the final 'd' and even at times, the last but final 'z' is dropped.

I would suggest, that the Asura Maya of the Mahābhārata may be a form of Asura Maha, i.e., the great Asura, and that this form Asura Maha is the Indian form of Ahura Maza, i.e., the "great Ahura," where "Ahura" is an equivalent of "Ahura Mazda". In the Avesta we often come across the single word Ahura for Ahura Mazda.³ The word *maza* is the positive degree form of the superlative *maizishta*, corresponding to the Sanskrit *mahishta*, which is often applied⁴ as an appellation to Ahura Mazda. The Avesta *maza* would be Sanskrit (मह) *maha*.

In connection with this name, Dr. Spooner says, that the imported Persian masons of Zoroastrian faith "made this name (Ahura Mazada) familiar to the Indian population in this connection specifically." I beg to give one modern instance of this familiarizing Zoroastrian names among non-Zoroastrians. I remember, one morning about 3 or 4 years ago, passing through a field in one of my morning walks at Naosari, where I had gone for a short change. A Hindu field labourer in his conversation, more than once used the word Dādār Hormuz for God. He had served under Parsee landlords and had thus taken up the name from them.

To meet the objection, which one may very likely raise, viz., "How can Ahura Mazda be taken as an Architect?" Dr. Spooner says:

¹ Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of January 1915, p. 78.

² *Ibid.* p. 79.

³ Mr. K. E. Kanga in his Avesta Dictionary says under the word Ahura, that it is, "the word for God in the Avesta; either Ahura or Mazda or Ahura Mazda is used for the same," p. 73, col. 2.

⁴ Ormazd Yasti, Yt. I, p. 19. Ashishang Yasti, Yt. XVII, p. 16.

"It is also true, of course, that in Persia itself Ahura Mazda, being the great Spirit and Creator, was not necessarily more closely connected with architecture than with other human undertakings. Presumably he was always invoked in every work man undertook, and all that mankind wrought at all was wrought by the Grace of Ormuzd." Dr. Spooner's assumption is right. A Parsee even now commences many an ordinary work, reciting the name of Ahura Mazda. His scriptures—the Ormazd Yasht,¹—ask him to do so at all times, even when he takes his seat or when he leaves it, when he goes out of his house, out of his town or out of his country.

Again, one must bear in mind, that in the Avesta,² God is often spoken of as *tashan*, Sans. तश्चन, तश्चक, i.e., the Maker, Architect, Creator. The modern Free-masons, who connect their craft with ancient masonry,³ even now speak of God as the Great Architect.

Dr. Spooner says : "The Mahābhārata assigns the evidently Mauryan palaces to certain foreign kings called Dānava. The Mauryas originated from Persepolis and were perhaps of Achæmenian descent. The Achæmenian kings speak of themselves in their inscription as Airyavā Danghāvō." Dr. Spooner takes this fact as significant, and, with some diffidence, takes the Dānavas to be the same as Danghāvō, whose Sanskrit equivalent is Dasyavah. I think this identification is not correct. Dr. Spooner seems to have been misled by a statement in an article in the Encyclopædia Britannica where it is said that "the followers of the Zoroastrian religion in their earliest records never give themselves any other title but Airyavā Danghāvō".⁴

The word *Danghu* in the Achæmenian inscriptions, occurs as *dahyaush* (Nom. singular). Both in the Avesta and in the Achæmenian Cuneiform, it is used in the sense of "a country, province or region." Its Avesta form is *dakhyu*. Its Pahlavi form is *dahyu*. The later or modern Persian is, *دش* *desh*. Never have these words been used in the sense of "people". Whenever they wanted to speak of the people, they used separate words for that. For example, in the Farvardin Yasht, we read "Airyanām dakhyunām narām ashaonām fravashayī yazanmūdō"⁵ i.e., we invoke the spirits of the holy men (*narām* नराम)

¹ Yt. I, p. 17, S.B. E., Vol. XXIII, p. 29.

² Yasna, XXIX, 2. Vide also Yasna, XXI, 9. XLVI, 9.

³ Vide my Paper on "The Legendary and the Actual History of Freemasonry" in my book of Masonic Papers.

⁴ 9th edition, Vol. XVIII, p. 653. Article on Persian language and literature.

⁵ Yt. XIII, p. 143.

of the countries of Airyana (Iran). Again, we have the word often¹ used in an ascending grade, as *mr̥āna*, *viśa*, *zaituma*, and *dakhyu*, i.e., the house, street, village and country. This grade also shows, that the word *danghu* (Avesta *dakhyu*) in the Achaemenian inscriptions means a country. It is never used in the sense of "people." The Sanskrit word, *desh* देश, a region, a country, corresponds to this word. Dastur Neryosangh, in his Sanskrit translation of the Avesta, always translated the word as *desh* (देश).² When King Darius says : "(I am) Darius, the great King, the King of Kings, King of Persia, King of the countries (*klshayathiya Persaiy klshayathiya dahyunām*), he means to say, that not only is he the King of Persia, but also of all other countries besides Persia. He speaks of Persia as *Parsaiy*. We must remember that Persia has taken its name from the small region or country of Pars. He seems to mean therefore that he is not only the King of Pars (*Persia* proper), but also of all other countries attached to it or dependent upon it. It is something like the words in the British kings' Declaration, that they are kings of Great Britain and Ireland and also of the Colonies and Dependencies.

I have spoken at some length on this subject to show, that Dr. Spooner is not right in taking any help for his view from a supposed identification or equation of the word *Dānava* in the *Mahābhārata*, where the Mauryan palaces are referred to, with the word *Danghavi*, in the inscriptions of Darius. That identification must be given up. But Dr. Spooner's line of view in the matter of these words, may, I think, be otherwise upheld. The Achaemenian kings spoke of their countries other than that of Pars, as their "Dahyu," i.e., "their countries". Thus, they applied the word "Dahyu" to their dominions in, and on the borders of India. The ancient Hindus often hearing the word 'dahyu' applied to the Iranian dominions on their frontiers, may have begun using the word for the occupants or the people of those dominions or countries. In this application, they may have used their Sanskrit equivalent 'Dasyu' in place of the Iranian Dahyu or 'Dakhyu'. We have instances of words, that are at first common nouns, being used gradually as proper nouns. For example, the Persian word *Velāyet*, which means one's own country, has, to some extent, come to be used for a proper noun. The first English settlers, when they went to England, very properly used 'Velāyet' for their country of England. But latterly, the word has come to be used for England even by non-Englishman. It is not rare to hear now : "Such and such a person goes to Velāyet," thereby meaning England.

¹ Atash Nyāish Yasna LXII, 5. *Aviśrothrem gāb*, 7.

² Yasna XXXI, 18. *Cite* "The Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsees." by Ervad Sherdarji D. Bharucha, Part II (1910), p. 60, l. 3.

Thus, the ancient Hindus may have used the word 'dasyu,' their equivalent for the Achæmenian word 'dahyu,' at first as a proper noun for the Iranian territories on their borderland. Then, the next step may have been that of using the name of the country for the people of that country. We have an instance of such a kind. For example, when we say "England or France invades Germany" we mean the people, the Englishmen or the Frenchmen. Sir Walter Scott, in his *Talisman*, makes Richard, Cœur de Lion, say to the King of France, "Pencee with thy remonstrance France." Thus, he uses the word 'France', the name of the country, for its king.

We saw above, that though Dr. Spooner's identification or equation of the Mahābhārata Dānavas with the *danghvi* of the Achæmenian inscriptions is not correct, still his theory, based on a possible identification, may be otherwise supported. But, I think, it can be better supported by taking the Mahābhārata Dānavas with the Avesta Dānus.¹ The accusative plural of the word is Dānavō.² It is spoken of in the Avesta as a Turanian tribe, opposed to the Iranians, but that does not necessarily imply that they were non-Zoroastrians.³ Dr. Haug says: "The name Dānava is given, both in the Vedas and Zend Avesta, to enemies with whom wars are to be waged: Compare *Yasht V*, p. 73 and *Atharvaveda IV*, 24, 2."⁴ The Vedic Dānavas were "descendants from Danu by the sage Kashyapa. They were giants who warred against the gods."⁵ According to Dr. Spooner's theory, the Dānavas were taken in the Mahābhārata to be a foreign nation. So, when we read in the Mahābhārata, that the palaces (the Mauryan palaces as supposed by Dr. Spooner) were built by Asura Mayā for the Dānavas, we may take it, that by the word Dānavas here, were meant the Iranians who were disliked by the Indians and who were held to be foreigners or hostile to them.

From the Avesta point of view, it may be said: "How can the Dānavas be Iranians, because according to the Avesta, the Dānavas were the people who were hostile to the Avesta people—to the Iranians themselves. They were enemies common to India and Iran." This consideration does present a difficulty at first. But it seems, that the Dānavas, having come at first from the West for their inroads in

¹ *Yasht V*, 73; *Yasht XIII*, 37-38, S. B. E., Vol. XXIII, pp. 71 and 189.

² *Yasht V*, 73.

³ *I*vide the word *Dānu*, in my *Gujarati Dictionary of Avesta Proper Names*, p. 111.

⁴ Haug's "Essays on the Parsees," 2nd edition, p. 279.

⁵ Dowson's *Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*, &c., (1879), p. 80. The word Dānavas.

India, their name may have latterly lost its signification as a proper name for a particular people and began to be applied to the Iranians also, who also came from the West as a conquering or hostile nation. We have other instances of words thus assuming broader significations. For example, take the word "Guebre." The Mahomedans first applied it to the Persians as an equivalent of fire-worshippers. Then, in India, they began to apply it to the Hindus also, in the ordinary common sense of *kafars* or disbelievers. Again, take the word *Firangi*, as used in India. At first, it was applied to the first Westerners, the Portuguese. Then, it began to be applied to all Europeans who came from the West. Again, we must bear in mind, that, though the Avesta uses the word for a hostile tribe, yet it does not follow that all the Dānuš or Dānavas were non-Zoroastrians. Again the Dānuš are referred to only twice in the Avesta, in the Aban Yasht,¹ and in the Farvardin Yasht.² In both the places, they are spoken of as the Turanian Dānuš (Dānavâ Turâ). These words show, that there may be Iranian Dānavas also as opposed to Turanian Dānavas.

In his attempt to prove the equation of Ahura Mazda and Asura Maya, Dr. Spooner says as follows:—"Is not the great Ishtar, perhaps the most popular divinity among the Persians, peculiarly associated with these very Asuras or Dānavas? Witness the compounds *asuraguru* 'teacher of the Asuras' and Dānavapūjita 'worshipped by the Dānavas', both of which are Sanskrit names for Venus, well-attested".³ This statement of Dr. Spooner suggests several thoughts from the Iranian or Zoroastrian point of view.

"The Great Ishtar," perhaps, the most popular divinity among the Persians" which, according to Dr. Spooner, is associated with the Asuras and Dānavas, is the Ardvīçura Anāhita of the Avesta, the Aphrodite (Venus) of the Greeks. It is the word 'Anāhita,' that has produced the later Persian word 'Nāhid' for Venus. This Ardvīçura Anāhita is much associated with Ahura Mazda, who has created her for the welfare of the house, the street, the town, the country. Ardvīçura Anāhita is also the name of a great Iranian river. I identify this river Ardvīçura with the great Oxus. The name Oxus seems to have come from Aksu, a great branch of the Oxus, and I think that this name Aksu can be properly derived from Ardvīçura.⁴

¹ Yasht V, 73.

² Yasht, XIII, 37-8.

³ Journal Royal Asiatic Society, January 1915, p. 81.

⁴ For this Babylonian name, vide Rawlinson's article "Ishtar called Nuna at Babylon." Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. I, pp. 634-6. Appendix to Book I.

⁵ Vide my "Glimpse into the work of the B. B. R. A. Society" (1905), pp. 26-27.

It is in the description of this river Ardvigūra Anāhita,¹ that we find an account of what an Iranian palace on the bank of a river was. It was a palace with 100 well-formed windows, 1,000 lofty columns and 10,000 well-built fine pillars.² The districts of Wakhar, Shatīkul and Kanjut are situated on the banks of the Oxus. According to Wood³ and Gordon,⁴ remnants of Zoroaster's creed were seen there till about 500 to 700 years ago. It is also in an account of the Ardvigūra Anāhita, that we find a reference to the Iranian Dānus or Dānavas. There, the worshippers pray and implore Anāhita to subdue some leaders of the Turanian Dānus (Dānavō Tura-Vyākhnā)⁵. In the Farvardin Yasht also, the worshippers pray to overcome the Turanian Dānus (Dānunām Turanām)⁶.

Mr. E. W. Gosse, in his article on Denmark in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*,⁷ says: "The original form of the word Denmark is Dan mörk, the march" or horder of the Danir; but whence the name Danir or Danes, proceeded, is undecided and has given rise to endless Antiquarian discussion." I think, it is this Avestaic name Dānu, the Vedic Dānava, that has given its name, not only to the country, Denmark, and to the people, the Danes, but also to the rivers Danube, Dnieper, Dneister, Don, &c. Denmark is "the country of the Dānus (Dānes)". Danube is "the river (Avesta āp., Sanskrit अ॒प, Latæqua, Perian āh, i.e., water) of the Dānus.

It is significant to note that the name of the river Danube in the lower part of its course is Istar, which is the classical name of a goddess who is the same as the Iranian Anāhita, later Persian Nāhid (Venus). It is also significant to note that the word Dānu in the Avesta also means a river (e.g., Danu-Drājanghā,⁸ i.e., as long as a river).

¹ Aban Yasht, Yt. V, 101, S. B. E. Vol. XXIII, p. 77.

² Darmesteter translates the word fraskemb as "balconies."

³ Wood's *Journey to the source of the river Oxus*, 1st edition, p. 333. Wood speaks of three Kaffer forts there, which according to the natives there, were erected by the Quebres or fire-worshippers.

⁴ Speaking of the country of Shignan and of the time between 500 and 700 years ago, Gordon says: "The country was at that time in the hands of the Zardushis (ancient Quebres fire-worshippers), a powerful and learned race." (*The Roof of the World* by Col. Gordon, (1876), p. 141).

⁵ Yasht V, 73.

⁶ Yasht XIII, 37-38.

⁷ 9th edition, Vol. VII, p. 83.

⁸ The word "march" is the same as Persian مرز *mars*, country. The Engli. word Marquis is similar to the Persian word, Marzbān.
Yasna t. X, 4; Yt XIII (Farvardin), 32.

Hindu books speak very rarely and very little of the Maurya kings. Some say, that the silence was due to the fact that they were Buddhists, and so, they were not liked by the Brahmin writers of books. If so, why is Chandrigupta not mentioned. "Chandrigupta certainly was not a Buddhist, and as the first great Indian Emperor, we should not have been surprised to find him deified and in course of time identified with Vishnu or with Shiva". Dr. Spooner assigns the oblivion of his and his family's name to the fact, that he was a Persian, a Zoroastrian, and as such, was not liked by the Hindus. In connection with this matter, he refers to the Rājatarangini of Kashmir, where the "fifty-two nameless and fameless kings of early days" are ignored as those "whose praises no poet could be hired to sing. . . . The Great Asoka seems to be among these infamous monarchs." Dr. Spooner thinks that those early monarchs were not found praiseworthy, because they were foreigners, they were Irānians, they were Zoroastrians.

The Rājatarangini¹ refers to a King Mihir Cula, as a wicked monarch, in whose reign, the Mlechhas had an ascendancy². He founded the temple of Mihreshwara and the city of Mihirapur in which "the Gandhāra Brahmins, a low race, . . . were permitted to seize upon the endowments of the more respectable orders of the priesthood"³. These Gandhāra Brahmins (गन्धारा ब्राह्मण) of the Malechha dynasty (मलेच्छवंश) seem to be a class of priests of the Zoroastrian faith. The Gandhāras, referred to by the Rājatarangini, were the Gandārius referred to by Herodotus⁴ as a people of one of the satrapies of Darius Hystaspes. They were the same as the Sogdians who "had the Bactrian equipment in all respects"⁵, and formed a part of the army of Xerxes. That they were a class of Zoroastrian priests from the West, appears from several facts.

1. Firstly Kāthana, the author of the Rājatarangini, gives a here-say about them (ainsi disent quelque uns),⁶ that these Gandhāra Brahmins had the next-of-kin marriages among them. This is an

¹ Book I, Shloka 360 et seq. Troyer's French Translation of 1840, Vol. I, p. 33, et seq.

² Vide my Paper "Cashmere and the Ancient Persians" Journal B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XIX, pp. 242-44. Vide my "Asiatic Papers" (Part I), pp. 103-5.

³ Wilson's Essay on the "Hindu History of Kashmir" in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, (pp. 1-119) p. 23.

⁴ Herodotus *Ibid.*, Book III, 91.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Book VII, 66.

⁶ Shloka 308, Troyer's French Translation.

allusion to the so-called custom of the next-of-kin marriage among some ancient Persians,¹ a custom supposed to have been connected with the matriarchal custom which may be tribal with some Magi.² (2) Secondly, the Rājatarāṅgini speaks of a number of flesh-devouring birds following the army of the foreign king.³ 'This, I think, is an allusion to the Parsee mode of the disposal of the dead wherein the bodies are eaten by birds.

As it is, the Rājatarāṅgini's reference to the Iranian Brahmins, (Molvids) encroaching upon the domain of the Indian Brahmins, is about times later than that of the Mauryas. But one cannot depend upon the chronology of Kalhana. He may have transferred to later times, an event which actually may have occurred much earlier. He connected the event with a known King, Mihirakula, of later times. This Mihirakula is supposed to be the Hunnic king referred to in Indian History⁴ and in the book of travels of the Chinese pilgrim Hsien Tsaang.⁵ The Chinese pilgrim⁶ speaks of him as having lived "some centuries ago." This confirms my above statement that one cannot depend upon the chronology of Kalhana's Rājatarāṅgini, whose Mihirakula is identified with the Mihirakula of the Indian history and of the Chinese traveller. However, whoever the Mihirakula may be, he may be an Iranian, and he may be a Mazdayasnān. Even if we take him as a Hunnic king, in spite of being one of the Huns, he may be a Zoroastrian by faith. When we say, that he may be a Zoroastrian, we do not necessarily mean that, such as he is represented to be, he was a true and good Zoroastrian in his character. But, anyhow, he may be said to have belonged to the fold of Zoroastrianism. We have the authority of the Avesta⁷ to say, that some of the Hunnic leaders who fought against the Iranians, observed well nigh the same forms of ritual and worship.

¹ The Shloka, referring to this custom, is omitted by Dr. Stein from his Text, but is found in Troyer's text, p. 38. Dr. Stein refers to this omission in the foot-note. As to Mihirakula, Dr. Stein also thinks that the name is Iranian.

² For this custom, vide a Paper on "Royal Marriages and Matrilineal descent" by Miss Margaret Murray (Journal of the Anthropological Institute of England, July-December, 1915.)

³ Shloka, p. 291.

⁴ Mr. Vincent Smith's History of India, 2nd edition (1911), pp. 316-319.

⁵ Sh-Yu-Ki, Buddhist records of the Western World, Bk IV, translated from the Chinese of Hsien Tsaang (A. D. 629) by Samuel Beal, Vol. I, p. 167.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁷ Aban Yashī.

When Chandragupta defeated the last king of the Nanda dynasty and drove him away from his dominions, the Nanda king is said to have sought the help of six Rajas or kings. Five of these were Hindu Rajas and the sixth is said to be "the great King of the Malechhas or Parasikas (Parsis)."¹ This shows that some Parsee Kings had a Kingdom in the close neighbourhood of India. Lassen² thought, that this Parsee King was Seleucus, the successor of Alexander the Great, who was then reigning over Persia. As he ruled over Persia, the country of the Parsees, he came to be known as a king of the Parsees, though himself a Greek. Even if we agree with Lassen and say, that by "the king of the Parasikas or Parsees" Seleucus, the Greek was meant, the fact is very significant. It shows, that the Parsee conquerors of the Achaemenian times, who had preceded Alexander and his Greeks in the conquest of India, had made such a strong impression upon the mind of the Hindus and had so strongly influenced them, that they knew a later Greek ruler of their Persian country as a Parsee.³

But, I have my doubts about Lassen's interpretation, that by the "King of the Parsees" Seleucus was meant, as he occupied the throne of the country of the Parsees. If that interpretation is correct, why was not Alexander the Great himself, a greater conqueror and ruler than Seleucus, who first conquered and ruled Persia, spoken of as "the king of the Parasikas or Parsees?" I think some real Parsee sovereign or ruler in the neighbourhood was meant. He must have influenced the Hindu people, and so it was, that his help was sought by the Nanda King.

Dr. Spooner supposes, that Chanakya, the Minister of Chandragupta, also was a Persian, an Âtharvān himself. Among the Vedas, the Âtharva Veda is given a lower place by old Hindu writers and their followers. Why so? It was so, because, therein, you find much foreign non-Hindu element and influence. "There were in early India, Kings of Persian race who brought their own priests with them." We saw above, that Mihiracuta was one of such kings. The rites and ceremonies of these foreign priests are preserved in this *Atharva-veda*. For

¹ Journal B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. III, No. XIV, p. 154.

² Lassen was the well-known author of "Die alt-peraischen Keilschriften von Persepolis" (1856) and the editor of the first five chapters of the *Vendidad* (1852).

³ Vide my "Glimpse into the work of the B. B. R. A. Society," p. 243.

ART. XVII.—*A Note of Correction for the Paper "A Persian
Inscription of the Mogul times" (Journal, B. B. R. A.
Society, Volume XXIV, No. 1, pp. 137-161.)*

By

SHAMS-UL-ULMA DR. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., Ph. D.

(Read on 30th March 1916.)

I had the pleasure of reading a Paper before this Society, on 18th March 1915, under the title of "A Persian Inscription of the Mogul times on a stone found in the District Judge's Court at Thana." I had sent a copy of it to Mr. H. Beveridge, I.C.S. (Retired), a well-known writer on the subject of Mogul History. In his letter, dated 1st December 1915, acknowledging the receipt of that Paper, he writes that "the inscription is a valuable one," and kindly draws my attention to a mis-reading of the inscription and to a consequent mistake in my translation. I thank Mr. Beveridge for this, and take this early opportunity for correction.

In my above Paper, I had said: "I do not presume that my decipherment is altogether correct. There are a few difficulties in deciphering it quite correctly. One can see, both from the stone and the impression which I produce, that the slab is a little broken. It has lost a slip in a somewhat vertical line. So, words and letters, here and there, are lost. This is the principal cause of the difficulty of an altogether correct decipherment. Another cause is the difficulty of deciphering the *nukteh*s (نکته) or points occurring in Persian letters. It is difficult to determine whether a particular part of the slab bears a *nukteh* or only a scar as the result of the wear and tear or a careless handling of the stone. However, in spite of these petty obstacles, there is no great difficulty in deciphering the inscription, as far as the sense of the whole inscription is concerned. One may decipher a word or a letter, here and there, in a way, different from the one which I beg to submit, but I think that, that will not make much difference in the matter of the general signification of the inscription."¹

¹ Journal B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, p. 140.

The error, to which Mr. Beveridge, from his vast knowledge of the history of the Moguls, draws my attention, occurs in the fifth line of the inscription. The error arises from the above alluded difficulty of the nuktehs or points. In the fifth line there is a word, the last letters of which bear no nuktehs. I took two nuktehs under a letter and read it as *tahiyi* (*tahaiyat*), in the sense of "preparation, arrangement." But as said by Mr. Beveridge the word is *tattā* "Tatta." He says: "The word is not *Tahir* *tahīr* but *tattā* *tattā*, and the meaning of the passage is that Raja Gopaldas and his son Balaram were both killed at the siege of Tatta in Scinde." Mr. Beveridge then gives references to works which refer to the siege of Tatta and the connection of Gopaldas and his son with that siege. I thankfully accept his reading of the word as Tatta, which is supported by historical references given by him. I would, therefore, correct my translation of this portion, and translate the words *در جنگ تته بکار آمدند* as "they fought in the battle of Tatta or "they became useful in the battle of Tatta."

Shāh Jahān had laid siege to Tatta, and in that siege, both Gopaldas and his son Balaram, referred to in the inscription, had proved themselves very useful. Raja Sivram Gor *راجہ سیورام گور* was the son of Balaram and grandson of Gopaldas. While speaking of him the *Maāsiru-l-Umara*¹ says thus:

راجہ سیورام گور—پور بلرام بن راجہ گوپال داس
است چون پدر و پدر کلان او در عہد شاہزادگی اعلی
حضرت بہنگامہٴ یرش تته بکار آمدند او بیش از پیش
مورد التفات گردید

Translation.—Raja Sivram Gor. He is the son of Balaram, the son of Raja Gopaldas. As his father and grandfather, in the time of the principedom of His Most Exalted Majesty had fought (or had become very useful) during the period of the siege of Tatta, he was more and more honoured with favours.

¹ *kār*, war, battle. *بکار آمدن* also means to be useful. So, the sentence may also mean "They became useful in the battle of Tatta."

² The *Maāsiru-l-Umara* (Historical traditions of the noblemen) by Nawāb Samsam ud-Daulah Shāh Nawaz khān, edited by Maulavi Abdur Rahim and Maulavi Mirzā Ashraf 'Alī (1890), Vol. II, p. 263.

Again, while speaking of Raja Bithaldas (Vithaldas) Gor, the second son of Gopaldas, the above work says thus¹ :—

راجہ بیتھلداس کور۔ پسر دوم راجہ گوپال داس کور
است کہ در ایام مراجعت سلطان خرم از بنگالہ و ورود
ببرہانپور قلعہ داز آسیر بود پس از آن شاہزادہ اورا نزد
خود طلب داشتہ سردار خان را بجای او گذاشت و ذر
محاصرہ تنہا پسر جانشین خود بلرام نام بمرداگی جان
نثار گردید۔

Translation.—Raja Bithaldas Gor. He is the second son of Raja Gopaldas Gor, who in the time of the return of Sultan Khurram from Bengal, and arrival at Barhanpur, was the fort-commander of Asir. Afterwards, the prince, calling him before him, appointed Sirdar Khan in his place, and in the siege of Tatta, he with his son (and) heir, Balaram by name, sacrificed his life in a manly way.

This passage then shows, that Gopaldas and his son Balaram had not only fought bravely in the siege of Tatta, but were gloriously killed. So, Shâh Jahân showed all possible favours to the other sons of Gopaldas.

This corrected reading will add an event to the number of events, referred to in the inscription, on which I have dwelt at some length in my previous paper. I will describe that event here, at some length, resting on the authority of the *Ikbâl-Nâma-i-Jahangiri*, as referred to in Elliot's History :—"Shâh Jahân, with a small party of adherents, had proceeded to Thatta. . . On approaching Thatta, Sharifu-l Mulk, the Governor of the country, and a devoted son of Shahriyâr's, came forward arrogantly with 3,000 or 4,000 horse, and 10,000 infantry, collected from the country, to oppose Shâh Jahân's progress. The Prince had with him only 300 or 400 horse; but Sharifu-l Mulk was afraid to attack them, and retired into the fortress of the city. The fortress had been lately repaired, many guns had been mounted and chosen parties of men held the various bastions, prepared to make a vigorous defence. Shâh Jahân forbade any attempt upon the fort, and desired to avoid a sacrifice of life from the fire of the fortress. A party of his brave fellows, not heeding his prohibition, made an attack; but the works were too strong, and the fire too heavy, so they were repulsed. Some days later another party, unable to repress their ardour, made their attack. The ground round the fortress was level and open, with

¹ *Ibid* pp. 250-251.

not a mound, a wall, a tree, or any kind of shelter. So they placed their shields in front of them and rushed forward. They came upon a broad and deep ditch, which was full of water. To advance was impossible, to return still more so. Trusting in Providence as their fortress, there they stayed. Shâh Jahân sent to recall them, but they did not retire. Some of his most devoted servants went to bring them back; but each one that went took part with them, and choosing the road to death, never returned" (Elliot, VI pp. 432-33.)

Mr. Beveridge draws my attention to two more points in my paper, not for correction, as they require no correction, but for further elucidation. These points do not refer to the inscription, but still it is worth while to draw to them the attention of the readers of my paper.

(a) I have referred to Raja Roz-Afzun. ¹ In the abovenamed Maâsir-i-Umara, ² we have a long account of this Raja. He is there spoken of as the son of Raja Singram (راجہ سنگرام). In the Ain-i-Akbari, ³ this Singram is spoken of as the Raja of Kharakpur (Bihar). He had a Mahomedan name, because, though Hindu by birth, he had turned a Mahomedan. ⁴

(b) I have referred to a seditious person, Kutb, whom I have compared with the Pseudo-Smerdis of the Achaemenian times of King Darius of Persia. This Kutb (Qutb), is thus referred to in the Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri or Memoirs of Jehangir. ⁵ "On the 19th Urdibihisht, in the fifth year of my reign . . . there occurred a strange affair at Patna . . . An unknown man of the name of Qutb belonging to the people of Uch, who was a mischievous and seditious fellow, came to the province of Ujjaiyoja (Bhojpur) . . . represented to them that he was Khurram who had escaped from prison and conveyed himself there . . . He showed those deceived ones the parts about his eyes."

There are two references to Raja Māṅghātū in the Maâsir-i-Alamgiri. ⁶

¹ Journal Vol. XXIV, p. 145. Page 9 of my Paper.

² Vol. II, p. 218.

³ Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I, p. 446.

⁴ Ibid, n. 1.

⁵ The Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri, translated by Alexander Rogers and edited by Henry Beveridge (1909), p. 273.

⁶ Pages 207 and 317, Legend Asiatic Society's Text (1871). (a) In one place he is spoken of as holding the Thanehdari of Gorband; (b) in another as the son of Raokanku.

My previous paper has drawn the attention of another gentleman, Rai Bahadur B.A. Gupte. He thus writes to me from Belvedere, Alipore, (P.O. Calcutta), on 16th January, 1916 :—

"In connection with the Persian inscription found near the District Judge's Court at Thana, published in Volume XXIV, No. 1, (1914-1915), of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, I know the following particulars: In the house now called the Chāndraseniya Kāyasth Prabhu Social Club (No. 7 Ganpatraw Jaiām Street), there lived in the fifties, an old gentleman, named Dādā Sāheb Asirkar. He was our neighbour as between his residence and my family house, there intervened only one building. I knew his grandson who was a little younger than myself. His name was Ramchandra, one of his arms was injured and much shorter than the other. The Asirkar family finally shifted to Bhivandi in the Thana district. My grandfather Ganpatraw Janardan Gupte was the first Government Prosecutor of the Thana District Court. He was a friend of this Dādā Sāheb Asirkar, and I remember to have heard the members of that family, talking of their official connection with Asirgad. I was only 6 or 7 years of age at that time, but I think that in the south-east corner of his compound, there lay a stone with some letters on it. I have asked Mr. B. V. Kharkar, B.A., who lives in the intervening house, to trace this Asirkar family and to try to get some information about their connection with Asirgad and Māhuli. I will send you further particulars with pleasure, if I get them. I do not know whether Dādā Sāheb Asirkar was employed in the District Court, nor do I know how the stone was taken to the District Court. But one thing is certain that the family left Thana soon after 1858. I also know that the late Atmaram Mahipat Paralikar, Maniladur of Bassein (and subsequently of Poona) had in his possession a long roll of the account of building a fort, but I am not sure whether it was Parali or Māhuli. I have a faint idea that, that fort was somewhere in the Nasik District in which my grandfather was a Munsiff. Mr. Atmaram's son is employed in the Baroda State. I have written to him too."

This letter seems to suggest, how the stone may have come to Thana. The Asirkar family, which had derived its name from its official connection with the fort of Asir in the Thana district, may also have been connected with the Mahuli fort in the Thana district. So, it is possible, that some member of that family may have brought the stone to Thana.

P.S.—After writing and reading the above correction Note, I have received another letter from the same gentleman, which shows further

the connection of the Asirkar family with some forts in the Thana district. They may also have been in charge of the Māhuli fort and may have brought the stone from there to Thana. We do not know how it passed from their house to the Court house. In this second letter, from Belvedere, Alipore, Calcutta, dated 12th April, 1916, Rni Bahadur Gupte says :—

“ I have at last been able to trace the history of the Asirgad stone. Mr. Purshottam Vaman Likhite Asirkar, a descendant of the Dadasaheb I mentioned in my last, lives at Thana, in the house known as Mulki's Vada. He says, that his ancestors held the hereditary Potnisship of Fort Kohaj, about 7 or 8 miles from Asir Mahal in the Mahim Taluka of the present day. There is a Fort called Asirgad in that locality.

“ After the British conquest, his ancestor Luxman Ramchandra Likhite lost the hereditary appointment, and became talati of Asirgad. He was subsequently made Mahalkari of Nagathana, Mamlatdar of Pen, and finally Mamlatdar of Mahim, his ancestral tract.

“ After the retirement he lives in house No. 7, Kharkar Ali, viz., that I have described in my last. It is quite possible that as a Mamlatdar, he may have brought down the old stone of that house, where I saw it.”

The following facts about Tattah may be mentioned. It was founded by Nandu Bāhiniya, a chief of the tribe of Samma, who had received the title of Jām (Tārikh-i-Tāhiri by Mir Tāhir Muhammad Nasyāni of Thatta who lived in the beginning of the 17th century. Elliot I, p. 273). Firoz Shāh attacked and took it (Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhi, Elliot IV 12). Shah Beg took it in about 1520 (*Ibid* I, p. 500). Mujahid Khan took it in 1574, on behalf of king Akbar (*Ibid* I, p. 241). In the Maāsiri Ahungiri, the city is called Thatta (The Bengal As. Society's Calcutta edition by Mahomad Saki Mustakhan (1871), p. 517).

ART. XVIII.—*The Early History of the Huns*
and
Their Inroads in India and Persia.

By
SHAMS-UL-ULMA DR. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., PH.D.
(Read on 28th August 1916.)

I.

During the present war, we have been often hearing of the ancient Huns, because some of the ways of fighting of our enemies have been compared to those of these people. Again, the German Emperor himself had once referred to them in his speech before his troops when he sent them under the command of his brother to China to fight against the Boxers. He had thus addressed them:—"When you meet the foe you will defeat him. No quarter will be given, no prisoners will be taken. Let all who fall into your hands be at your mercy. Just as Huns, a thousand years ago, under the leadership of Attila, gained a reputation in virtue of which they still live in historic tradition, so may the name of Germany become known in such a manner in China that no Chinaman will ever again dare even to look askance at a German."

Well-nigh all the countries, where war is being waged at present, were, at one time or another, the fields of the war-like activities of the Huns. Not only that, but the history of almost all the nations, engaged in the present war, have, at one time or another, been affected by the history of the Huns. The early ancestors of almost all of them had fought with the Huns.

The writer of the article on Huns in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*¹ says, that "the authentic history of the Huns in Europe practically begins about the year 372 A.D., when under a leader named Balamir (or Balamber) they began a westward movement from their settlements in the steppes lying to the north of the Caspian." Though their strictly authentic history may be said to begin with the Christian era, or two or three centuries later, their semi-authentic history began a very long time before that. They had powerful monarchies and extensive empires, and illustrious conquerors and rulers. They had a glorious as well as an unglorious past during a period of nearly 2,000 years. According to the Avesta and Pahlavi books of the Parsees, they had fought with the ancient Persians of the times

¹ 9th edition, Vol. 12, p. 381.

of Zoroaster and even with those of times anterior to him. The History of the Huns, is the history, as said by M. Deguignes, "of a nation almost ignored, which established, at different times, powerful monarchies in Asia, Europe and Africa. The Huns, who, later on, bore the name of 'Turks,' natives of a country situated on the North of China, between the rivers Irtysh and Amur, made themselves, by degrees, masters of the whole of the great Tartary. Since 200 B. C., several royal families have successively reigned in these vast countries. They had empires more extensive than that of Rome, illustrious emperors, legislators and conquerors who have given rise to considerable revolutions."¹ It is the history of a nation, who has, through its one branch or another, "contributed to the destruction of the Roman Empire, ravaged France, Italy, Germany and all the countries North of Europe, ruined the empire of the Khalifs, and possessed the Holy land."² Their Empire, which, at one time, extended to Western Europe in the West, and to China in the East, has left, as it were, its marks in the names of places like *Hungary* in Europe and *Hunza*³ in Asia. In the name of Hungary, we see its old Chinese name, 712, Heungnoo or Huingnu. They were "a people who lived with glory during more than 2,000 years."⁴ Gibbon⁵ speaks of them as "the terror of the world." It was more than once, that they had shown themselves to be the terror of the world. It was during, what may be called, their second period of terror in Europe, that their name was associated with Attila.

At different times and at different places, they were the subjects, the allies and the enemies of Rome. Gaul was at different times open "to incursions of Vandals, Germans, Suevi, and savage eastern Allani." Of these, the Allani were "perhaps pressed into the Empire by the advance of the Huns from their Scythian steppes."⁶ Britain was long ruled by Rome. But it was the pressure of various eastern tribes, and, among them, that of the Huns, which compelled Rome to look after its own home in Italy and to withdraw its army and its protection from Britain. In about 406 A.D., Rome withdrew its legions from

¹ Translated from "Histoire Générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols, et des autres Tartares occidentaux, &c., avant et depuis Jesus Christ jusqu' à présent," par M. Deguignes (1756) Tome premier, partie première, Preface p. V.

² *Ibid.*, p. VI.

³ Lit. Place (Jā) of the Huns. It is also known as Kanjad. It is a State on the Upper Indus, forming a part of the country of Gilgit.

⁴ Histoire des Huns, &c., by M. Deguignes, p. XXV.

⁵ Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, (1743) Vol. II, p. 342.

⁶ "Lenders and Landmarks in European History," by A. H. R. Moncreiff and H. J. Chaytor, Vol. I, p. 149.

Britain.¹ They had long wars with the ancient Romans, the ancient Germans and with other nations of Europe. During these wars, they had advanced up to the further West of Europe. Their wars and their inroads had even forced some of the people of the West to cross over the sea and to go to Africa. Again, they had frequent wars with the ancient Persians from very early times to the later times of the Sassanians. Coming to India, they had made more than one inroad into the country. Not only had they made inroads, but had made a long stay and ruled for a number of years over various parts of the country, extending from Kathiawar² to Pataliputra. They had their capital at Sialkote. They are even said to have imported into India alien Brahmins from the West.

History has recorded inter-marriages of the princes and princesses of some of the nations of the West and the East with the princesses and princes of the Huns. The fact of these royal marriages suggests, that there must have been inter-marriages among their respective subjects also. From all these facts and considerations, which we will examine in this Paper, one may say, that the blood of many of the branches of the above nations, both of the West and the East, has been mixed with that of the Huns. In connection with this subject, one may read with great interest, Mr. R. Bhandarkar's very interesting article in the *Indian Antiquary*,³ entitled "Foreign elements in Hindu population," wherein, the learned author points to the Huns also, as forming a foreign element in the Indian population. It is in the company of these Huns, that the tribe of the Gujars is said to have come from without to India—the tribe that gave its name to our Gujarat in the West of India, and to Gujarat and Gujarawala in the Punjab.

II.

It is such a people that forms the subject of my Paper. I propose to speak of them, not only from the Western point of view, but also from the Iranian and Indian points of view. The object of this Paper is, not so much to give any running history of this people, as to refer to some events in their history which had some far-reaching results. The subject was suggested to me during my study for a paper on "The Hunas of the Indian books in the Avesta and Pahlavi books of the Parsees," contributed for the coming memorial volume in honour of our venerated

The object of the Paper and the division of the subject.

Four great kingdoms in the first few centuries before and after Christ. The relation of the Huns with them.

¹ *Ibid.*

² For their relations with Kathiawar, *vide* the recent (1916) interesting book on "The History of Kathiawar," by Captain H. Wilberforce Bell, pp. 32, 37, 42.

³ *Indian Antiquary* of January 1911.

able and esteemed Sanskrit scholar, Dr. Sir Rāmerishna Gopal Bhāṇḍarkar, on the occasion of his 80th birthday. This Paper is based on collateral notes collected during the study for that paper. It contains only a passing reference to the special subject of that paper.

In the few centuries before and after Christ, there existed the following great kingdoms :—

- 1 China in the East, 2 Rome in the West, 3 Persia under the Parthian rule and 4 India. The last two stood between the first two, as connecting links.

The Huns, under different names, had relations with the nations of all these four great kingdoms, and lived, at times, now and then, here and there, on the frontiers of these four great kingdoms, harassed their people and had long wars with them. Again, at times, they lived as subjects of these kingdoms and at times, as their allies. We will speak of the relations of the Huns with these four great powers at or about the commencement of the Christian era.

Our sources of information on the History of the Huns are various.

1. Firstly, as to their relation with China, we have to look to the Chinese annals, which give us also a glimpse into their origin and very early history. We find a good account based on these annals, in the "Histoire Générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols, et des autres Tartares occidentaux, &c.", by M. Deguignes. In this connection, we must bear in mind, that the Huns were known in different countries and in different ages by various names, such as, Turcs, Mongols, Tartares, Haetalites, &c.

2. For their relations with Rome, in whose decline and fall, they had a strong hand, we have to look to various classical writers, whose accounts have been presented to us by various recent writers. Gibbon has spoken of them in his Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

3. As to Persia, we have references to them in the Avesta and Pahlavi books of the Parsees, where they are spoken of as Hūnus. I will not speak of these references here, as I have referred to them, as said above, in a separate paper in the Bhāṇḍarkar Memorial Volume. Several Mahomedan writers on the history of Persia, such as Firdousi, Maqoudi, and Tabari, have spoken of them. But they have not spoken of them under their original name of Huns but as Haetalites, Turcs, &c. I will refer to them, when I speak of the inroads of the Huns in the Sassanian times.¹

¹ We get a very good account of them in the late M. E. Drouin's "Mémoire sur les Epitthalites dans leurs Rapports avec les Rois Perses Sassanides" (1893).

4. Coming to our own country, India, they are referred to in Indian books and in Indian inscriptions. Just as they had, following the inroads of the German and Gothic tribes, a strong hand in bringing about the downfall of the Roman Empire, and just as they had, followed by the Arabs, a hand in the downfall of the Sassanian Empire of Persia, they had a hand in the downfall of the Indian Empire of the Gupta dynasty. Again, their inroads into India should not be taken as a separate event in their history. Just as in times before Christ, the check, which they had received in their inroad into China by the construction of the Great China Wall, had forced them to turn to the West, towards the countries of the Roman Empire, so the check, which some of their tribes received in Europe, partially in, and mostly after, Attila's time, drove them back towards the East, towards Persia and India. Though their inroads into Persia had weakened the Persian Empire, they had a substantial check there and it was this check again that drove them strongly towards India.

III.

Origin and early history. Their movements guided by the want of Bread and Butter.

Before coming to the subject proper of this Paper, *viz.*, their inroads into the countries of the above four great kingdoms in the first century before Christ, we will say a few words on their origin and earlier history, for which subject the Chinese annals, as studied and described by M. Deguignes, are our main authority.

The writer of the article on Huns in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*¹ says: "We have no adequate philological data for conclusively determining the ethnological position of the ancient Huns. The Huns, in all probability, belonged to the Turkish branch of the great Turanian race." The Avesta and Pahlavi books of the Parsees support this view.

Tartary has been the name by which a very extensive part of Asia, north of India, has been known. It has been divided into Eastern Tartary and the Western Tartary. Their people, the Tartars, and especially the Western Tartars, are known as Huns. The Eastern Tartars have played an important part in the history of Asia, forming powerful empires here and there, but it was very rarely that they marched towards Europe. The Avars, who latterly played some important part in the history of Western Asia and Eastern Europe, are the only branch of the Eastern Tartars who went to the East. But, though they themselves did not go to the West, it is they, who, as it were,

¹ 9th Edition, Vol. XII. p. 382.

forced the Western Tartars, the Huns, to go to the West. They invaded the country of the Western Tartars and made them fly to the West. It is the Western Tartars who marched towards the West, towards India and Persia in Asia, and towards Rome, France, Germany, etc., in Europe, that are known as Huns. They are called *Hünus* by Iranian writers, *Hunas* by Indian writers and *Huns* by Roman writers. In Tartary itself they bore the name of *Hiengnou*.¹ M. Deguignes identifies them with the *Heungnoo* or *Hiungnu*, who, according to Chinese writers, owned a great empire from the Caspian to the frontiers of China. This empire then fell into a state of anarchy and lost all its influence at the end of the first century A.D. One section of this fallen race went to the West, settled in the country near the river Ural and became the ancestors of the Huns, who, 300 years after, re-asserted their power and influence under *Balanir* and came into contact with the Romans.

Thus, what we see is this : The Huns leave their Asiatic country and advance towards the West as well as towards the East. In the West, they drive tribes after tribes from their countries. These tribes, being driven from their countries, enter, at times peacefully, but generally, fighting into other regions and drive away the people thereof. The people, thus driven in their turn, force others to leave their places. It is something like what would happen in a crowd. Those behind push those in their front. These in their turn, push those before them and so on. Thus, the slightest push or rush behind produces a rush all along the line and even in the distant front. This was what happened in the case of the inroads of these people towards the West—in Europe as well as in Asia.

Now, what is at the bottom of these grand national or tribal pushes, is the demand for Bread and Butter. Dr. Ellesworth Huttington has very well illustrated this fact in his "*Pulse of Asia. A Journey in Central Asia, illustrating the Geographical basis of History.*" He dwells upon, and illustrates, what is called "the Geographic Theory of History." Applying this to the History of Europe, what we find is this : The Huns who lived in Asia, were, owing to a change in the physical condition of their country, obliged to leave their country in search of bread. They gradually dispersed in large numbers. Some went to the East and some to the West. In their search for bread, they drove away by force the people of the country where they found bread. The people thus displaced, proceeded further and drove away the people of the country they occupied. Thus, it was that the Huns had driven

¹ "Histoire Générale des Huns" by M. Deguignes, Tome I, Partie I, p. 213.

away some of the German tribes, who, in their turn, went to other countries.

M. Deguignes begins their history, on the authority of Chinese accounts, at about 1200 B. C.¹ Though it is since 200 B. C., that we get some proper materials for their history, they flourished long before that time. Their first empire was destroyed by the Chinese and it was restored by Teon-man-tanjou, who was their first Emperor, known in history. He died in 209 B. C. M. Deguignes gives a long list of his successors from B. C. 209 to A. C. 93.² During the reign of one of these successors, Pou-nou-tanjou, who came to the throne in 46 A. D., a great famine devastated their country and weakened their empire. During the time of weakness and difficulty, they were driven to the North by the Eastern Tartars. The Chinese also attacked them and compelled them to leave their country. Some of them went towards Kashgar and Aksou. Thus, their empire in Tartary, in the north of China known as the country of Turkestan, was destroyed.

It was a branch of these early Huns, that latterly went to Europe at the time when Emperor Valens was ruling at Rome. They were then ruled by their chiefs, of whom Balamir was the principal (A. D. 376). M. Deguignes³ gives a list of the dates of his reign, and of his successors' or contemporaries' reigns as follows :—

Balamir...	...	...	...	A. D. 376.
Uldes ...	...	...	...	.. 400. A prince named Donat was his contemporary.
Aspar ...	...	...	...	.. 424.
Roilas ...	...	...	...	.. 425.
Roua or Rugula ...	...	...	...	.. 433.
Attila and Bleda (the nephews of Roua) ...	...	...	...	Bleda died in 444. Then Attila ruled alone and died in 454.

Some of these may be contemporaries ruling over different tribes.

Ellac, Denghisic, Hernack, the three sons of Attila, divided the countries of Attila among themselves and among their two other relatives, Kinnedzar and Uzindar. These princes were defeated by the Romans and the power of the Huns in Europe was destroyed in 468 A. D. Some Huns preserved their power round about Georgia. Some

¹ "C'est aux environs de l'an 1,200 avant J. C. que nous devons placer le commencement de l'Empire des Huns." "Histoire des Huns." Tome I, P. I., p. 216.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

others ruled in the country near the Danube and continued there up to the time of their chief Zambergam who became Christian in 618 A. D. Since that time, the Huns have been mixed up with the Avars above referred to, who were an offshoot of the Eastern Tartars.

The above named Pou-nou-tanjou (46 A. D.) had, in order to secure the succession to the throne, to his son, got murdered another rival prince. Another prince of the family of Pe, King of Gesui, closely related to the murdered prince had raised a revolt. He ruled in the south in the countries close to China. His country formed the Empire of the Huns of the South. He declared himself the Tanjou or Emperor of that kingdom. He made an alliance with the Chinese and took an active part in weakening the Huns of the North. But, in return, they were much weakened by many of their tribes joining with the Huns of the North. So, in the North, at about 48 A. D., another powerful dynasty was formed. Deguignes gives us a list of these rulers from 48 to 216 A. D.¹

IV.

Now, we will speak, one after another, of their relations with, of inroads into, the territories of the Chinese, Persian, Roman, and Indian Empires.

I.—THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE CHINESE EMPIRE.

According to the Chinese writers, in the third century B. C., their rule extended from the Caspian Sea to China. One of the Chinese Emperors, named Cheng, built, in the 3rd century B. C., a great wall to prevent their frequent inroads into his territories. This emperor had come to the throne in 246 B. C. at the age of 13. He drove away the Huns in 215 B. C. and then built the Great Wall. By an irony of fate, China was up to late, ruled by the princes of the Manchou Tartars who were the descendents of the very race against whom the Chinese wall was built. It is said of this Great Wall that about 30 lacs of men were engaged in building it. An army of 3 lacs of men was engaged to defend the labourers. It was more than 1,500 miles long. It was 10 to 40 feet in height and 15 feet in breadth. One of the reasons for the Fall and Decline of Rome (and also of the check of the rising power of the then Germans to a certain extent) was this Great Chinese Wall. Of course, the inroads into Italy of the Teutonic tribes, which formed the German nation in the 5th century, formed, one of the reasons—one of the principal reasons, perhaps the principal reason—of the downfall of the Roman Empire. But, we will see later

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

on, that these German hordes were dispersed and driven towards Italy by these Huns, the barbarian hordes of Central Asia.

The Pyramids, the Great wall of China, and the Himalays are spoken of by some to be the three greatest Wonders of the World. Of these three, one—the Himalays—is the work of Nature. It is the Great Wall of India, built by the hand of no Emperor, but by God, that Emperor of Emperors, that Grand Architect of Architects. Had it not been so placed or built, imagine what would have been the trouble of our rulers to protect the country from Northern invaders. This wall of Nature gives one an idea of the importance of the Chinese Wall to the great Chinese Empire. The Pyramids form a grand work of man. But they are mere mausoleums, and had and have no practical use, proportional to the great expense of money and trouble spent over them. But the Great Wall of China had the practical purpose of defending the country, thus saving enormous military expenditure. The Romans under Julius Cæsar built a wall on the Rhine, about 200 years after the Great Chinese Wall. It was on a smaller scale and it was to protect the frontiers of the Roman Empire against some barbarian German tribes. Perhaps, the idea of this wall was suggested to Rome by the Chinese Wall. This Roman Wall on the Rhine was broad enough on the top to serve as a military road. But it did not serve its purpose as a practical work. The German hordes were too strong for it. But the Chinese Wall served its purpose against the Huns. The Chinese Emperor, who began building it, died in 210 B. C., while the Wall was being built.

Being stopped in their frequent incursions into China in the East, the Huns turned their attention to the West. They gradually advanced to the West. It was not a sudden march from the East to the West, but was a work of years, nay of centuries. Those were not the times of regulated Transport or Commissariat departments in the East, especially in the case of wandering tribes like those of the Huns. What they did was this: When they were stopped in their advances at one place, they turned to another. They stopped there and continued to live there as long as they comfortably could. Feeling some kind of pinch, they advanced further. In these advances, at times, the tribes or the people whose country they occupied, advanced further in search of fresh fields for food.

The Great Chinese Wall, having prevented the Huns from making frequent encroachments on the Chinese territories, forced them to turn towards the West in the direction of Asiatic and Greek Kingdoms, and towards the south-west where lived the Yue-chi. These Eastern Huns, at

first attacked the U-sui tribes, who in their turn attacked the Yue-chi. These Yue-chi, being thus pushed by the Huns, turned towards the West and attacked the Su living on Lake Balkash. The Su tribe, which was thus attacked, consisted of the different Turanian tribes, such as the Messagatæ, Tochari and Dahæ, who lived on the frontiers of Persia on the shores of the Upper Jaxartes. The Dahæ seems to be the Dahi of the Dāhinām Dakhynām of the Farvardin Yasht¹ of the Parsees, which speaks of the five known countries of the then world. The Su tribe, being attacked by the Huns, advanced to the Caspian from the Oxus. The Su tribes, who included the Dahæ and the Messagatæ then attacked the Greeco-Asiatic Kingdom of Bactria and the Asiatic state of Parthia. All this began to happen from about 50 years after the erection of the Great Chinese Wall. The Parthians opposed the above tribes. Thereupon, they turned back. The Scythi, Su and Yue-chi invaded India and made their settlements in Punjab. These inroads of the Huns on the Asiatic tribes postponed their inroads for a time in Europe.

V.

II.—THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

Claudius Ptolemy, the well-known Egyptian Geographer, who lived at Alexandria in the early part of the second century A. D., refers to the Xoivoi Chuni (Chænoi) a tribe of the Huns, as living between the tribes of the Basternæ and the Roxalani on the Dneiper?²

Dionysius Periegetes, who lived at some time about 200 A. D., is said to have referred to Huns living on the borders of the Caspian. But doubts are entertained about these references to the earlier presence of the Huns in Europe, and the authentic history of their progress in the West begins in the 4th century after Christ. Their settlements were known to exist in the north of the Caspian. They advanced westwards in 372 A. D. Under the leadership of the above referred to Bahamir, they defeated the Alani who occupied the district between the Volga and the Don. They then enlisted these Alani into their own service. They, afterwards, invaded the country of the Ostrogoths (Eastern Goths), ruled over by Ermanaric or Hermanric, in 374 and subjugated them in the time of Hunimand, the son of Hermanric. They advanced further and defeated the Visigoths (or Tirvingi). For 50 years, they thus conquered the various tribes in the north of Italy, which was then not only free from their attack, but, at times

¹ Yasht XIII, 144.

² Prof. Nobbe's Text (1843), p. 172. Bk. III. Chap. V, 25.

received their help in its war with others, *e.g.*, the Ostrogoths. In 404-5, the Huns under a chief, named Uldin, helped the Roman general Honorius in his fight with the Ostrogoths under Radagaisus or Ratigar. They spread in Dacia, which is now called Hungary after their name. In 409, they invaded Bulgaria. In 432 or 433, their King Ruas or Rugulus received from Theodosius II an annual tribute of £350 of gold, *i.e.*, 14,000 £ sterling and the rank of a Roman general.

Aetius, a promising young Roman, was one of the hostages, given to this Hunnic King, Ruas or Rugulus. Having acquired some influence with the Huns, he led an army of 60,000 Huns to Italy to advance his own interests in his country. Differences soon arose again between Theodosius and Ruas. Ruas objected (*a*) to the Romans making alliances with some tribes on the river Danube, which tribes, he said, were his subjects, and (*b*) to their allowing refuge to some of his unruly Huns. These differences would have renewed hostilities, but Ruas died soon after. On his death, his nephews, Attila and Bleda or Belda, succeeded him.

Let us cast a glance at the history of England at this time, and see, how it was affected by that of the Huns. Britain formed a part of the Roman Empire, and, as such, had a Roman army for its protection. Some German legions also formed a part of this army. The Zoroastrian Mithraism of ancient Persia, several monuments of which have been found in London, York, Gloucestershire, New Castle and other places, is said to have been introduced into England by, among others, these German legions of the Roman army of occupation.¹ Rome, when it began to be invaded by eastern tribes, had to look to the safety of its own home than to that of distant dominions like Britain. It had its difficulties first with the Goths and then with the Huns. So, Britain was much neglected. The Scots and the Picts often invaded England in the 4th century A. D. In 368 A. D., they had penetrated as far as London. Rome, owing to its own home difficulties, could not attend to the appeal of Britain to send troops for its protection. Rome withdrew the last of its regular army from England, in about 406 A. D. But, at the earnest demand of the people, it sent its legions again in 418 A. D. to protect the country against the inroads of the Scots and the Picts. The legions drove away the invaders, repaired British fortresses and instructed native Britons how to defend themselves and returned to Rome.

¹ Cumont's Mithraism, *Vide* Legge's Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity.

The Scots and the Picts again invaded England. The people, under their Gaulish Bishop, St. Germaine of Auxaine, defeated them in 429 A.D. The victory at this battle is known as, "the Halleluja Victory" on account of the well-known cry of Hallelujah¹ being raised at it by the soldiers. In 446 A.D., the Britons again asked for help from Rome against the invading Scots. But Rome itself was then rapidly falling on account of its wars with the Huns. The letter to Rome asking for help is known as "the groans of the Britons." Actius, the Roman General, commanded the army of the tottering empire of Rome, which was threatened by Attila. The Romans having refused the required help, the Britons called for help the Saxons who lived on the North-Western coast of Germany. They were to a certain extent as bad barbarians at that time as the Picts and the Scots, but, in times of difficulty, were looked to as saviours. The Saxons themselves were feeling the pressure of the advancing Huns on the continent; so, perhaps, they eagerly grasped this opportunity to save themselves as well as the Britons.

As said by Mr. Moncreiff, "It has been surmised with some probability, that it was the pressure of Attila's conquest that drove our Saxon forefathers to make settlements in Britain. He is said to have formed an alliance as far east as China, and thus to have neutralized another Tartar host that would have pressed him from that side as he pressed upon the western tribes. Not for the first nor the last time now did Asian hordes overflow from their steppes into Europe."

Attila or Etzel, born in 406 A.D., became the king of Huns in 434 A.D. He was the son of Mundzuk, the brother of the last Hunnic king, Ruas or Rugulus, whom the Roman King Theodosius paid the annual tribute of £14,000. Before he came to the throne, the Romans and the Huns were on the point of war, which, however, was avoided by the death of his uncle King Ruas or Rugulus. Attila, on coming to the throne, made a treaty, the treaty of Margus, near modern Belgrade, said to have been made by both sides on horseback. By this treaty, the Romans of the Eastern Empire under Theodosius consented to pay double the original tribute, i.e., £28,000 sterling. Certain other terms acknowledging the power of the Huns were accepted. Among these terms were the following:—(a) The Romans were to return to the Huns some of their subjects who had taken refuge in Roman country; (b) a fine of £8 to be paid by the Romans

¹ Hallelujah is Hebrew Alleluiah, i.e. 'Praise (you) Jehovah' ('halal' to praise and 'yah', an abbreviation of Yehovah).

² *Leaders and Landmarks in European History from early to modern times* (1914), by A. R. H. Moncreiff and Rev. H. J. Chaytor, Vol. I, p. 151.

for every fugitive not to be traced ; (c) several markets were to be open both to the Huns and the Romans ; (d) Rome was to make no alliance with any tribe that may be at war with Attila. After this temporary peace with Rome which lasted for 8 years, the Huns reduced Scythia to subjugation and then thought of attacking Persia again. They had at one time already ravaged Media, a part of Persia. They also advanced westwards to the Rhine and fought with the Burgundians. The Roman Empire was at the time divided into two Empires, the Eastern and the Western. They invaded both (A. D. 441). They attacked Constantinople, but peace was soon made, whereby Attila was offered thrice the previous annual tribute, *viz.*, £84,000 and a large sum as indemnity. Bleda died in 445 A. D. So Attila ruled alone. During the above negotiations, Theodosius had plotted for his assassination. Attila censured him for want of honour and courage, but, before he could do anything, Theodosius died and was succeeded by Marcian, who refused to pay any tribute. Attila did not mind this refusal, because his attention in the meantime was drawn towards the Western Empire where Princess Honoria, the sister of Valentinian, who was once confined at Constantinople for her frailties, tired of unmarried life, sent to him her ring and an offer of marriage. He accepted that offer and then began to claim half the Roman Empire as her dowry. The Visigoths were then hostile to the Romans. The Vandals offered to join him against these Visigoths under Theodoric. So, in 451, he led an army of 700,000 men through central Germany, and crossed the Rhine. He defeated the Burgundians and passed through Gaul, and was checked jointly by the Visigoths under Theodoric and the Romans under General Aetius at Chalons¹ on the Marne. In the great battle that was fought, Theodoric was killed. His son Thorismund retrieved the fortune of the day and drove Attila back to his camp. Attila is said to have lost from 160,000 to 300,000 men. But this is believed to be some exaggeration, as this defeat was not a crushing defeat for the Huns, who withdrew for the time to their headquarters at somewhere near modern Budapest. Next year, Attila invaded the country on the Adriatic. Venice owes its foundation to this inroad of the Huns. The fugitives from his ravages went and founded this city in the lagoons of the Adriatic Coast. Attila then marched against Rome, which would have fallen, had it not been saved by the embassy of Pope Leo. It is said that Pope Leo boldly came to him and threateningly warned him saying : " Thus far and no further." It is believed that St. Peter and St. Paul also appeared miraculously before Attila and threatened him. Attila at once withdrew from any further attack on Rome. The motive of the withdrawal is not known. He

¹ Some writers say that the place of his defeat was Mory and not Chalons.

was moved more by superstition at the serious words of a priest than by mercy, and abstained from entering into Rome. This event saved the Roman civilization from the hands of the Huns. Shortly after, he died (453 A.D.) from the bursting of a blood vessel on the very night of his marriage with Hildiko or Hilda, a beautiful Gothic maiden. Under the banner of Attila's Huns, there fought, at one time, some of the German tribes—the Ostrogoths, Gepidae, Alani, Heruli and many other Teutonic tribes. His Huns ruled over countries extending from the Rhine to the frontiers of Chalon. His men looked at him with a superstitious awe as a god possessing the iron-sword of the god of war. He is said to have assumed the name of the "Scourge of God" or "the Fear of the World." He was buried in a golden coffin, covered over by a silver coffin, which, in its turn, was put in an iron coffin. His Huns got his grave dug by war-prisoners, who then were killed immediately, so that the place of his tomb may not be known to others.¹

The great German national epic, known as Nibelungenlied, refers to Attila. According to this epic, Kriemhild was the widow of one Siegfried, who was murdered out of jealousy by Gunther, her brother, the King of Burgundy. On her husband's death, she married Attila and thought of avenging the death of her first husband. She asked Attila to invite her brother and his nobles to dinner at Buda Pesth. She then asked her friends to attack them. They all were killed by sword or fire. She also then died.

It was the invasion of Europe by Attila preceded by that of Alaric, that gave a strong blow to Mithraism that had spread in Europe from the Persian towns of Asia Minor, &c., the disseminating medium being the Roman legions, the Syrian and other merchants and slaves, the imperial officers, &c.² Mithraism had spread even in Britain, where several Mithraea have been excavated.³ It had spread in Germany⁴, and it is said, that it were the German legions who formed a part of the Roman army of occupation in Britain that had a great hand in its spread there, in various places like York, Gloucester, Chester and even as far in the

¹ For some further particulars about Attila, vide "Leaders and Landmarks in European History" by Mr. Monciéff and Rev. Chaytor, pp. 151 *et seq.*

² "The Mysteries of Mithra" by Prof. Franz Cumont, translated from the second revised French edition by Thomas J. McCormack (1903), pp. 40 *et seq.*, 61 *et seq.*, 74 *et seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 30 *et seq.*

⁴ "Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity, being Studies in Religious History from 330 B. C. to 330 A. D." by F. Legge (1915), Vol. II, p. 230, n. 3.

north as Carlisle and New Castle.¹ Like many other legions of the army of the great Roman Empire, these German legions also seem to have kindly taken to Mithraism, when they came into contact with the Persian soldiers in the frequent wars of the Romans with the Persians. The Cult of Mithra, in one form or another, is said to be very old. The recent discovery of some inscriptions leads to show, that Mithra "was one of the most exalted deities of the presumably Aryan Hittites or Mitannians at a date not later than 1272 B.C."² One scholar carries the date of one of the inscriptions to 1900 B. C.³

The outline, in which Mr. Legge sums up M. Cumont's account of the spread of Mithraism, enables one to see properly the part that Alaric and Attila and their Huns played in giving a blow to this Mithraism, and in preparing Europe for the further spread of Christianity of which it was a principal rival.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 50 et seq. ² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. LXII.

³ *Ibid.*, n. 3.

⁴ Mr. Legge's outline runs as follows:—

"As usual, the official form of religion in the Roman Empire had for some time given indications of the coming change in the form of Government. The sun had always been the principal natural object worshipped by the Persians, and a high-priest of the Sun-God had sat upon the Imperial throne of Rome in the form of the miserable Hellogabalus. Only 33 years before Diocletian, Aurelian, son of another Sun-God's priestess and as virile and rugged as his predecessor was soft and effeminate, had also made the Sun-God the object of his special devotion and of an official worship. Hence Diocletian and his colleague Galerius were assured in advance of the approval of a large part of their subjects when they took the final plunge in 307 A. D., and proclaimed Mithras, "the unconquered Sun-God," the Protector of their Empire.

"In spite of this, however, it is very difficult to say how Mithras originally became known to the Romans. Plutarch says indeed that his cult was first introduced by the Cilician pirates who were put down by Pompey! This is not likely to be literally true; for the summary methods adopted by these sea-robbers towards their Roman prisoners hardly gave much time for proselytism, while most of the pirates whom Pompey spared at the close of his successful operations he deported to Achaia, which was one of the few places within the Empire where the Mithraic faith did not afterwards show itself. What Plutarch's story probably means is that the worship of Mithras first came to Rome from Asia Minor and there are many facts which go to confirm this. M. Cumont, the historian of Mithraism, has shown, that long before the Romans set foot in Asia, there were many colonies of emigrants from Persia who with their magi or priests had settled in Asia Minor, including in that phrase Galatia, Phrygia, Lydia, and probably Cilicia. When Rome began to absorb these provinces, slaves, prisoners, and merchants from them would naturally find their way to Rome, and in time would, no doubt draw together for the worship of their national deities in the way that we have seen pursued by the worshippers of the Alexandrian Isis and the Jewish exiles. The magi of Asia Minor were great supporters of Mithridates, and the Mithridatic wars were no doubt responsible for a large number of these immigrants.

"Once introduced, however, the worship of Mithras spread like wild-fire. The legions from the first took kindly to it, and this is the less surprising when we find that many of them were recruited under the earliest emperors in Anatolian states like Commagene, where the cult

It is pointed out that "the strictly monarchical doctrine" of Mithraism had appealed greatly to the Roman emperors who saw that "in a quasi-Oriental despotism lay the only chance of salvation for the Roman Empire."¹ In passing to the West and in spreading there, it had undergone such a change from its original form, that, according to Mr. Legge, "Western Mithraism was looked upon by the Sassanian reformers as a dangerous heresy."² This rather gave to the Roman emperors "an additional reason for supporting it."³ Dacia, the country of modern Hungary and Roumania, had become the centre of many Mithraea in the time of Trajan who favoured Mithraism "as an universal and syncretic religion."⁴ So, a short time after, with the desolation of Dacia at the hand of the Goths and the Vandals, Mithraism, which had its principal seat there, centred in the midst of a number of Mithraea, received a great blow. When Aurelian abandoned Dacia in 255 A. D. to the Goths and the Vandals, Mithraism suffered a great blow, which paved the way for Christianity, because, with the fall of Dacia, people began to look more towards the Christian Constantinople than the Pagan Rome as the seat of the Roman empire. The Mithraea or the temples of Mithras began to be wrecked and plundered. The masses began to turn from Mithraism to Christianity. The adherents of Mithra, popularly known as the "Cappèd One" from the fact of their priest putting on a particular cap (the mitre) grew less and less. Thus, the invasions of Attila, which gave a great

was, if not indigenous, yet of very early growth. Moreover the wars of the Romans against the Persians kept them constantly in the border provinces of the two empires, where the native populations not infrequently changed masters. The enemy's town that the legions besieged one year might therefore give them a friendly reception the next; and there was thus abundant opportunity for the acquaintance of both sides with each other's customs. When the Roman troops marched back to Europe, as was constantly the case during the civil wars which broke out on the downfall of the Julian house, they took back with them the worship of the new god whom they had adopted, and he thus became known through almost the whole of the Roman Empire. "From the shores of the Euxine to the north of Brittany and to the fringe of the Sahara," as M. Cumont says, its monuments abound; and, he might have added, they have been met with also in the Egyptian Delta, in Babylon, and on the northern frontiers of India. In our own barbarous country we have found them not only in London and York, but as far west as Gloucester and Chester and as far north as Carlisle and Newcastle. The Balkan countries, like Italy, Germany, Southern France, and Spain, are full of them; but there was one part of the Roman Empire into which they did not penetrate freely. This was Greece, where the memories of the Persian Wars long survived the independence of the country, and where the descendants of those who fought at Salamis, Marathon and Thermopylae would have nothing to do with a god coming from the invaders' fatherland. It is only very lately that the remains of Mithraic-worship have been discovered at the Piræus and at Patras, in circumstances which show pretty clearly that it was there practised only by foreigners." (*Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity, being Studies in Religious History from 330 B. C. to 430 A. D.*, by F. Legge (1915, pp. 222-30).

¹ *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 170.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 251.

blow to the power of Rome, also gave a great blow to Mithraism and a great impetus to Christianity.¹

In connection with this subject of the spread of Zoroastrian Mithraism in Europe, it may be said that Sir George Birdwood seems to think that some Zoroastrians even served in the Roman army. They had entered in the service of the Roman empire in Western Asia where Rome had many possessions. With the advent of the Roman army into England as the army of occupation, these Zoroastrian soldiers had gone to England, and when there, they may have had a direct hand in the spread of Mithraism. Zoroastrian Mithraism paved the way for Christianity, in so far, as it first shook and then broke to a certain extent the ancient paganism.²

(a) The food of the ordinary Huns in the very early period of their history was of roots of some trees and half-raw flesh of all animals. (b) Horses were their inseparable companions. They lived as it were, on the back of horses, because in marches they ate on their back and even slept over them. (c) They were a wandering tribe and as such did not live in houses. (d) Their clothing was made partly of linen and partly of the skin of field mice. (e) Their implements of war for fighting from a little distance were javelins pointed with bones, and for fighting from close quarters swords and lassos. (f) In attacks, they did not advance in lines or ranks but rather in loose array.

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 275. For a succinct account of the spread of Mithraism, vide also "The Religious Life of Ancient Rome" by Jesse Benedict Carter (1912), pp. 87-94.

² Sir George Birdwood thus speaks on the subject: "Europe owes the establishment and endowment of Christianity as a State religion to the fact that Constantine the great was attracted to it by the religion of the Zoroastrians, who had served in the Roman legions under his command. Zoroastrians, with the neo-Platonists and Christians were the three principal spiritualizing influences closely inter-related, and equally free from dogmatic theology that at last broke down the whole structure of paganism west of the Indus right on to Great Britain, and on the ruins of the temples of Greece and Rome appeared the domes and towers and spires of the Catholic Roman Schismatic Greek Churches. In Great Britain, there are, I believe, 40 contemporary monuments of ancient Persians, Zoroastrians of the Roman army of occupation in these islands; and the remains of several of them are to be found along the wall of Hadrian within a circle sweep of Edinburgh. At St. Ives in Huntingdonshire, the abbot of Ramsey in the 11th century, dedicated a chapel to Iux, a Zoroastrian, who came to England and died here in the 7th century—possibly as a refugee from Iran when first invaded by the Arabs. Our Western code of social etiquette reaches us from the ancient Persian Court, through the Court of the Caesars at Constantinople and thence through the courts of the Medieval Christendom that sprang up out of the dust of fallen Rome. It was this 'Persian apparatus' of social etiquette that taught the barbarians who overthrew Rome good manners and made us 'gentlemen' gentlemen." (Sir George Birdwood's letter to the Edinburgh Parsee Union—The Parsee of 30th August 1928.)

Priscus, one of the ambassadors from the Roman Empire to the Court of Attila, has left us some account of the manners and customs of the later Huns, based on what he saw during his stay in Attila's Camp. From this, we learn the following :—

(b) The manners and customs of the Huns in Attila's time.

1. Attila's quarters in his camp were in a "palace of logs and planks, enclosed by palisades and dignified by turrets."
2. His many wives had separate lodges, where they worked at preparing showy dresses for the soldiers.
3. Some of the Romans, who were taken prisoners, married Hunnic women in Attila's Camp.
4. Their dinner time was at three in the afternoon, which they called "the 9th hour," counting the hours from six in the morning.
5. The first thing offered before dinner was a cup of wine, which the guests drank in honour and for the health of their host. It was after drinking this health that they took their seats for dinner.
6. At dinner, the king sat on a coach, his eldest son sitting by his side in reverential awe for his father.
7. The king had a simple clean dress but the nobles had their arms, bridles, and even the shoes of their horses decorated with jewels. The king drank and ate in wooden cups and plates, but the nobles ate in silver and gold ones.
8. They ate at separate tables in parties of three or four.
9. The king's fare was mostly flesh, while the others had meat, bread, relishes and wine.
10. The king sent his cup to an honoured guest who stood up and drank it standing. Each guest had a separate cupbearer.
11. In the evening, minstrels sang at the Court. This singing was accompanied by or followed by some musical performances. In connection with this matter, Mr. Moncrieff adds: "This is the type of a Tartar, and the description of his rude Court is not unlike what may be seen to-day in a Mongol Chief's Yurt; nor indeed were his revels more barbarous than those of the Germans and Gothic kings he turned into vassals. In quite modern days we read of Hungarian feasts as graced by the like rude minstrelsy."

¹ The Leaders and Landmarks in European History, by Moncrieff, Vol. I, pp. 151 et seq.
ibid., p. 152.

12. They took special care to hide the tombs of their kings. They buried them in much sequestered places and then killed the diggers of the graves, so that they may not tell anybody where the king was buried, lest somebody may remove his body. At times, they diverted waters of rivers from their natural beds, and then, burying their kings in those beds, let the water flow in again.

Claudian on the Huns of the 5th century A. D. Claudian the poet, who has written on the Fall of the Roman Empire, has thus given a picture of the Huns of the 5th century:

"There is a race on Scythia's verge extreme
Eastward beyond the Taurs' chilly stream.
The Northern Bear looks on no uglier crew:
Bare is their garb, their bodies foul to view.
Their souls are ne'er subdued to steady toil,
Or tire's webs. Their sustenance is spoil.
With horrid wounds they gash their brutal brows
And o'er their murdered parents bind their vows."

On the death of Attila in 453, his Hunnic empire fell into pieces. His sons quarrelled among themselves. Ardairic, the King of the Gaptar, rose in revolt against Attila's sons. In a battle near the river Netad in Pannonia, 30,000 Huns and their confederates were killed, among whom also was Ellak, the eldest son of Attila. The Huns were broken as a nation and they dispersed. Some of their hordes began to live under the Romans in modern Serbia and Bulgaria. The main part of the Huns returned to, and lived in, the plains of the river Ural, which were their home till about a century ago. About thirty years after this, their two tribes—the Kulurgurî and Utarguri, reappeared under the name of Bulgari. They again invaded the Eastern Empire of the Romans and continued harassing it for 72 years (485-557). The Avars, who were, up to now, a tribe under them, got ascendancy over them for some time. But the Huns under Kroat or Kubrat again regained their independence in 630, made a treaty with Emperor Heraclius. On the death of Kroat, his dominions were divided among his five sons. The Huns under the first son, Bathaius, remained in their own country, but those under the third son, Asperuch, crossed the Danube. The Huns under Bathaius afterwards came into contact with the Khazars on the river Volga. Their dominion was then known as the Great Bulgaria, whose people were spoken of as the Danubian or White Bulgarians. Thus, according to this account, the Bulgarians were the descendents of the Western Huns.

In or about the 5th century after Christ, the Huns began to lose or lost their original name of Hiong-nou or Huns.

Huns began to be known as Turks, and, later on, as Mongols or Moguls.

One of their hordes or tribes, which was known as the Turks becoming very powerful, gave its name to the whole Hun nation. So, the Huns began then to be known among the neighbouring nations by the name of Turks. Later on, when Chengiz Khan, the chief of the horde or tribe of the Monguls or Moguls became very powerful, his tribe gave its name to the whole nation. The whole Tartar nation then began to be spoken of as the Mongols or Moguls. Just as one and the same river receives different names in the different parts of the country, through which it runs from its source to its mouth, so, the one and the same nation, the Hiong-nou or Huns received different names during its progress from the time of its origin up to now, and from its original home to different countries. The horde or the tribe of the Turks who gave its name to the Huns later on, was called Tou-Kioue by the Chinese and Turks by the other adjoining nations.

The German consideration of groups before the invasion of the Huns, and the effect of the invasion upon the consideration.

Their wars with the Romans had taught the Germans, that it was to their advantage, that the different tribes should unite into groups. So, before Attila's invasion, the numerous German tribes had united into the following four :-

1. The Allemanni, meaning *all men*. They were so called, because their custom was to hold land in common among *all men*. This tribe had given its French name Allmagne to Germany. They lived in the south of Germany, in German Switzerland, the Black Forest and near the lake Constance.
2. The Franks, who gave their name to France, and who have given us the name Firangi for all Europeans, because the Franks, the French, were the first Europeans to come into contact with the Mahomedans (Saracens, Arabs) in the Crusades. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to come to India. So, the Indian Mogul (Mahomedan) rulers, taking them to be like the Franks, called them Firangis. After the Moguls and following them, other Mahomedans, and following them, all the Indians called all Europeans, Firangis.
3. The Saxons, who lived in North Germany and who gave to the ancient Englishmen the name of Anglo-Saxons.
4. The Goths, who were divided into the Eastern Goths (Ostrogoths) and the Western Goths (Visigoths). They were the

most cultured of all the Germans and were first converted to Christianity by Ulphilas who translated the Bible for them into Gothic. They lived on the banks of the Dneiper. They had formed a great Kingdom in the 4th century A.D. extending from the Baltic to the Black Sea. They included the Vandals and the Burgundians.

The invasion of the Huns dispersed these Germans. According to Mr. Gould¹, the invasion was like that of a wasp in a beehive when all the bees immediately disperse. After the invasion of the Huns, the German groups or confederacies left their countries and began to disperse. The Huns, crossing the Volga for the first time in 375, invaded that part of Germany where lived the Goths. The Ostrogoths, being unable to stand against them, crossed the Danube and entered into the dominions of the Roman Empire, asking for protection. They stayed there, and, after a time, led by their King Theodoric conquered Italy. The Visigoths or Western Goths, not being able to stand against the Huns, ran towards Southern Gaul and made Toulouse their centre. They, under their King Alaric, at one time, took Rome. The Vandals and the Suevi ran towards Spain and from thence went to Africa, forming Carthage as their centre. The Suevi being driven by the Huns, also occupied modern Portugal. The Angles and the Saxons crossed over to Britain in 449 and conquered it. The Lombards or Longobards descended into North Italy. The Burgundians descended into the country between the Rhone and the Saone and founded the Burgundian Kingdom. The cold German soil of North Germany being deserted by the Germans, it was latterly occupied by the Slavs who came from the North-East and who occupied Pomerania and Molenburg.

The whole of the dispersion of the German tribes was not bad in itself. Some tribes or groups became very powerful. Among such were the Franks, who, at times, fought on behalf of the Romans against the German tribe of Allemanni and against the Western Goths. They established a good strong kingdom and their kings established their authority in a better way.

The final result of the dispersion of the Germans was this: Some of them, escaping into adjoining countries more civilized than theirs, took up their habits and customs. The final result. Some German tribes disappeared. They gradually disappeared as German tribes and were absorbed among the people among whom they lived. Thus, the old German tribes of the Vandals, Burgundians, Goths and Lombards disappeared. The Franks going into Gaul gave

¹ The story of the Nations. Germany, p. 29.

it the name of France and ceased to be Germans. The Franks were the most important of the groups. Thus the final result of the invasion and depredations of the Huns was this: Those German tribes, which left the country on being driven away by the Huns, were, later on, gradually absorbed into the people of the other countries where they went. They gradually acquired new languages and even new customs. They gradually disappeared as German tribes.

We will conclude our account of the wars of the Huns with the Romans with accounts given by two well-known Arab writers, Maçoudi and Tabari, who refer to the Romans.

According to Maçoudi, near the territories of the Khazars and the Alans near the Caucasus, in the direction of the west, there inhabited in about 932 A.D., four Turkish tribes which had come down from the same stock. Some led the life of nomads, and some led a sedantary life. Each of these tribes was powerful, was ruled by a chief, and had its country at the distance of several days' march from that of another. The country of one of them extended up to the Black Sea (la mer Nitas). They carried their excursions up to the country of the Romans and even up to Spain.¹ These four tribes were the following:—

1. The Yadjni (یجنی)
2. The Bedjgards. (بجگرد)
3. The Bedjnâks. (بجناک)
4. The Nowkardehs. (نوکرده)

In about Hijri 320 (932 A.D.), or a little after, they fought with the Romans. There was a Greek city named Walendar (ولندر), which, being on a site between the mountains and the sea, was very difficult of access. It came in the way of their excursions upon the territories of the Romans. When the four tribes were quarreling among themselves about a certain Mahomedan merchant, a native of Ardehil, who, belonging to one of the tribes, was maltreated by another tribe, the Greek garrison of Walendar, taking advantage of the internal quarrels, attacked their country, and carried away their women and cattle. The Turks, thereupon, united, and with an army of 60,000 horsemen invaded the country of their common enemies, the Romans (Hijri 332 A. D. 944). Armanus was then the King of Rome (ارمنوس ملک الروم) (Romanus I. the Emperor of the East,

¹ Maçoudi, traduit par Barbier, de Meynard, Vol. II., p. 38, et seq. Chapter XVII.

929-944 A. D.). He sent to the help of his subjects of Walendar, an army made up of 2,000 cavalry-men, raised from the newly converted Christians of the district and 50,000 Romans. After a long and heavy fight, the Turks were successful and they marched against Constantinople. They then marched successfully towards France and Spain. The route followed by the armies of these Turks served, later on, as roads of communication with Constantinople.

According to Maçoudi, "they have pliant articulation, curved legs and a bony frame-work, so soft, that they can draw the bow above their shoulders by turning themselves; and thanks to the softness of the vertebra of their back, their body appears to be entirely turned back. . . . Under the action of rigorous cold, the heat carries itself and concentrates in the superior part of their body—this is what gives a strongly coloured taint".¹ "The Turks are fat and soft. Their character offers much analogy to that of women. Thanks to their cold temperament and to the humid principles which prevail in them, they show little aptitude for cohabitation and have consequently a small number of children. Again, continuous horse-exercise weakens amorous desires among them. Among the women, plumpness and humidity prevent the absorption of the seed from the organs of generation. It is the cold which gives to their race a reddish taint . . . because the effect of persistent cold is to colour red what is white."

According to Tabari, in the time of the Roman Emperor Elianus (Julien), some tribes of the Huns, known as Khazars, and their territories were under the sway of the Romans. When this Emperor invaded Persia, ruled over by Shapour Zulaktaf, the Khazars, together with the Arabs, formed a part of his army. After some desultory fight, Julien was killed by an arrow from the Persian army and was succeeded by Jovianus who soon concluded peace.

VI.

III. THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

We saw above, that the Huns had, at first, their home in the steppes of Central Asia. They moved eastward towards China. They moved westward and divided themselves into two branches, one towards the valley of the Oxus and the other to that of the Volga. The

Their forays in Asia.

¹ I give my translation. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 9.

division, which went towards the valley of the Volga, invaded, in about 375 A.D., Eastern Europe and drove before them the Goths (who also were an offshoot of some early Hun stock), who thus driven, invaded the dominions of the Roman emperors, fighting with them, in what is known as the Gothic War, in which Emperor Valens lost his life in 378 A.D. The Huns, with Attila at their head, harassed the Roman Empire, both, the Western at Ravenna and the Eastern at Constantinople. Attila died in 453 A.D. His Hunnic Empire was broken by another branch of their original stock in the North. The invasion and ravages of this Hunnic division in Europe were quick in their result, and did not continue long; but in the case of the inroads of the other division, that in Asia itself, they were slow and lasted long.

The branches or offshoots of the division which had moved to the valley of the Oxus were known under different names. Those, who invaded Persia, were known as Ephthalites or White Huns. Firoz, the grandfather of Noshirwan, was killed in fighting with them (484 A.D.). The frontier kingdoms of India like Kahul and the adjoining territories were then governed by the Kushans. The Huns attacked them and occupied these territories. They then invaded India proper. This was at the time when the Gupta King Skandagupta was reigning. We now come to this part of their history. We will first speak of their relations with Persia.

Among the above-named four great kingdoms, Persia was one, with whom the Huns had frequent quarrels and fights. Under their different names of Huns, Turks, Haetalites, Khazars, &c., they were in frequent wars, one may say in continuous wars, with the Persians. The reason is simple, viz., their co-terminous boundaries. In a certain way, the war between these two countries may be said to be, not only boundary-wars, but also blood-wars. I have spoken, at some length, elsewhere on their relations with the very early Persians on the authority of the Avesta and Pahlavi books.¹ According to the ancient Iranian tradition, the founders of both, the Iranian and the Turanian kingdoms, were brothers. Jealousy and rivalry led to fight and murder, which now and then continued. The history of Persia of the very early dynasties, the Peshādādians and the Kayâniâns—of times preceding those of what may be termed authentic history,—was the history of the war of Iran with Turan, the latter being the cradle of the early Huns. The history of the Achæmenian times was mostly the history of Iran's war with the Greeks. But the Achæmenians had also to fight with the Huns. The Massagætæ, against whom Cyrus fought, and the Sakas or

¹ Dr. Sir Ramcrishna G. Bhandarkar's Memorial Volume.

Scythians, against whom Darius fought, were Hunnic tribes. The history of the Parthians and the Sassanians was the history of Iran's wars with the Romans. But, these last two periods also were interspersed with frequent wars with the Huns or Turks.

Maçoudi, with some difference, derives the origin of the Turks from the same source as the Pahlavi Bundešesh. He says, that one Turk was the ancestor of all the Turks (Ce Turk, qui est le pere de tous les Turks).¹ He gives as follows the genealogy of Fīrasiāb, the Frāsiāb of the Pahlavi Bundešesh, the Afrāsiāb of Firdousi: Fīrasiāb-Bouchenk (the Pashang of the Bundešesh)—Nabet-Nachmir (the Zaeshm of the Bundešesh)—Turk-Yaceb (the Spaenyash of the Bundešesh)—Tour (the Tuj or Tur of the Bundešesh.)—Aferidoun (the Fredun of the Bundešesh.) Maçoudi places the country of the Turks together with that of the Khazars, Dilemians and the Slavs in the sixth clime between Syria, Asia Minor and Mesopotamia on the one hand, and China on the other.² One of the tribes of the Turks being the Khazars, who lived on the shores of the Caspian, the Caspian sea was called Behr-ul Khazer, i.e., the sea of the Khazars.³

The Tagazgez (طغزگز) with whom Zadsparam, the brother of Manuscher, the author of the Pahlavi Nāmakihā-i-Mānuschihar⁴ seems to have come into contact, and from whom he had taken some heretical views,⁵ formed the bravest, most powerful and the best governed tribe, (la plus valeureuse, la plus puissante et la mieux gouvernée) of the Turks.⁶ These Tagazgez latterly adopted Manichæism.⁷

The chief ruler of these Turks was known as the Khakān of the Khakāns (خاقان الخاقان). They formed an empire and ruled over all smaller kings of the various tribes or divisions. Afrasiab

¹ Maçoudi, Traduit par Bachelier de Meynard, Vol. II, p. 131.

² *Ibid*, Chapter VIII, Vol. I, p. 182.

³ *Ibid*, p. 163.

⁴ Vide Ervad Ramanji N. Dhabhar's edition of the Text (1912).

⁵ Vide my Paper on "References to China in the ancient books of the Parsees," read before the International Congress held at Hanoi in December 1902.—(Journal, B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XXI, pp. 225-236). Vide my Asiatic Papers, Pt. I, pp. 251-252.

⁶ Maçoudi par B. de Meynard, Vol. I, p. 283.

⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 200-201.

Ibid, p. 288.

himself, the above referred to inveterate enemy of the Irānians, has been considered to be one of such Khākān.

An account of the relations of the Huns with the Sassanian Persians is somewhat important from the point of view of the history of India. The Hunnic invasion of India, had, as we will see later on, some connection with the relations and wars of the Huns with the Sassanian Persians. These Hunnic-Persian, or to speak more particularly Hætalio-Sassanian wars lasted for about 100 years.¹

We have, as it were, a labyrinth of various versions or accounts of the wars of the Sassanians with the Huns. On the one hand, we have Eastern writers like Firdousi, Maqoudi, Tabari, and Aboulfeda, who differ among themselves. On the other hand, we have a number of Byzantine writers, who also differ among themselves in the matter of the details of these wars. We find excellent epitomes of the versions of these Western writers in the History of M. Deguignes and in the recent *Mémoire* of M. Drouin. Among the Sassanian kings, Kobad is one, for whose wars with the Huns we have the most different versions. As M. Deguignes says, the Huns had very long wars with Kobad of which the details are not known².

The second stock of the ancient Huns, when stopped in China, had remained temporarily settled in Central Asia at places like Aksu, Kashgar, &c. The ancient Huns, who had knocked at the gates of China, had also knocked at the gates of Persia. The history of Persia of the Peshdadian and Kianian times was, as said above, the history of the wars of the Irānians with the Turanians, the ancestors of the early Huns. The Avesta and the Pahlavi books of the Parsees speak of them. I will not speak of these here. In later times also, in the times of the Achæmenians and the Parthians, they had frequent wars with the Persians. I will not speak here of these wars also. But I will speak of their wars during the Sassanian times, because it was at this time that the Huns came into more prominence both in Asia and in Europe. It was during these times that they made their presence and their force felt to the Roman, Persian and Indian Empires. They were the descendants of the above second branch who had temporarily settled in Central Asia.

¹ The late M. E. Drouin speaks of them as Ephthalites, and gives us an excellent paper on the subject, under the title of "Mémoire Sur les Huns Ephthalites dans leur Rapports avec les Rois Perses Sassanides." (Extrait du *Muséon*, 1865).

² *Histoire des Huns*, T. I., P. II, p. 339.

At the time when the black or sun-burnt Huns of the North were devastating the countries of Europe, the Huns of the above other Hunnic branch, known generally as the white Huns, were committing incursions into Persia. They were known under different names, such as Euthalites, Ephthalites, Huitalites, Nephthalites, Atelites, Abtelites, Cidarites.

Oriental writers speak of them generally as Turcs. The Huns, who, as said above, had settled at Kashgar and Aksu, and had, thence, spread towards the Caspian and the frontiers of Persia, were called Te-le or Til-le. As they lived on the waters (اب و آبی) i.e., the shores of the Oxus, they were called Ab-tele. The name Abtelite in the above list of their names comes from this origin. It is the corruption of this name 'Abtelites,' that has given the people their other names such as Euthalites and Nephthalites.¹ It is this last corrupted name Nephthalite, that has led some to believe that they were the descendants of the Jews of the Nephthali tribe. According to Tabari, the word Huitalite comes from the word 'Huital,' which in the Bokharian language, means "a strong man."²

The different Sassanian monarchs with whom the Huns came into contact. Behramgour, 420-438.

The Persians fought with the Huns during the reigns of the following Sassanian monarchs :—

1. Behramgour (Behram V) 420-438 A. D.
2. Yazdagard II, 438-457.
3. Hormuzd (Hormazd III), 457.
4. Pirouze, 457-484.
5. Balâsh, 484-488.
6. Kobâd, 488-497 (Kobad dethroned).
7. Jâmdâsp, 497-499.
8. Kobâd (restored to throne), 499-531.
9. Naushirvan the just (Chosroe I), 531-579.

We will speak of the relations and wars of the Huns with these Sassanian kings.

According to Firdousi, Behramgour was a very brave king, but he was of a 'jolly good fellow' type. Reports having spread round about, that he was an easy going man, the Khakân of Chin thought of

¹ Histoire des Huns, by M. Deguignes, Tome I, Partie II, pp. 325-26.

² Tabari par Zotenberg II., p. 128.

taking the opportunity of the Persian king's easy going life to invade his dominions. The people, whose leader is spoken of as the Khakân of Chin, were Hætalites or, Ephthalites, otherwise known as the White Huns. Behram's courtiers grew restless over the news, but he assured them to depend upon God for the safety of the country. He apparently seemed to take the matter lightly, but really was anxious about it. He appointed his brother Narsi to rule for him and to remain at the capital, and marched with a large army to a direction other than that from which the enemy was coming. His people thought, that he shirked the coming war, but it seems, that his object was to entice the enemy to advance further and then to fall upon him in an unexpected way. Behramgour first went to the great Iranian Fire-temple of Adargoushp in Azarâbâdgân and prayed for victory. The king could not disclose all his plans: so, the courtiers in spite of the remonstrances of Narsi, sent one Homai (ہمای) as an envoy to the camp of the coming invader and offering a tribute sued for peace. The Khakan accepted their offer and promised not to advance further than Merv. He asked the envoy to meet him at Merv with the offered presents and tribute.¹ He then advanced upto Merv where he waited for the offered presents and tribute. Behramgour was all along kept informed by his spies of what was happening and of the movements of the Khakan. By an unfrequented road, he secretly marched towards Merv and fell upon the Khakan and his army. A great battle was fought at Kashmihan (کشمیه) near Merv. The Khakan was defeated and fell a prisoner in the hand of Khazravân (خزروان), a general of Behram. Behram then invaded the territories of the Turcs (Haitalites), who all submitted to him and offered to give tributes. He then ordered a stone column to be built on the frontiers to mark the spot² which no Turk or Khalaj³ may cross and enter into the land of Irân⁴. The Jehun or the Oxus was fixed as

¹ M. Deguignes names the place as Pherbar, but does not give his authority (*Histoire des Huns*, T. I. P. II, p. 327).

The modern Khiljis of Afghanistan are believed to be these Khalaj.

بر آردد میلی ز سنگی و ز گچ
که کس را ز ایران ز ترک و خلیج
نبودی گزر جز بفرومان شاه
ہما نیز جہون میانجی براہ

(Firdousi. Mecan's Calcutta Edition, Vol. III, p. 1346.)

the boundary between these countries. He appointed one Shohreh¹, in command of the frontier district. It appears that the long circuitous way which Behramgour had taken was purposely intended by him as a ruse to take the Huns by surprise and to give them a crushing blow.²

The religion of the Huns, at least in early times, was, Mazdayasnian and if not purely Zoroastrian, somewhat akin to Zoroastrian. At least, there lived many Zoroastrians in their country. A statement of Firdousi, in connection with this victory of Behramgour over the Hætalites, seems to show this. He says, that in the Hætalite centres like Chagan, Khatal, Balakh, Bokhara and Gurzastân³, there lived Mobads who went to fire-temples and prayed there with Bâz and Barsam.⁴

Behramgour then went to the great fire-temple of Âdargushasp in Âzarâbadgân and offered thanks to the Almighty for his victory. He presented to the temple, for its decoration, the jewels of the crown of the Khakan which he had taken with him. According to Tabari,⁵ in his war with the Huns, Behram had also taken prisoner the wife of the Khakan, the great Khatun. He took her as a state prisoner to the above great fire-temple and made her serve the temple.⁶ This fact of sending a Hun lady to serve in a fire-temple also shows that some Huns were Mazdayasnians. This great victory in the battle of Kashmîhan had far-reaching effects in Central Asia. The various chiefs and rulers sought the friendship of the king of Iran, and the spread of Sassanian coins in Central Asia is believed to be the result. Behramgour's coins seem to have served as a type for the coinage of some surrounding people, even of India. That also seems to be the result of this great victory.

According to Firdousi, Behram, some time after this, came to India and married Sepinud, the daughter of the king of Kanouj. The

¹ شہرہ Some MSS. give the name as Shahr.

² M. Deguignes, *Histoire des Huns*, T. I. P. II, p. 326.

³ Some MSS. have the name as Gharchakân.

⁴ Mecn's Ed. Vol. III, p. 1548 چغانی و ختلی و بلخی ردان

بخاری و از غرچکان موبدان

برفتند با باژو و برسم بدست

نیایش کفان پیش آتش پرست

⁵ Tabari par Zotenberg, Vol. II, p. 121.

⁶ آن خانوں کہ زن خاقان بود بخدومت آتشکدہ کردن فرستاد.

(Munshi Naval Kishore's Text of 1874, p. 301.)

name of the Indian king, as given by Firdousi, is Shangal (شنگل)¹ and as given by Maçoudi is Shabarmeh² (شبرمه). M. Drouin thinks that they do not sound as Hindu names.³ I think, the first name is a Hindu name corresponding to the modern name Shankar, a form of which we see in Shankarâchârya. It is more the name of a family than of an individual king. According to Firdousi, Behram on his return to Persia took his Indian queen to the great fire-temple of Adargushasp⁴ and got her admitted into the fold of Zoroastrianism. M. Drouin thinks that these events, *viz.*, Behram's visit to India, and his marriage with the Indian Princess Sepihnou, are no poetical fancies of Firdousi, but real facts. The Persian kings had, ere this, commenced to have closer relations with India. Hormuzd II (A.D. 305) had come to Kouboul and had married a daughter of its Kushan (Yuetchi) king. A copper coin of this king bears the figure of Siva with the Nandi symbols. This coin then illustrates Persia's closer relations with India.

According to Firdousi, Behramgour sent for 10,000 singers, male and female, of the class of Luri (لوریان)⁵ and distributed them in Persia to provide Indian music to his people who asked for it. It is these Luris, who seem to have given to Persia, Western Asia and Europe, the various classes of singing gypsies. It is said, that the use of Pahlavi alphabet for writing purposes in the country of the Hætalites began after this time of the victory of Behramgour. The Armenian alphabet had gone in there before this time, in the times of the Parthians.

Behramgour was succeeded by his son Yazdagard, known familiarly as the Sipah-dost, *i.e.*, the friend of the soldiers. He was also spoken of as Kadi, *i.e.*, the great. On his coins, he is spoken of as Kadi Yazdagardi or Mazdayasna Kadi Yazdagardi. Firdousi, Tahari and Maçoudi, while speaking of this king's reign, do not refer to his wars with the Hætalites. It is the Armenian writers, who give us a glimpse of these wars.⁶ He carried invasions over the country of the Ephthalite or Hætalite Huns, spoken of as the country of the Kushans, every year from 442 to 450. The king issues a proclamation and appeals to his subjects.—Ariks and Anariks (*i.e.*, Iranian and un-Iranian)—10

¹ Meen's Ed. III, p. 1558.

² Maçoudi, traduit par H. de Meynard II, p. 191.

³ Aucun de ces noms n'a une tournure Sanscrite. Mémoire sur les Huns Ephthalites (1895), p. 28, n. 2.

⁴ Adm. Gushasp is one of the great Fire-temples, which are still mentioned by the Parsees in their At sh nyaish. For its history, *vide* my Iranian Essays, Part I.

⁵ Meen's Text, Vol III, p. 1585.

⁶ M. Drouin's Mémoire sur les Huns Ephthalites (1895), p. 30.

unite and help him against the Huns. Even his Christian subjects in Armenia helped him in these wars against the Huns or Kushans. He carried his invasions over their country for seven successive years but without effect. He succeeded a little in 450 A. D., and taking a part of their territories, founded therein a city and named it *Shehrastān-i-Yazdagard*, i.e., the city of Yazdagard. Yazdagard, flushed at this victory, aimed at Zoroastrianising Armenia. But, it is said that Kushan, the country of the Haetalite Huns, once being opened to other people, opened also to Christianity.

The Haetalite Huns were off and on carrying on their depredations in Persia. So, Yazdagard carried another invasion in 454 A. D., but, falling in an ambuscade had to beat a sudden retreat. He died in 457 A.D., leaving two sons, Hormuz and Firouz, by his queen Dinaki. The name of this queen has recently come into light by means of an *imaglio* or a cut gem discovered in 1868 by a Russian savant M. Boutkowski. M. Doru, in 1881, discovered the name from a Pahlavi inscription on it.¹

Firouz was, according to Firdousi, the elder son of Yazdagard. But Hormuzd III 457 A. D. and the Huns. Yazdagard, had, from his dying bed, declared his son Hormuzd as his successor. Firouz was at the time of his father's death at Scistan. So, Hormuzd, being on the spot, easily occupied the throne. This brought in a civil war. Firouz asked for help from the Haetalite king, whom Firdousi calls *Shah Haital* (شاه هیتال),² Firdousi calls him *Chagāni Shahi* (چغانی شاهی)³ and gives his name as *Faganish* (فغانیش).⁴ I think, that, as we will see later on, it was this Hunnic king or a prince of his clan or tribe, who is known in Indian inscriptions as *Toramana the Shahi*.

This Haetalite king offered to help Firouz to gain his father's throne, on condition, that he (Firouz) surrendered to him the countries of *Farmud* (فرمود) and *Visehgard* (ویسرگرد).⁵ Firouz accepted that condition, and with the help of this Hunnic king *Faganish*, defeated his brother Hormuzd and won the throne of Persia. According to

¹ M. Drouin's *Mémoire sur les Huns Ephthalites*, p. 54 n. 3.

² *Mécan's* Calcutta ed. Vol III, p. 1580. M. Mohl's small ed. Translation, Vol VI, p. 68.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ The name of this town seems to have some connection with the *Vaṣṣaka* clan of the Huns (*Hānuva Vasaṣkaya*), who according to the *Aban Yasht* (Yt. V, 54) were, as it were, the hereditary Hunnic foes of the Iranians. (Vide my paper on the Iranian Huns in the *Bhandarkar Memorial Volume*.)

Firdousi¹ and Mirkhoud,² Firouz pardoned his brother, but, according to Aboulfeda³ he was imprisoned, and according to Tabari,⁴ he was killed. According to this last author, the Hunnic king, at first, kept Firouz at his Court, giving him the command over the country of Talekan, and sent him to Persia later on, when the people there appealed to Firouz to relieve them from the oppression of Hormuzd.

M. Deguignes⁵ and M. Drouin⁶ name this Hunnic king as Khush-nawâz. They seem to follow Tabari, but, I think Tabari⁷ is wrong and Firdousi's version is correct. Firdousi, later on, speaks of a Hunnic king Khushnawâz as fighting with Firouz, and says, that he was the son of Khâkân (فرزند خاکان).⁸ By 'Khakan,' perhaps, he meant, as said by Drouin,¹⁰ the Khakan previously referred to, viz., Faghaniush. I think Faghaniush the Khakan, who first aided Firouz, and of whom he specially speaks as the Shâhi and Chaghani, must have gone to India to make an inroad there. I think, he is the Toramana of the Indian inscription. But more of this later on.

In the matter of the wars of the Huns with the Sassanian kings, we find a great difference, not only in the statements of Western and Eastern writers, but also between the statements of different Oriental writers like Firdousi, Tabari, Maçoudi, &c. This difference is especially very great in the case of the reign of Firouz. One cannot even say with certainty, whether this Sassanian king had only one war with the Hunnic king or more than one; and, if the latter, whether it was with the same Hunnic tribe or different tribes. However, we will try to string up the various statements.

An year after Firouz's accession to the throne, Persia was visited by a great famine which lasted for seven years. His famine Firouz helped his people with grain and did his policy. best to prevent mortality, both among men and cattle. He threatened with loss of life, those, who thought of

¹ Meeri's Text III, p. 138.

² M. Drouin's *Memoire sur les Huns*, p. 37.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Tabari par Zotenberg II, p. 128.

⁵ *Histoire des Huns*, T. I., P. II, p. 138.

⁶ *Memoire sur les Huns*, p. 32.

⁷ Tabari par Zotenberg II, p. 127.

⁸ Mohl, Vol. VI, p. 74.

⁹ Meeri's Text III, p. 1302.

¹⁰ *Memoire sur les Huns*, p. 31.

taking an undue advantage over the poor. He wrote to the heads of all villages :—" Give food to the poor. Do not remove them from one village to another. If in any village any single poor man will die for want of food I will put to death one rich man for that."¹ Firouz remitted all land collections. He sent for grain from the countries of the Roman Empire, India, Turkestan and Abyssinia. Tabari says, that owing to an extraordinary care on the part of the king, only one person died of hunger during all the seven years of the famine, and the king, in order to atone as it were for this one death, distributed 100,000 dinars among the poor. He appointed a day for general public prayers to the Almighty for the relief of the distress. When the famine ended and plenty began to return, he commemorated that event by founding a new city which he named Firouzâb. Firouz's famine administration, as described by Firdousi and Tabari, would do credit to any modern king.

According to Priscus, a Roman writer, Firouz, after defeating his brother Hormuzd and winning the Persian throne with the help of the Hunnic king (Faganish, according to Firdousi), seems to have made a treaty with the Hunnic king. Therein, he agreed to give his sister in marriage to a Hunnic prince, who is named Coucha² (or Koukhas),³ and whom M. Drouin identifies with Khoushravâz.⁴ But Firouz did not act according to the agreement, because, perhaps, as said by M. Deguignes, he was ashamed, that his royal sister should marry a Hunnic king. It is said, that Firouz got another Persian lady dressed as a royal queen and passed her off as his sister before the Hunnic king. But this pretended princess, afraid lest the fraud may be known and she be put to death, gently divulged the secret to the Hunnic king, who, though displeased with the fraudulent ruse of Firouz, was pleased with the loyalty and sincerity of the Persian lady, and so, in recognition of that, married her and made her his queen. The Hunnic king then thought of revenging himself upon the Persian king. He asked him to send him 300 of his best Persian soldiers to train his Hunnic army. Firouz sent them. The Hunnic king killed some and mutilated others. The latter were then sent to the Persian king. It is worth noting in this connection, that the Huns of this Hunnic king are spoken of as Kidarites.⁵ These events brought about a breach of peace, and war was declared in which the Persians were successful. According to some writers, the

Tabari par Zotenberg II, p. 128.

¹ Histoire des Huns by M. Deguignes T. I., Partie II, p. 328.

² Mémoire sur les Huns, by M. Drouin, p. 34.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Drouin, Mémoire sur les Huns, p. 34. M. Drouin thinks that these Kidarites were a Hunnic tribe, different from the Ephthalites (Ibid., p. 33, n. 2).

Hunnic king had asked the hand of a daughter of Firouz in marriage. This being refused, the refusal served as a cause of war.

It is said, that in this war, Firouz asked the help of Emperor Leon I, but was refused. Leon only sent an ambassador, named Constantius, to the court of Firouz. In the war that ensued, Firouz was entrapped in a defile from which there was no escape and he had to surrender. It is said, that the Hunnic king offered to set him free on condition that he prostrated before him, and swore, that he would not invade his territories again. Firouz's Zoroastrian Magi, being consulted, said, that a Zoroastrian king could prostrate before none but the sun. To meet the difficulty, it was arranged, that the Hunnic king may be asked to receive the prostration, the next morning with the rise of the sun. Accordingly, the next morning, when the sun rose, Firouz prostrated before the king, but giving the prostration, at least in his mind and in the mind of his Persians, a look of a prostration before the sun.

There is another version, which is based on that of Joshu the Sligite, a Syrian monk-historian, who lived in the beginning of the 6th Century, and who is known as a good historian of the war between the Sassanian king Kohad and the Byzantine Emperor Anastadius (502-506). According to this version, the Hunnic king made peace on condition that Firouz paid in mule loads of ecus.¹ Firouz could pay then only two-thirds, and so, his son Kohad was kept as a hostage.² Firouz, later on, paid the balance and Kohad was set free.

According to Tabari, a Hunnic officer had once to resort to a ruse³ to secure victory for his master. It is not clear in which of the several wars that Firouz fought with the Huns this patriotic ruse was resorted to.

The ruse described by Tabari was this: When Khushnavâz had to retire before the large Persian army, then a devoted patriotic chief officer of his court came to his help and saved him by means of a stratagem. Taking Khoushnavâz into his confidence, he got some of his limbs cut off. Thus mutilated, he got himself placed in a position, where he could be seen by the Persians. Some Persians, passing by the place saw him, had compassion upon him, and took him to Firouz who inquired after his case. The Hactalite chief said, that as he had remonstrated with Khoushnavâz for his tyrannical government and for his war against the Persians, he was thus mutilated for his liberty of speech and freedom of views. He then offered to lead

¹ An ecus about half a crown.

² Drouin's *Mémoire sur les Huns*, p. 35.

³ We read in Herodotus of a similar ruse during the siege of Babylon by Darius (Bk. II 50-60).

the Persian army by a particular route against the Haetalites, whereby he could be sure of victory. Firouz was deceived and was led into a trap, where he was surrounded and defeated by the Hunnic army.

According to Tabari, the Hunnic king got a green stone column erected to mark the boundary of his country.

A Boundary column. So grand was the structure that it took six months to erect it. It was made out of one

stone. It was then covered over with metal. Firouz was made to swear before it that he would never cross it and invade Hunnic territories. Tabari, after describing the erection of this column at some length, says, that according to some, it was built by Behramgour. I think this latter version is correct and Tabari's previous version does not seem to be probable. The very life-history of the Huns makes it improbable, that they should bind themselves to a particular boundary. Firouz was burning with revenge for the humiliation, he was put to by then Hunnic king in the previous war, and he sought for an opportunity to invade the Hunnic country again. It is said that the Hunnic king became a little oppressive and his oppression drove some of his people to seek the protection and help of Firouz. He accorded these. Firouz ordered an invasion of the Hunnic country ruled over by Khoushnavâz. His son Kobad accompanied him in the invasion. His other son Palâs was left at the capital to rule as a regent. According to Tabari, the cause of the war was the oppression of Khoushnavâz over his people. He was a man of unnatural lust.

As said above, Behramgour had raised a column on the frontiers to mark the boundary between his country and that of the Turanian Hunnic king. According to some, it was the Hunnic king who had raised it. The latter protested against Firouz crossing the boundary. Firouz, according to Tabari, retorted¹: "I have obligation towards thee, but I have greater obligations towards God." He said: "a number of your Haetalites, tired of your oppression, have entered into my Persian territories and have appealed to me for help." It is said, that, to avoid the apparent guilt of crossing the above boundary stone, Firouz resorted to a ruse. He ordered the column to be brought down and placed it on a large chariot drawn by a number of elephants. He then let the chariot always proceed in the front and he marched behind it with his army.

In the war that ensued, the Hunnic king Khoushnavâz prepared extensive deep trenches and covered them with grass and dry rubbish, and then, under the pretext of retreat, drew the Persian army over the

¹ Tabari par Zotenberg II. p. 131.

trenches. Firouz and a number of his army fell in them. In the battle that ensued, Firouz was completely defeated and killed. His daughter Firouzdokht was taken prisoner. According to some, even his son Kohad was taken prisoner. Some say that the Hunnic king married Firouzdokht. Others say, that the Hunnic king sent her away to Persia with all due honours. Thus ended the war or wars of Firouz with the Haetalite or Eupthalite Huns.

On the death of Firouz, the Persian nobles wanted to give the throne to his minister Sufrai, but he refused, and Balâsh, the Valens of the Western writers, a son of Firouz, was given the throne. Sufrai was a Persian minister in whose charge Firouz had left the country when he went to fight against the Haetalites. When he heard of the death of his Royal master being killed in the war with the Haetalites, he declared war with them and gave them a partial defeat, but soon concluded peace, on condition that Khushnavaz was to set at liberty Kobad, the son of Firouz, and Ardeshir, a minister of Firouz, who were taken prisoners in the final war when Firouz was killed. Khousnavaz set Kobad and Ardeshir free. According to a Western writer, Lazarus of Pharbia, Zareh, a brother of Balâsh, had raised a revolt to gain the throne, but it was suppressed and he was put to death¹. But this is doubtful. Some writers do not speak of Kobad having been a prisoner in the hands of the Hunnic king.

Kobad sought the aid of the Hunnic king to depose Balâsh and gain the Persian throne for himself. Khushnavaz promised him help but did not soon fulfil the promise. When help was actually given and he marched with the help of the Hunnic army to Ctesiphon,² the capital of the Persian empire, he heard on the way, that Balâsh was dethroned by the Persian Mobads. The reason for this dethronement, as given by Josua, the Stylite,³ was, that he introduced into Persia, the customs and manners of the Byzantine emperors. Among these, one was that of the institution of public baths. It seems, that these public baths were places where large reservoirs or tanks were built, in which all people dipped. This was held to be insanitary, and so, sinful from the point of view of the Iranians, who held water in reverence and enjoined, that it should not be so spoilt as to do harm to those who used it. If an unhealthy or infected man dipped into the reservoir of a public bath, the water, that was spoilt and contaminated, was likely to do harm

¹ Drouin's *Mémoire*, p. 40.

² According to Hamazah, this town was, at first, named طوسقون, I think, it was named after Tug of Sifkâna. *Vide* my text and translation of the Pahlavi *Shatrazna-i-Airân*, pp. 72-73.

³ Drouin's *Mémoire sur les Huns*, p. 41, n. 2.

to subsequent bathers or swimmers. According to the Pahlavi *Ardâi Virâf Nameh*¹, this was sinful.

There are different versions about the relations between Balâsh and Kohâd. Some writers say, that Balâsh voluntarily resigned in favour of Kohâd. Others say that Balâsh's natural death paved Kohâd's way to the throne. Others related, as said above, that he was dethroned and that the dethronement made matters easy for Kohâd, who then seized the throne of Persia. According to Firdousi, Kohâd was only 16 years of age when he came to the throne, and it was Sufrai who asked Balâsh to retire and set Kohâd on the throne. Anyhow, it seems, that for some time, Sufrai was the real ruler and Kohâd a nominal king. Some time after Kohâd came to the throne, some of his courtiers prejudiced him, against Sufrai, who was his father's confidential minister and who had released him from the hands of the Hætalite king Khoushnawaz. He was told, that Sufrai was ambitious and looked for royal power, etc. He, thereupon, got Sufrai murdered. The Persians therefore rose in rebellion against him for this unjust conduct, and handed him over as a prisoner to Zarmeh, the son of Sufrai. They then placed his brother Jamâsp on the throne. Zarmeh however treated Kohâd well and set him free. Kohâd, in company with Zarmeh, fled to the country of the Hætalites. On his way there, he fell in love with the beautiful daughter of a village headman, who traced his descent from Feridun and married her. Noshirwan was born of this wife who was named Baboudokht.²

Both western and eastern writers differ on the subject of Kohâd's marriage or marriages. Some say, that he went to the court of Khoushnawaz, the Hunnic king, for the second time to seek help against his brother Jamâsp, who was placed on the throne of Persia by his people when they dethroned him for his Mazdaîsma or such other fault. When there, he married a daughter of the Hunnic king, and that it was from this Hunnic wife that Noshirwan was born. Some say this queen was not the daughter of Khoushnawaz himself, but was a royal lady of the court of Firouz, who, having fallen a prisoner in the hands of the Hunnic king, was adopted by him as his daughter.

As to his deposition also, there are differences. Some say that his inclination towards the socialistic views of Mazdak was the cause of

¹ The Book of Arda Virâf by Ho-fang-Haug-West. Chap. 58.

² Drouin's *Mémoire*, p. 44.

dethronement. Others place the fact of his relation with Mazdak a little later on. Some say, that anticipating what was going to take place, he himself retired. Anyhow, this much was certain, that Kobād had made himself unpopular and was therefore dethroned by his people or had to leave the throne.

Jamasp had a short reign of about 3 years (497-499 A. D.). Kobād soon sought the help of the Hunnic king and regained his throne. According to Tabari², he had the help of 30,000 soldiers from the Hunnic king.

Kobad promised a tribute to the Hunnic king in return of the assistance he received from him. He had a number of Huns in his Persian army serving as auxiliaries. The tribute not being paid regularly, the Hunnic king pressed for it. So, Kobad turned to the Roman Emperor Anastasius and asked for help of money from him. This help being refused, he besieged Theodosopolis, the modern Erzeroum, which formed a part of Roman Armenia. When he was in Mesopotamia, busy with the Romans, the Huns invaded his dominions and so he had to return. He then had long wars with these Ephthalite Huns, commencing from 503 A.D. According to the Byzantine writers, Kobad soon made peace with his enemies in the West and concentrated all his efforts for the war with the Huns which lasted for about 10 years (503 to 513 A. D.). During these years, he had also to fight against a famine in his country. Again, besides the Ephthalite Huns, there arose against him the Huns of the Caucasus and the Kidarite Huns. According to Tabari³, he fought also with the Khazars who also were a Hunnic tribe.

According to Tabari⁴, it was during the reign of this sovereign, that Shamar, a son of Tohba, the king of the Arabs, founded the city of Samarkand which, upto then, forming a part of the Empire of China, was known as Shin or Chin. Shamar took the city by a ruse in concert with a princess of the city who was duped by the invader.

Again, according to the same author⁵, it was during this reign that the Persian kings turned from payment in kind to payment in coin in the matter of the land revenue. It is said, that at one time, when Kobad was in a village, he heard the wife of a villager rebuking her child for plucking a grape from a vine-plant. Kobad inquired, why she would

¹ For particulars about his teachings, *vide* my paper on "Mazdak, the Iranian socialist" in *Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume*.

² Zotenberg II, p. 151.

³ Zotenberg II, p. 156.

⁴ Zotenberg II, p. 148.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 152, Chap. XXX

not let her own child eat a grape. This honest woman said, that until the officers of the king took an inspection of the crop, she was not justified in letting the grapes to be eaten by the child, because the king was to be paid a share of the crop. The king was touched by the honesty of the woman and saw the harshness of the system, whereby a farmer could not make any use of his crop till the State officers measured the crop; so, consulting with his officers, Kobad introduced the system of levying some fixed revenue from land, whereby the farmers could be at liberty to make any use they liked of their produce.

The ancient Persians under the Sassanides had come into contact with the Chinese¹. Moses of Chorene, a known Armenian writer of the 5th century, who wrote in about 440 A.D., speaks of China as Jenasdan (*i.e.* Chinistân) and of its emperor as Jenpagur (*i.e.*, Chin Phagfur). He refers to some relations between the emperor of China and Ardeshir Behegan, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty.² But the first notice of Persia in the Chinese Annals is that of about 461 A.D. Col. Yule, thus speaks of the subject: "Their first notice of Persia is the record of an embassy to the Court of the Wei in 461; succeeded by a second in 466. In the year 518-519, an ambassador came from Kinkoto (Kobad), king of that country, with presents and a letter to the emperor. The Chinese annalists profess to give the literal terms of the letter which uses a tone of improbable humility."

Kobad was in war with Justin, the king of Rome. The latter sent ambassadors to the king of the Huns, asking for help against Kobad. These Huns are spoken of as Hongres and their country as Huhgrie, by the writer whom M. Deguigne³ follows. Herein, we see the origin of the name of modern Hungary. The king, whose help Justin sought, was named Zilidges. He is also spoken of as Zeliobes, Zilgbi, and Ziagbir.⁴ His capital was on the North of Derhend.⁵ He

¹ For references to China in Parsee books, *vide* my Paper before the B. B. R. A. Society entitled "References to China in the Ancient books of the Parsee." *Journal of the B. B. R. A. Society*, Vol. XXI, pp. 325-36. *Vide* my *Asiatic Papers*, Pt. I, pp. 241-54.

² "Cathay and the Way thither," being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China by Col. Yule. New edition, revised by Dr. Henri Cordier (1913), Vol. I, Preliminary Essay, pp. 95 *et seq.*

³ *Histoire des Huns, &c.*, Vol. I, Part II. p. 319 note, d.

⁴ *Ibid*, note e.

⁵ Derhend is situated in the state of Hissar in Central Asia. Between it and Khuzur lie the celebrated defile of Kohlogu (= Mongolian word, meaning a barrier) and the lion-gate, and now known as Burghal Khana, *i.e.*, Goat's House. It is said to be very narrow, in some places only about 3 ft. wide, and affords the only outlet from the valley.

was paid for the promised help. He entered at the same time into a treaty with Kobâd, binding himself to help him against Justin. Kobâd, learning this fact from Justin, was enraged at this treachery and put to death the Hunnic king, who had joined his army with about 80,000 men. This was in about 521 A. D.

At one time in the reign of Kobâd, two different tribes or branches of the Huns took two different sides. A division of the Huns known as the Salai Huns, under the leadership of their queen Burex, who had succeeded to the leadership on the death of her husband Malak, helped Justinian, the Roman Emperor, against the Persians. Another tribe of the same Huns, led by Styrax and Gloves, helped Kobâd with 20,000 men. In the subsequent fight that took place between these rival parties of the Huns, the adherents of Kobâd were defeated.

According to Firdousi, Naoshirwan succeeded his father Kobâd.

One of his first acts was to sign the treaty of Ctesiphon in 533 A.D. whereby the long war between the Persians and Romans in Mesopotamia was ended. One of his great works was to build large fortified walls across those parts of his frontiers, from which some Turkish tribes of the Hunnic stock now and then committed inroads into his territories. He then went against the Alans who soon surrendered. He then subdued the Baluchis and received homage from Indian princes on the banks of the Indus. He then crushed the power of the Ephthalites. Once upon a time, the Khakân of China thought it advisable to seek the friendship of Naoshirwan. So, he sent an embassy to him with many rich presents. The embassy had to pass through the country of the Hætalites or Ephthalites who were then ruled over by Gatere (غاتقر). The Hætalian king did not like any closer alliance between the Khakan of China and the Shah of Persia. So, he impeded the way of the Embassy. The Khakan, whose people, according to Firdousi, were the descendents of the tribes of Afrâsiab and Arjâsp, thereupon declared war against the Hætalites of Gatere. His army, under a general named Fanj, marched towards the river Gulzaryun (گلزریون). His army consisted of the Kâchârbashis (کاجزباشی) and the people of Chach (چاچ).

The army of the Hætalian king Gatere collected war materials from the countries of Balkh, Shignan, Amur, and Zam. The soldiers were from the country of Khallan, Turmud and Visch. Bokhara was the principal seat of the Hætalian army. The Hætalians were in the end defeated completely. The people thereupon met in an

assembly and elected Fagāni (فغانی) of the tribe of Chagāni (چغانی) as their leader and king, and thought it advisable to seek, under the circumstances, an alliance with Naoshirwan.

On the other hand, Naoshirwan, when he heard of the war between the Hætalian king Gutere and the Khakan of China, the tribes of both of whom belonged to the same original stock, was well inclined towards the fallen Hætalites, because he found, that one day, the victorious Khakan may get overpowerful and overhearing. He made preparations to march against the Khakan. The latter, hearing of this, sent ambassadors offering friendship and submission, and returned to his country, no longer molesting the Hætalites. The alliance was further completed by Naoshirwan, marrying a daughter of the Khakan. Naoshirwan's successor Hormuzd was the fruit of this marriage.

A year after the marriage, Naoshirwan arranged with the Khakan to invade the territories of the Hætalites with a view to completely avenge the death of his grandfather Firouz who was killed in a war with them. The Hætalites under their king Faghani were completely defeated and their empire was divided between Naoshirwan and the Khakan. This event took place in about 557 A.D. This was a great crushing defeat which the Hætalites or Ephthalites received at the hands of Naoshirwan. They then retired to other countries. Thus ended the long war, the one-hundred years' war of the Hætalites with the Persians. M. Drouin gives the following dates about the principal events of this hundred years' war :—

Arrival of the Hætalites or Ephthalites in Transoxania	...	420-25
The First War of the Persians under Beliramgour	...	427
The Second War... Yazdagard II	...	442-49
The Third War	...	450-51
The Fourth War	...	454
Firouz seeks the aid of the Hætalites against his brother Hormuzd III	...	458
Firouz's First War with the Hætalites	...	474-76
Firouz's Second War	...	482-84
The War of Satriu with the Hætalites	...	484-85
Kobād at the Court of the Hætalites to ask for help	...	486
Kobād at their Court for the second time	...	497-99
Kobād's War with them	...	503-13
Naoshirwan's War with them when they were finally destroyed and driven away	...	556-57

VII.

IV.—THE INDIAN EMPIRE. THE HUNNIC INROADS INTO IT.

We find a mention of the Hunas in two places in the Vishnu Purana, both, in the third chapter of the 2nd book¹.
 The Hunas mentioned in the Vishnu Purana. (a) In the first mention the writer gives a description of the Bharata-Varsha (India). After a mention of its extent, its mountains, divisions, and rivers, its principal nations are mentioned, and among these, in the list of those living "in the extreme west," we find the Hunas. Wilson, while speaking of these people in his Vishnu Purana says: "By the Hunas we are to understand the white Huns or Indo-Scythians, who were established in the Punjab and along the Indus at the commencement of our era, as we know from Arrian, Strabo, and Ptolemy, confirmed by recent discoveries of their coins.

(b) The second mention is in the detailed list of the different people. In this list, among what are called "ferocious and uncivilized races," are included "Sakridgrahas, Kulatthas, Hunas, and Pārsikas."² As to the last people, the Pārsikas (the Parsees), Wilson says that they are known both as Pārsikas or Pārtakas. "The first is not a common form in the Pūranas, although it is in poetical writings, denoting, no doubt, the Persians or people of Pars or Fars: the latter, also read Pāradas, may imply the same as beyond (Pāra) the Indus." It may be noted in this connection, that the Pahlavas, or Pallavas or Pahnava³ (the Parthians) are spoken of separately in the Vishnu Purana.⁴ Wilson speaks of them as "a northern or north-western nation, often mentioned in Hindu writings, in Manu, the Rāmāyana, the Purānas, &c. They were not a Hindu people and may have been some of the tribes between India and Persia⁵.

¹ The Vishnu Purana, a system of Hindu Mythology and Tradition, translated from the original Sanscrit, by H. H. Wilson (1840) pp. 177 and 194.

² *Ibid.*, p. 177, n. 6.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

⁴ *Ibid.*, n. 149.

Ibid. pp. 189 and 195.

⁵ According to Wilson, this form 'Pahnava³' is more usual in the text. *Ibid.*, p. 195, n. 158.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 189, n. 6.

The Hunas are also referred to in the *Raghuvamṣa* (Canto IV, 68)¹ of Kalidasa. The date of this celebrated poet of India is not certain. But "the balance of evidence is in favour of the view that the poet flourished in the sixth century A. D."² We read the reference to the Huns in the following lines of his poem :—

"His mighty acts,
Wrought on their husbands, Hūna dames proclaimed,
Recorded on their cheeks in angry scars,"³

Professor P. B. Pathak, thus translates the three couplets referring to Raghu's march towards the country of the Hunas :

"Thence Raghu marched against the regions of Kubera, subjugating the northern kings with arrows as the sun drinks up the water with his rays.

"His horses relieved of the fatigue of the journey by rolling on the banks of the Indus shook their bodies which had saffron flowers clinging to their manes.

"There the redness on the cheeks of the Hūna queens testified to Raghu's achievements in which his prowess was displayed against their husbands".

According to Mallinātha, the commentator of the *Raghuvamṣa*, Kālidāsa, meant, that Raghu marched against the countries of the Hūnas, and that the Hūna princes being killed, their wives mourned over the loss of their husbands."

It seems that the Huns had some relations with India from early times, just as the Persians had. But, just as their relations with Persia in the Sassanian times above referred to, may be said to have been more authentic, so, their relations with the later Guptas may be said to be more authentic.

¹ The *Raghuvamṣa* of Kalidasa with the commentary of Mallinātha by Kashinath Pandurang Puraba, 2nd edition (1882), p. 80.

² "The date of Kalidasa" by Mr. N. B. Pathak (*Journal, B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XIX, p. 35).

³ The *Raghuvamṣa*, translated by P. Healey Johnstone (1902) p. 34, ll. 179-81.

⁴ Paper on "The Date of Kalidasa," *Journal, B. B. R. A. Society*, Vol. XIX, p. 36.

⁵ *Ibid.*

A. D. 330 to 455, a period of about a century and a half, was the 'golden age of the Guptas'.¹ The death of Kumaragupta in 455 brought that age to an end. Skandagupta² came to the throne after him. An irruption of the Huns from the steppes of Central Asia through the North-Western passes was one of the causes that brought about the end of this golden age. Skandagupta saved India for a time by defeating these Huns. To commemorate that event, he erected at Bhitari "a pillar of victory" with a statue of Vishnu at the top.

Bhitari is a village about five miles from Sayidpur in the Ghazipur district of the North-Western provinces. The inscription³ is on a red sand-stone column, and in the Sanskrit language. The object of the inscription is "to record the installation of an image of the god Vishnu . . . and the allotment to the idol, of the village . . . in which the column stands." In this inscription, Skandagupta speaks of himself as one "by whose two arms the earth was shaken, when, he, the creator (of a disturbance like that) of a terrible whirlpool joined in close contact with the Hūnas." This inscription, as said by Dr. Fleet, is not dated. But as pointed out by Dr. Smith, "this great victory over the Huns must have been gained at the very beginning of the new reign"⁴ (about 455 A.D.). This is inferred from another inscription of Skandagupta at Junāgadh. The inscription is on a large granite boulder at the foot of Mount Girnar. The boulder has three inscriptions on it of three different periods. (a) The first is that containing 14 edicts of Asoka. (b) The second, which is later, is that of the Satrap Mahākshshata Rudradāman⁵ who had built the lake Sudarshana. (c) The third inscription, much latterly added, is the inscription in question of Skandagupta.

Skandagupta's inscription on the boulder is dated 138th year⁶ of the Guptas, i.e., A.D. 457-58. It takes a note of his work of repairing the

¹ These Guptas were known as the 'Early Guptas' and were distinguished from the 'Later Guptas of Magadha.'

² Kumaragupta I was succeeded by Skandagupta (455-80), who, in turn, was succeeded by his brother Purnagupta (480-483). Purnagupta was succeeded by his son Narsimhagupta Baladitya, who was succeeded by his son Kumaragupta II.

³ For this inscription, vide "Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Early Gupta Kings and their successors," by Dr. J. F. Fleet (1888), pp. 58-56.

⁴ *Ibid* p. 53.

⁵ *Ibid* p. 56.

⁶ The Early History of India, 3rd edition, 1914, p. 309.

⁷ Rudradaman's inscription speaks of the city as "Girnaragara," i.e., the City of the hill. This name seems to have given to the mountain, on the side of which it is supposed to have stood at first, its modern name Girnar, its old name being Urjayat.

⁸ Dr. Fleet's Inscriptions of the Early Guptas, p. 58.

embankment of the above lake¹. Now, in this inscription, Skandagupta's victory over the Huns mentioned in the previous inscription, is referred to, in words of allusion, but not in name. The words used in this second description, *vis.* "verily the victory has been achieved by him" (Skandagupta),² in reference to his victory over the Mlechchas (foreigners of alien religion) are a repetition of similar words in the previous inscription.³ used in connection with the king's victory over the Huns. This fact shows that it is the victory over the Huns that is referred to in this second inscription, bearing the date of about 458. So, the victory of Skandagupta over the Huns must have taken place before this time.

In or about 465 A.D., there was another great inroad of the Huns into India. We have the authority of the Chinese traveller Sung-yun or Sing-yun to say so. He travelled in India in 520 A.D. He thus speaks of the Ye-thas, who were a tribe of the Huns: "This is the country which the Ye-thas destroyed, and afterwards set up Laelih to be king over the country; since which event two generations have passed. The disposition of this king (or dynasty) was cruel and vindictive, and he practised the most barbarous atrocities. He did not believe the law of Budha, but loved to worship demons . . . The king continuously abode with his troops on the frontier, and never returned to his kingdom in consequence of which the old men had to labour and the common people were oppressed."⁴

We learn from this statement of the Chinese traveller, that the Huns occupied the country of Gandhāra (near Peshāwar) or the North-Western Punjab, which was then ruled over by the Kushans. The Chinese traveller speaks harshly of their atrocities.

Of the tribe of Ye-tha (Ephthalites), Mr. Beal says:⁵ "The Ye-tha were a rude horde of Turks who had followed in the steps of the Huiung-nu; they were in fact the Ephthalites or Huns of the Byzantine writers." According to the above Chinese writer, these Ye-tha Huns set up a king of their own named Lae-lih. Cunningham thinks that the Hunnic King Lae-lih was the father of Toramāna. They settled there and advanced further into the interior of India in 470 A.D., and invaded Skandagupta's territories in the heart of his country. Owing to the repeated attacks of these Huns, whose hordes seem to have followed one after another into India, Skandagupta was in the end

¹ *Ibid* p. 63.

² *Ibid* p. 63.

³ *Ibid* p. 55.

⁴ "Si-Yu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World," by Samuel Beal, Vol. I, (1884) Introduction, pp. 99-100.

⁵ *Ibid*, Introduction, p. XVI.

defeated. The Hunnic war brought great financial distress to Skandagupta's reign. Consequently, coinage degraded both, in the purity of its gold and "in the design and execution of the dies."¹ Skandagupta died in or about 480 A. D.

The Huns, before they invaded India this time, had tried their luck elsewhere. When checked there, they came to India. We saw above, that they were now and then driven to extensive inroads and migrations by want of food in the country where they settled, whether provisionally or permanently. Their inroads were, as said above, in accordance with the Bread and Butter Theory of Huttington.² They were driven towards the West, towards Europe from their steppes in Asia by want of food. We saw, that in the 4th century A.D. they went to Eastern Europe and invaded the country of the Goths, who themselves were the descendants of some of their own previous Turkish tribes, similarly driven to the West in some earlier times. The Goths thus driven invaded the countries of the Romans whose Gothic War cost them the life of their Emperor Valens in 378. The Huns then spread into other parts of Europe, but, being divided into a number of groups or tribes which fought against one another, they could not unite. At last, some of the powerful tribes united under Attila, who caused terror among the people of the Roman Empire. He died in 453 and his Hunnic Empire broke for a time. During this period, some of their tribes had been trying their strength with the Persians who kept them under certain check. We saw above, that they had long continuous wars with the Persians even in the Peshdadian and Kyanian times. In the Sassanian times, Behramgour had a long war with them. His son Firouz had to continue that war and in the end he lost his life falling into a concealed trench dug by them (484 A. D.). Kobâd, Naoshirwan, Hormuzd, Khushru Purvîz all had to fight, with more or less success, against their different tribes, the Hætalites, Khazars and others, known generally as the Tûres of the Khâkân.

On the defeat and death of the Persian king Firouz, the Huns must have grown stronger. About 500 A.D., they, led by Toramâna, brought stronger attacks on India. Toramâna settled himself in Malwa in Central India, at some time before 500. He assumed the Indian title of Maharajadhiraja, i.e., the Raja of the Maharajas. He established his power so strongly, that besides taking this Indian title, he struck coins in his name and engraved inscriptions.

¹ Smith's Early History of India, 3rd edition (1914), p. 311.

² The Pulse of Asia.

Three inscriptions are known, wherein his name occurs. (a) The first is an inscription of his own reign and is that at Eran in the Khurā sub-division of the Sāgar district in the Central Provinces. It is inscribed on "the chest of a colossal red sand-stone statue of a Boar, about 11 feet high representing the God Vishnu in his incarnation as such¹." The object of the inscription "is to record the building of a temple in which the Boar stands, by Dhanyuvishnu, the younger brother of the deceased Mahārāja Mātrivishnu²." In this inscription, engraved in the first year of Toramāna's reign, he (Toramāna) is spoken of as "the glorious Toramāna of great fame (and) of great lustre³." It gives no era, but its reference to Mātrivishnu helps scholars to determine its approximate date. This Mātrivishnu is referred to as a feudatory of the king Budhagupta in an inscription of the latter's reign,⁴ which is dated completely in words in the year 165, i.e., 484-85⁵. This date in Budhagupta's inscription leads us to say, that the date of this inscription and the date of Toramāna referred to therein must be some date about 484-85 A. D.

(b) The second inscription of Toramāna is that at Kurn in the Salt Range. The inscription is, at present, in the Lahore Museum. We find the following account of this inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*⁶, from the pen of the late Dr. E. Bühler:—"The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a Buddhist monastery by one Siddhuviddhi, the son of Roṭṭa-Jayaviddhi, for the teachers of the Mahīśāsaka school. . . . The inscription was incised during the reign of the king of kings, the great king Toramāna Shālhi or Shāhi, Jāuvla, to whom and to whose family the donor wishes to make over a share of the merit gained by his pious gift. The date is unfortunately not readable. On palæographical grounds, it may be assigned to the fourth or the fifth century."

The inscription refers to Toramāna in the following words: "In the prosperous reign of the king of kings, the great king Toramāni Shālhi Jāu. . . (राजा—राजमहाराज तोरमानी पाहि बज्ज)."

(c) The third inscription is that of the time of Toramāna's son Mihircula inscribed in his (Mihircula's) 15th year of reign. It was "found

¹ Dr. Fleet's *Inscriptions of the Early Guptas*, p. 158.

² *Ibid.*, p. 159.

³ Dr. Fleet's *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings*, No. 36, p. 160.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 19, Plate XIIA., pp. 88-91.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁶ *Epigraphia Indica*, a Collection of Inscriptions supplementary to the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, edited by Dr. J. Burgers (1893), p. 239.

⁷ The article is entitled "The new Inscription of 'Toramāna Shaka'."

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 239-40.

built into the wall in the porch of a temple of the sun in the fortress at Gwalior in Central India." It is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta. The inscription¹ refers to solar worship and records the building of a temple dedicated to the Sun, and built by one Mārichêta in the reign of Mihircula "for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (his) parents and of himself."² Mihircula is referred to in this inscription as being the son of Toramāna who is spoken of as "a ruler of great merit".³ The inscription begins with the praise of the sun. Mihircula himself is spoken of as a person "of unequalled prowess, the lord of the earth."⁴

From an account of the relations of the Hunnic kings with the Sassanians, as given by Firdousi, and as referred to by us above, we find that there was a Hunnic or Haetalite king, who had helped Firouz or Pirouze. This Persian king reigned from 457 to 484 A.D. He was the son of Yazdagard II (438-457). Yazdagard had, on his death bed, directed that the throne may be given to his son Hormuzd (Hormazd or Hormisdas III, 457 A.D.). The throne having thus passed to his brother Hormazd, Pirouz disputed it and with the help of the Hunnic king, invaded Persia and won the throne which was occupied by Hormuzd for hardly a year. Now this Hunnic or Haetalite king, who helped Pirouz, was, according to Firdousi, Faghānīsh (فغانیش).⁵ He is spoken of as the Shāhi of Haital (شاه هیتال) and also as Chagāni Shahi (چغانی شاهی).⁶

I think the title "Shāhi" of the Indian inscription of Toramāna is the same as the above Shāhi of Firdousi. I also think, that the title "Jaū..." in the Indian inscription of Toramāna is the same as that of Chagani in Firdousi's Shah-Nameh. In the Indian inscription, the portion of the title which is quite legible is "Jaū...". The other letters are, says Dr. Bühler, very faint and partly doubtful.⁷ On the suggestion of Dr. Fleet, he reads them as 'vta' and thus takes the whole word to be Jaūta. I think the faint and doubtful letters are 'gau' and so the whole word is Jaugan or Jaugani, which is another form of Firdousi's Chagani. 'Ch' and 'J' being letters of the same class, the words Chagani and Jagani are the same.⁸

¹ Dr. Fleet's Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings, p. 163. No. 2.

² *Ibid.* ³ *Ibid.* ⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Measn's Calcutta Edition, Vol. III, p. 1369. ⁶ *Ibid.* ⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Epigraphia Indica, edited by Dr. Burgess, p. 239. 2, 1.

⁹ According to M. B. Drouin, Chagan was also written "Djagan" (Mémoires sur les Huns Ephthalites, p. 21).

This Hunnic king was called Chagani from the fact of his Huns being specially connected with Chagan. Chagān seems to have been their favourite place. They were very eager to retain Chagan in their hands. Later on, when Kobād sought the aid of the Hunnic king Khoushnavāz, the latter asked the Persian king to agree, that he would never claim Chagan, and the Persian king agreed.¹

The identification of the above two words Shāhi and Jau (gani) of the Indian inscription of the Hunnic king Toramāna with the titular words Shāhi and Chagani of Firdousi's Hunnic king Faghāna brings us to, or helps us in, the identification of the name of the king himself. I think, that the Hunnic king Toramāna of the Indian inscription may be the same as the Hunnic Faghāna of Firdousi's Shahnameh. The identification of the titles is pretty certain. So, anyhow, this Toramāna, known as the Shahi and Jau (la) or Jaugani was, if not the same king as Firdousi's Hunnic king known as the Shahi and Chaghani, at least a member of the same family or stock.

These identifications lead us to say, that the time of the Hunnic king Toramāna of the Indian inscription is some time during the reign (457 to 484 A. D.) of king Firouz of Persia. So, I think, it was after this event, *viz.*, the accession of Firouz to the throne of Persia with the help of the Hunnic king (A. D. 457), that the Huns may have turned towards India for the second invasion and made an inroad into it. Firouz had further wars with the Hactalite Huns, but they were with another king, *viz.*, Khoushnavāz. I think, Tabari is wrong in naming the Hunnic king who helped Firouz to gain the throne of Persia as Khoushnavāz, and that Firdousi is right in naming one as Faghani, and the other as Khoushnavāz.

اگر باز یابی تو گنج و کلاه
چغانی مرا باشد و گنج و کلاه
مرا باشد آن مرز و فرمان من
نگهداری این عهد و پیمان من
زبردست را گفت خندان قباد
کز آن بوم هرگز نگهرم یاد
چو خوابی فرست مت بی سر سپاه
چغانی چه باشد که دارم نگاه

In 510 A. D., Mihiragula (Mihirkula) succeeded, Toramāna. Sakala (Sialkot) in Punjab was his capital. He had struck his coins also. The Hunnic rule was in the ascendancy in India in his time. It had spread far and wide beyond India. Bāmyān near Herat and Balkh were two of the principal centres of these Huns ruled over by Hun kings. One of the two kings of these two centres was so powerful, that he levied tribute from forty countries, between the frontiers of Persia in the West, to Khotan on the frontiers of China in the east.¹ A Chinese pilgrim-convoy, Sung-Yun, from the king of China, visited his Court in about 519 or 520 A. D.² It is believed that Mihirkula ruled also over the country of Gandhara. It is the same Mihirkula who is referred to in the Rajatarangini, the History of Kashmir, by Kalhana, as a wicked king who was opposed to the local Brahmins and who imported Gandhara Brahmins into Kashmir and India. The practices and customs attributed to him and to his Brahmins show that these imported Brahmins were Zoroastrian in their belief to some extent.

I suspect that the Mātrichatā, the builder of the sun-temple, referred to in the above inscription, wherein Mihircula, the Hunnic king is mentioned, was himself a foreigner, one of the same stock of Huns to which Mihircula belonged. He was an Iranian Hun, who, it is very likely, believed in some forms of Zoroastrianism. His special reference to the true religion (Sad-Dharma,³ Cf. Behdin) and to the classes of the twice-born (Dvija-gṛāṇa⁴) leads us to that inference.

Cosmas Indicopleustes, the monk-writer, who wrote in 547 A. D., refers to a king of the White Huns, named Gollās, as ruling oppressively in India and drawing large tributes. This Gollās is thought to be the same as this Mihiragula, "the Attila of India."⁵

In the end, Mihircula was defeated in about 528 A. D. by an Indian king. He was taken prisoner and was sent away with all honour, due to a captive king, to his capital at Sakala (Sialkot). Taking advantage of the defeat of Mihircula in the south, his brother usurped his throne. So Mihircula went to Kashmir whose king extended to

¹ *Flite S. Beal's Shiyuki. Buddhist records of the Western World (1884), Vol. I, Introduction pp. LXXXIV et seq. for the Mission of this traveller.*

² Some of the court customs of the Hunnic king of the country of Yütha (Ephthalites), remind us of our present court customs. For example, (a) on entering the assembly, one man announces your name and title; then each stranger advances and retires..... (b) The royal ladies of the Yütha country also wear state robes, which trail on the ground three feet and more; they have special train-bearers for carrying these lengthy robes." (*Ibid.*, p. XCII).

³ Dr. Fleet's inscriptions of the Early Gupta kings, No. 37, p. 162.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Dr. Smith's "History of India," 3rd edition, p. 307.

him his hospitality, which he abused by raising a revolt against him and seizing his throne. Mihiracula died in or about 548 A. D.

The invasion of India by the Huns is said to have "changed the face of Northern India."¹ Had their power not been broken, they would have still further changed the face of the country.

VIII.

WHO BROKE THE POWER OF THE HUNS IN INDIA.

Now, the question among Indian scholars is: Who broke the power of the Huns in India? Mr. Vincent Smith and Bālāditya. gives the credit to Bālāditya (Naraśimhagupta), the King of Magadha. He associates with him Yashodharman, a Raja of Central India,² as one playing the second fiddle. He says that both these Rajas "appear to have formed a confederacy against the foreign tyrant." He takes the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang for his authority. Hiuen Tsang says as follows: "We came to the old Town of Shākala (She-ki-lo)..... Some centuries ago, there was a king called Mo-li-lo-kin-lo (Mihiracula) who established his authority in this town and ruled over India. He was of quick talent, and naturally brave. He subdued all the neighbouring provinces without exception. In his intervals of leisure he desired to examine the law of Buddha, and he commanded that one among the priests of superior talent should wait on him. Now it happened that none of the priests dared to attend to his command."³ Hiuen Tsang then says, that as no good respectable priest offered his services, to explain to the king the law of Buddha, an old servant in King's household who had long worn the religious garment was put forward for the purpose. Mihiracula resented this want of respect towards him and ordered a general massacre of the Buddhist priests. "Bālāditya-*raya*, King of Magadha, profoundly honoured the law of Buddha and tenderly nourished his people. When he heard of the cruel persecution and atrocities of Mihiracula, he strictly guarded the frontiers of his kingdom and refused to pay tribute. Then Mihiracula raised an army to punish his rebellion." In the war that issued, Bālāditya retired at first on some "islands of the sea," but subsequently defeated Mihiracula and took him a captive. Bālāditya ordered Mihiracula to be killed, but his mother interceded and persuaded her son to forgive him. Mihiracula's

¹ Kennedy, *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, 1908, p. 870.

² Smith's *History of India*, 3rd edition (1914), p. 318.

³ *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (Bk. IV), translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsang (A.D. 639) by Samuel Beal, Vol. I, p. 167.

brother ascended his brother's throne at Shakala (Sialkot), and Mihiracula retired to Kashmir, where he was welcomed by the king of the country. But he proved ungrateful and after a short time usurped the throne of Kashmir.¹

According to Hiuen Tsang, who travelled from 629 to 645 A.D., the Mihiracula mentioned by him lived some centuries before his time. Mr. Vincent Smith says: "It is not easy to explain why the pilgrim alleges (p. 167, *Beal Records*, Vol. I) that Mihiracula lived 'some centuries' before his time."² According to Mr. Smith, "Watters is inclined to think that the tale told by Hiuen Tsang refers to a Mihiracula of much earlier date. Dr. Fleet suggests that there may be an error in the Chinese text."³

Dr. Rundolph Hoernle differs from Mr. Vincent Smith and gives the sole credit of the Indian victory over the Huns to Yashodharman (Vishnuvardhman), a Raja of Central India. He admits no confederacy and rests the claim of his hero on three inscriptions of Yashodharman, which Mr. Smith sets aside as a piece of false boasting on the part of the king. As to this epigraphical evidence, Dr. Hoernle particularly refers to two inscriptions of Yashodharman at Mandasor, known as *rana-stambhas*, i.e., "Columns of Victory in War." There are two columns at short distances, but the inscription on both is the same. One may be said to be, as it were, the duplicate of the other, built, perhaps with a view, that if one was destroyed, another may continue to proclaim the work and the victory of the king. The inscription on one (No. 33) is well-nigh entire, but much of that on the other (No. 34) is destroyed. Yashodharman thus speaks in column 33 of his victory over the Huns of Mihiracula. "He who, spurning (the confinement of) the boundaries of his own house, enjoys those countries—thickly covered over with deserts and mountains and trees and thickets and rivers and strong-armed heroes (and) having (their) kings assaulted by (his) prowess which were not enjoyed (even) by the lords of the Guptas whose prowess was displayed by invading the whole (remainder of the) earth (and) which the command of (the) chiefs of the Hunas, that established itself on the tiaras of (many) kings failed to penetrate.... he to whose two feet respect was paid with

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 168-171.

² *History of India*, 3rd edition, p. 339, n. 1.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, 1903, p. 549, *et seq.* *Vide also Ibid.* of 1909, p. 89, *et seq.*

complementary presents of the flowers from the lock of hair on the top of (his) head by even that (famous) King Mihiracula."¹

Mr. Vincent Smith² says, that Yashodharman, in this inscription of his, took to himself false credit and that Hiuen Tsang, the great Chinese traveller very properly gave the credit to Śāladitya. Dr. Hoernle doubts the authority of Hiuen Tsang in this matter, saying that his account is romantic, though based on some truth. He says, that the authority of a contemporary inscription of King Yashodharman is far greater than that of Hiuen Tsang, who came to India much later, and who bases his version on what he had heard. That being the case, Yashodharman was properly the person who broke the power of the Huns.

The Vikrama era began in 57 B. C. It is now generally believed, that there existed no King Vikramaditya at that time, and that the era latterly known by his name, was then, in those early times, known as the Malwa era. Dr. Fleet thus sums up the explanation of the change of the name: "The word *vikrama*, from which the idea of the King Vikrama or Vikramaditya was evolved, most properly came to be connected with the era by the poets, because the year of reckoning originally began in the autumn, and the autumn was the season of commencing campaigns, and was, in short, the *vikrama-kala* or war-time."³ Dr. Hoernle differs from this explanation, and thinks, that there did exist a king of the name of Vikrama. Who was that King? Dr. Hoernle says, that Vikramaditya (*i.e.*, the Sun of prowess) seemed to be the popular title of the kings of Malwa during the later times of the Gupta Emperors, who lived and ruled in turbulent times, requiring great power in war matters, just as Śāladitya (*i.e.*, the Sun of goodness or peace) was the title of Harshavardhana of Kanauj. He thinks, that it was the above King Yashodharma of Malwa, that was known by the popular title of Vikramaditya.

The Rajatarangini of Kashmir by Kalhana says (Bk. III), that there reigned "at Ujjaina, King Vikramaditya called Hersha as the sole sovereign of the world". It includes Kashmir in the territories of that king. It also speaks of a foreign King Mihiracula being defeated.

¹ Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol. III. Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their successors by John Faithfull Fleet (1888) pp. 147-48. Inscription No. 37. Stone pillar inscription of Yashodharman at Mandasor in the Mandasor district of Scindia's dominions in the Western Malwa division of Central India.

² Early History of India end. Edition p. 201.

³ Quoted in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of 1909, p. 99.

The Mandasor inscription, above referred to, of Yashodharma also refers to Kashmir as one of his dominions, under the words "the tablelands of the Himalaya," and it also refers to the overthrow of Mihiracula by Yashodharma. So, it appears, that the Vikramaditya referred to by the Kashmir history as ruling in Ujjain and defeating Mihiracula, is King Yashodharma who is associated by his inscription with Kashmir and Mihiracula.

Dr. Hoernle further adduces (a) numismatic and (b) literary evidence to support Yashodharma's (Vikramaditya's) connection with Kashmir and his claim to be the successful opponent of the Huns.

(a) There are some coins known as the coins of Yashovarman, and they are believed to belong to the series of Kashmir coins. But, there has been no king of Kanauj of the name of Yashovarman who held Kashmir. So, Dr. Hoernle says, that this Yashovarman of the coins belonging to the Kashmir series, is the same as the Yashodharma of the Mandasor inscription and of the Kashmir History, the Rajatarangini of Kalhana.

(b) Tradition says, that there were "nine gems" *nava-ratna*, *i.e.*, nine learned men in the Court of Vikramaditya. Kalidasa is believed to be one of these best learned men of the time, who lived in the Court of Yashodharman. Another learned man was Varaha Mihira. This fact of some learned men (*ratna*) living in the Court of Yashodharma and also in the Court of Vikramaditya according to the tradition, points to the probability of Vikramaditya and Yashodharman being the same sovereign.

The literary evidence of Yashodharman's connection with the conquest of Kashmir is further supplied by Professor Pathak's Evidence. Professor Pathak who discovers it in Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsha*. Kalidasa seems to have drawn his picture of the description of the conquest of his hero Raghu from an account of the conquest of a contemporary king in whose court he lived. Professor Pathak¹ concludes, that this contemporary King was Yashodharman, who took a note of his *digvijaya* in his Mandasor inscription on the "Column of Victory". The Kunkuma mentioned in Kalidasa's poem is the well-known saffron of Kashmir.

Dr. Hoernle adds to Professor Pathak's evidence, a further evidence supplied by the landmarks given in the Mandasor inscription and in Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsha*² to show, that the above referred to king, the contemporary of Kalidasa, was Yashodharma (about 499-550 A. D.).

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XIX, p. 39.

² One of the landmarks in Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsha* is the Western Country where ruled the Pāruvika and other tribes from the West. This refers to the rule of the Persians over the Western part of India, over Gujarat, Kathiawad, Cutch, Sind, &c.

Mr. Monmohan Chakravati differs from Professor Pathak, and thinks, that the contemporary king from whose series of conquests Kalidas drew his picture of the *digvijaya* of his hero Raghu, was Skandagupta and Yashodharma. One of his arguments for his conclusion thus refers to an event in the history of Persia: Kalidas, in his *Raghuvamśa*, refers to the defeat of the Persians (Parasika) on the frontiers of India. Mr. Chakravati identifies this event with an event in the reign of the Persian King Piruz (Firuz) (457-484), the son of Yazdagird II. As we saw above, Firuz had come into great contact with the Ephthalites who are otherwise spoken as the White Huns, Khazars, &c. These Ephthalites had helped him against his brother in securing the throne of Persia, but latterly he fell out with them. He alternately won and lost, but was at last killed in a battle with them in 484 A. D. The Ephthalites or the White Huns overran Persia. Their further fight was brought off by an annual subsidy by Persia. In this war, the Persians are believed to have lost a portion of their eastern territories on the frontiers of India.

Mr. Chakravati thinks, that Kalidas in his *Raghuvamśa* refers to this defeat of the Persians and to their loss of their eastern dominions. As this happened in about 484 A. D., when Skandagupta was ruling, he thinks that the contemporary of Kalidasa was Skandagupta and not Yashodharman. But Dr. Hoernle says, that it is not this event that is alluded to in the *Raghuvamśa*, because Piruz had lost in this war only Gandhara, and not the country on the direct frontiers. So, it is a later event. It is the event of Kavādh (Kobād) fighting on the side of his brother-in-law, the Hunnic King. With the help of the Huns, he removed his brother Jamasp from the throne (499 A. D.). He died in 531 A. D. Thus the Persian Kavādh (488 or 489-531) was a contemporary of the Indian Yashodharman (490-550). The Huns had warred against Yashodharman, and in this war, they may have been helped by Kavādh who had married a daughter of the Hunnic king. In this war, wherein he fought on the side of the Huns as their ally, he lost some of his eastern provinces, especially the province of Sindh. It is this loss that Kalidas refers to as the defeat of the Persians (Parasikas).

We do not learn from Firdousi's *Shahnamah* anything about the loss of any territories on the frontiers of India either by Firouz or by Kobād. Tabari and Maqoudi also do not speak directly of any loss of Persian territories on the frontiers of India. Tabari indirectly refers to such a loss. While speaking of the conquests of Naushirwan, he says: "Then

Evidence from Persian History.

Naoshirwan desired to possess equally a certain portion of Hindustan. He made a large army, with a distinguished general at its head march against Hindustan (and) against Serandib where lived its king. . . . This (Indian) king surrendered to him all the countries in the neighbourhood of Oman which had already been ceded to Persia in the time of Behrangour¹. "

What we learn from this passage is this : A part of India on its frontiers belonged at one time to Persia under Behrangour. Between the time of that monarch and that of Naoshirwan, it had passed back from the hands of the Persians into the hands of the Indian king. We do not know in whose reign it so passed. But, looking to the history of the reigns of two of the several intervening kings, we find that it may be either in the reign of Fīrduz who was killed in the war with the Hætalite Huns, or in that of Kobād, who also had friendly and unfriendly relations with them. Of these two, the reign of Kobād was much weaker. He had to meet the brunt, both, of a kind of civil war and a foreign war. So, possibly it was during his reign, that a part of India which belonged to Persia in the reign of Behrangour, passed into the hands of the Indian king. Maçoudi also does not throw any light on the question. What we learn from him is simply this : "The kings of Hind and of Sind and of all the countries on the north and south concluded peace with the king of Persia (Naoshirwan)." The Indian king writes a letter "to his brother, the king of Persia, master of the crown and the banner, Kusr Amushirawan."

ای اخیر ملک یاس صاحب التاج والارایت
نسری آنوشیروان

On weighing the arguments on both sides, including the appeals to the relations of the Huns to the Sassanide Persians, I am inclined to say, that the credit of crushing the power of the Huns in India belongs to Yashudharman. The authority of the Chinese traveller is a later authority and a second-hand authority. Again, there is one statement of this traveller, which leads us to pause before taking his statements as authentic. He places the Hunnic king Mihireula some centuries ago.² If that be true, the date of Baladitya and also that of Yashodharma are carried some centuries ago. This is contrary to facts.

¹ Translated from Zotenberg's French Translation, Vol. II, p. 221, Chap. 4.

² Maçoudi par B. DeMeynard. Vol. II, p. 201.

³ Beal's Buddhist Records. Vol I, p. 169.

Now, as opposed to this doubtful authority of the Chinese pilgrim-traveller, who speaks (a) some time after the event, and (b) that on second-hand information, and (c) upsetting the chronological order of time, we have (a) the contemporary authority and (b) that the first hand authority, (c) supported by a proper chronological order of dates of Yashodharma's own inscriptions.

It is suggested that the court-poet of Yashodharman may have given false credit to his royal patron on his inscriptions. But we must bear in mind, that kings have some reputation to uphold. If Yashodharman had not been the real victor, he would not have dared to get a wrong inscription put up. He ran the risk of being taken for a braggart or boaster by his contemporaries, by both, the princes and the peasants. The court-poet may be allowed to praise his royal master and even to deify him, if he liked; but he would not be allowed to subject his master to public ridicule by attributing to him a feat or exploit which he did not do. To exaggerate in praise is one thing, but to state an untruth and to attribute a feat to the king which he did not do is another thing. The latter, instead of raising the king in the estimation of his contemporaries, his own subjects, would lower him. From all these considerations, I think that the real credit of breaking the power of the Huns belonged to king Yashodharman.

As said above, the History of the Sassanian kings of Persia has been appealed to, in determining the question of destroying the power of the Huns in India. In this connection, there is one point which seems to me to be important. If Kalidas refers to a defeat of the Persians, it is more likely that he refers to a defeat at the hands of his own people, the Indians, and at the hands of a king of his own country, and not to a defeat at the hand of others,—the Huns—who were also hostile to his people and his country. So, it is more likely that the event referred to the later event of Kavadh's reign as pointed out by Dr. Hoernle. From all this rather long review of events, we find that it was king Yashodharma, who broke the power of the Huns and it was he who was known as Vikramaditya.

ART. XIX—*Yasna XLVIII in its Indian Equivalents.*

BY

PROFESSOR MILLS.

(Contributed.)

(1. Yndi(-y) (ebhih(-r))° adhañh(-r), adhanñh(-r, (?) stena (-r) asmakam adhikah(-s) sena-patih(-r) druham° vñhsate (-sate)).

(h) yat(-d) asit° (-d), °asan(-n) asmakam (ññsah(-n) iñi tattvenñ (-a) achyutani, akrtani, (kili, yat(-d) imani pravartyanñ yani dambhanani (-i) iñi purvyam asmakam dhvarandbhih(-r) dveshbhih(-r) pra (-r)uktani(-y) asuh (asan°(?)), pra(-o)-yucire°.

(c) (achyutani, akrtani(-y)), amrtatve, pravartani, nirvodhani, devaiñ(-r), -deva-pujakñh(-s)° ca, (-a) anyatñh(-o) -martyañh(-s) ca ((-ir) rtavabhih(-r) anyatñh(-s), -sarvaiñ, prthak, prthuk svayantñh);

(d) at (sah) (sa) te (tavn) savaiñ(-s) suasti-krdbhih(-s) stutivahanam vaknyam aukshat(-d), ukshayat(-d),° -ishyati (-y), asura.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE CRISIS. HE PRAYS FOR INSPIRATION
AND FOR RE-ASSURANCE.

2. Vochi me yani tvam vidvan (asah(-o)), yani vedah(-a), asura.

(b) tasmāt pura, purastat(-d), yat(-d) mām (a-gaman)° yani mama manuh-prtah° ((-o's) asan), kili, mama kshanan,° karyāñvrah-anan iñamutra(-e)° iñaloke va paraloke va, chinvatñh(-o) vichaya-setau va, tasmāt pura, purastat(-d) yat(-d)° imani tattvenñ(-o-) upagachchhan(-antai)—

(c) Ku(-d) rtava ((-a-) asmakam adhikah(-s) senapatiñ (-s), sumedhañ, prvañsat, pravañshyati dhvarantam, papam asmakam dharmā-dveshinam ;—

(d) sa hi(-y) asah(-r) visvasya jivññsyañ, visvi (-y-evam) vitta, vidita, akrtñh, (kili, (-e) idrk tasya dveshinah parajayah (-o) vasuh(-r) evam vidynte, vetsynte).

OUR SYSTEM FIRST OF ALL, OTHERS TO THE ENLIGHTENED—ALTOGETHER
PARAMOUNT OVER THE D(A)EVA-SYSTEM OF OUR FOES.

3. At(-d) vedamanaya, (visva-vichakusate,) vasishtha(-a-) asti sasnam, (asmakam dharmā-dhih) (vishatañh(-o-) dhyānayoñ parispā-reñ (-ai) etavñt prativadinoñ(-r) asmakam dhyānam vasishtham asti).

(h) yam dhyant sudhah (-s) sasti (-r) stena (-a-) asurak (-s)

(c) svantñh(-o) vidyan, (asti, kili, tvñ veda) ye chid °gudhartha-sññsasah(-o'san), (ye tan(t)sasan dharñyan),

(d) tvavan(-t),° sumedhah (-o) visoh kratv° manasah.

1. If through (his action in) the offering of gifts in accordance with Asha, Our Holy Order, (Thy Saint who stands so signally for us) shall smite the Druj-Lie-Demon (of our foes); (b) when those things in very truth shall be (our portion) which have been (and still are) proclaimed as fallacious (by our foes, but in vain); (c) (when they shall have actually appeared) in the Immortal Deathlessness as regards both the Daeva-demon (worshippers on the one side to afflict them) and our (holy) men (upon the other); (d) then shall he (Thy Saint Our leader) increase thereby the celebration of Thy praise, O Lord, and with it great blessings (for Thy folk).

Owing to the distance at which this article is printed, the simplest possible transliteration—that of Max Müller's Grammar—has been adopted. Even the long vowels may be left undistinguished from the short ones, or italicised as *a* for long *a*, *e* for long *e*, *i* for long *i*.

See the Dictionary throughout, with the Gothic texts. As usual I vary my suggestions a little as time passes. Some writers seem almost to exaggerate their neglect of their own previous renderings. One accuses the other of 'three entirely different renderings of the same passage'; but it is best to offer many alternatives in the case of the Gathas as our religious-philosophical interest here is paramount over all consideration of minute literary distinctions. The last minute pointing of the literary meaning is almost universally uncertain in all such ancient writings. (As in my other studies of this kind I have here applied sandhi redundantly; see Roth's *Festgruss*, 1893, ZDMG. 1911, —12, —13, *Museon* 1912, —13, *JRAS.* April, 1915, etc.)

2. Tell me then, Lord, (the end), for Thou dost know it. (b) (Tell me to grant me strength and courage) before those crisis of the conflict come (which shall encounter) me (as leader of Thy tribes in their armed struggle),—(c) shall the (champion of Thy holy Order indeed, O Ahura), smite down the enemy,—and when? (d) (I ask Thee this); for this, (if it be gained, is) known to be the (one) good consummation of (our) life,—(and of the world. All hangs in balance on this issue).

Notice the Gathic *para hyat*; see it also in the later Av. It occurs to me to be a question whether the *a* of *para* is not one of the many results of the confusion which is everywhere apparent in the spelling of Av. words, and which was owing to the omission of the short vowels in the ancient Pahl.—Av. writing, they having been regarded as being inherent in the consonants as all the short vowels are in Pahlavi.

3. (For there can be no hesitating doubt at all);—the best of the (two daeva-)revelations (is our own and not the rival Lore of Angru Mainyu, and best of all which can be uttered anywhere)—(b) that one which the Beneficent Ahura doth proclaim through Asha (the Law of Our Holy Order)—(c) bounteous-in-holiness as He is—and wise (with His great^o scheme),—as well as those who declare to us all deepest sayings in His name. (d) Thine Own, and worthy of Thyself (that chieftain is), O Mazda, endowed with Thy Good Mind's planning skill.

* *Khrathva*, Av. *Khrata*-(thv), like *Senhaeho*, *orgo*, and other words, has an especial sense in the Gathas. It seems to mean 'that sacred political sagacity' which was so essential to the existence of the holy State. I ask especial consideration as regards transliteration here.

THE CHARACTER OF THE NEEDED MAN MUST BE BEYOND ALL COMPROMISE. HE MUST SELECT THE BETTER OF THE TWO URGENT SYSTEMS WITH IMMOVEABLE CONSISTENCY.

4. *Yah(-o) dhat(-d) manah(-o) vasyah(-asi), vasiyah(-si) (asmakam dhyane) aghatare cha, (-a-) adharinye (deva-pujakananu))*

(b) *svah (sah, sa) ubayah(-r) dhyanyah(-r) asmakam dharmadhyau chyaunena vachasa cha (vr̥te sapishyati cha) ;—*

(c) *asya joshan, (kila svadharma-varah hr̥daya-bhakti-jushan, asmabhih^o pramanvat(-ch) (cha) pra(-o)-uktah, -tan sva(-e)-ishah(-s)^{oo} sva(-e)-ishah(-s) sachate, (kila, svanishchitau samkalpam avashitau sva(-e)-ishah(-s) sachate) ;*

(d) *tvadye kratau(-n(-v)) apamam nana (-a-) asat ; (kila, tva sevakah(-o) hr̥daya-bhaktah punya-dharma-sthitau, tatpratikshah(-s), sampurnam vichakasan^o bhavishyati(-i) ; idrk(-g) iva cha sevakah(-o) vryah(-s) tva prati-j Napyishyate).*

NO COMPROMISE WITH THE OPPOSED DESTRUCTIVE POLITICS. SACRED WORK MUST BE REVIVED IN THE INTERESTS OF OUR AGRICULTURAL STATE.

5. *Sukshatrah kshayantam, ma nah(-o) dushkshatrah kshayanta,*

(b) *vasvyah(-s) chitteh(-s) chyaunaih(-r) (haye) aramate,*

(c) *yoh(-r)-dhab(-a) martyaya (-a-) api-jantum^{o1} (haye) (tvam) vasishthe (Aramate) ;*

(d) *gave avryutam^{o2}, kr̥shi-karma kriyatam (avarja va, kruv(-v)iti) ; tau nah(-a) alharaya^{o3} pisuvid ((-t) poshaya) kila tam, gam, givam, sarvathia (-o) ukshayah(-s) phali kruvah poshivrat).*

ĀR(A)MAITI, ARCHANGEL OF THE SACRED FIELD WORK, ALONE CAN GIVE PROSPERITY. SHE ALONE EFFECTS THE FOOD SUPPLY, THEN AS EVER THE VITAL QUESTION.

6. *Sa hi (-y) aramatih(-r) nah(-s) su-kshetram, sukshemau, (dat) ; sa nah (-n)^{o2} uti-yutim)*

(b) *dat tavishim vishah(-r) manasah(-o) bhadra-bhrajavat ;*

(c) *at(-d) asyai (a(-y)) tena (tat(-d) unugunatvena) sumedhah(-a) urvarah(-a) oshadhah(-r) vakshayat (-d)*

(d) *asurah(-o's)-asah(-r) jantau, janman, purvyasya.*

4. (Yea, tell me the issue of the future struggle ; for the man so by Thee enlightened must follow close the holy Faith for which that struggle has had its toil and effort). Yea, O Mazda, he who would bend his mind on that which is (both) the better and the worse (of the two rival causes), (b) must pursue the Daena which he chooses (that proclaimed by us) close in word and action. (c) His will and wish must be consistent in every way with his chosen creed and fealty, (d) and in Thine Understanding (which discerning teacheth all) shall he in many ways be (versed) at last;—(by Thee he will be recognised as faithful to Thy scheme—the plan of Thy Salvation—here in our hamlets now and there beyond).

5. (But while I as yet know not that future, I can still hope and pray). Let the good kings obtain (our) throne. Let not the evil foe-monarchs govern us, (but let Our Sainted Monarch gain well the day and rule us), (b) with deeds done in a sane sagacity (the true spirit of our party), O thou (Holy) Aramaiti, (c) sanctifying to men's minds) O Thou Best One, the best of blessings for (their) offspring, or since their birth, (d) Yea, for the (Sacred) Kine, (O Aramaiti Blest Angel of the Herdsman's toil,) let (Thy Tiller's) toil be given, and may'st Thou cause her to prosper for our life. (The salvation of our cause).

*1. *apishathem*.—hardly: 'the future life'. We should keep our ideas to this present life as far as this may be possible. The future life is elsewhere amply provided for in the Gatha. It may mean the 'entire life, from birth', or possibly 'posterity',—'offspring'.

*2. *vereyatam*. We are indeed tempted to read *veraya*,—this especially in view of the caesura—which would be a good reason, and *veraya*=ad. sg. imper., would harmonise with *fshuyo* ad. sg. conj. so read as alternative or indeed as preferred text. But it is impossible to deny that the form in *-tam* rings familiar to the ear—see *dyatam* in a following verse to which this *vereyatam* might be in antithesis. * Let one be cast down—let the other be served': then see the caesura apparently violated in *hu-shaithma* in 6.

*3. Is it to *suar*, *sear*,—one would have thought that the Cow's meat was forbidden to be eaten;—yet we must not push such analogies too far.

6. (a, b) For she (dear product of that Holy Toil) will give us happy homes and the long enduring strength of the Good Mind(ed One, Our Pasture-Tiller), (c) and so for her Mazda in His Justice caused the meadow grass to flourish, (d) He, Ahura, in the birth of the primaeval life.

* The sign for final *o* in the supposed word *berokhdo* is one of those cases where that sign simply equals *y + a*; see Gathas and Dictionary.

THE ACCURSED RAIDER EVER THREATENS WITH HIS DAEVA-WORSHIPPING ALLIES. THE SONS OF AIRAN, OUR HOLY STATE, MUST DEW THEM WITH THE SHARPENED SABRE. THE HOLY SYSTEM MUST PREVAIL AND BE IMMOVABLY ESTABLISHED.

7. Ni(-y) esha-hedah(-o) dhiyutam, asyatam prati(-y) upa-ramam(?)^{o1} prati(-y) irshyam ati-syadhvam^{o2} (yuyam).

(b) ye(-a) a visoh(-r) manasah(-o) didhirshindhve ^{o3}, didrñhishindhve va, (-ar)

(c) rtena samasrayam^{o4}, vasya setoh^{o5}(-s), sambandhaya, na svantah(-o'sa-) asat(-d) ;

(d) atse((?)'-sm-), usmai, tasya hetoh(-r) imam samasrayamamam va—?, dhaman^{o6},(-s) tvdiye (-a) adham, usum.

AN EFFECTIVE PRAYER SOUGHT FOR. BY WHAT RELIGIOUS ACTION SHALL THE FAITHFUL LEADERS BE RALLIED TO THE WORK ?

8. Ka te vasoh(-r), (haye) sumedhah, kshatrasya (-e) ishthih, (prarthana, satyena (-a) arthasiddhi-bhrt ?) ;

(b) ka te (-a) rteh^{o7} (-r) iti, kila, ka tvadiyasya phalasya, -tat-sam-prapti-niyukta (-e) ishthih, prarthana, mahyam, asura(;—ka mima hetoh(-s) tat-phala-samprapti-nirupita, niyukta, bhavishyati ? ;—

(c) kena prarthana-yaj/vena, tuva (-ar) rtena tvadiyan^{o8} rtena, vyakti-gaman ardhayitn ishyami ; kenā (-a) asman avah(-o'r-) artham pratichah(-o) mima jñechhyah(-s) sarma(-n), utim datave(-i) ahvyami (hvyishyami),

(d) visoh(-r) manyoh(-s) cyaminanam jaymuh.

WHEN SHALL OUR DOUBTS BE RELIEVED ? REVEAL A FRESH POINT IN DOCTRINE—THE NEEDED POLICY ; HOW TO GAIN OUR OBJECT.

9. Kada veda (vedishyami) yadi kusya-cit kshayatha (-yatha)

(b) (haye) sumedhah (-u) rta, yasya ma, mima(-ai-), etih(-r)^{o9} dvayavini (-y) asat(-d)

(c) rju me minah(-a)-akah(-o)^{o10} (vavachat(-d)^o va) vasoh(-r) vapuh(-r) minasah(-o) ;

(d) vidyat(-cheh)^{o11} svayavishyam(-n), usmakam dharma(-a)-udhish-patih(-s) savah(-o)-bhrt(-d) yatha self(-sm)-asmai(-a(y)-rtih(-r), iti (-y) evam, phalam punyam^o, asat.

7. Down then let (her first mortal foe) be cast, Aeshma (of the bloody Raid who leads her captive with her Herdsmen). Against this envious⁹⁰ Fury⁹¹ (death-dealing as it is) smite ye, (b, c) O ye who desire to hold fast the sacred Refuge of Our Good Mind (-ed One the Central stronghold of Thy Cause) to whose Bond⁹² the bounteous holy man belongs (-d) and therefore, O Ahura, (to save Thy struggling saint who toils with changing lot) will I establish (that refuge) for him in Thy State.

* 1 Remem. ?—perhaps not here to *Rama+upa* = 'cease', 'stillness of death'—*uparania*, see *ramam* in str. 1;—cp. New Persian *ramidan*. The Pahl., Per. and Skt. have 'envy'. See Gothas.

* 2 *syodum* to ind. *sa, si* = 'sharpen', etc.; cp. *syati* with *ati* = 'to strike at'.

* 3 Desid. of *dhr* or *drh*, *drnh*, *didharishadhvam*.

* 4 *syam* to *syas* = 'to envelop', so here preferred. Alternative otherwise in the Dictionary.

* 5 Loc. eg. *ni*. See Dictionary throughout.

* 6 Notice *thrahmi* (= -*min*) again, why not a corresponding Ind. form after *tasmin*?; see *tua* = 'thy'.

8. (And how shall I beseech Thee for this victory and gain?) What is the (potent) prayer⁹³ to bring on that Thy good Reign with Thy chosen ruler at its head, Our Sovereign. ? (b) What for Thy sacred reward and blessing for myself (the success of all my labours)? (c) How shall I successfully (with Asha) seek after Thy conspicuous (princely) coadjutors (in our cause). (d) While I myself help pressing on in Thy Good Spirit's deeds?

* *Thvot*, dat. or loc. of *thvem* (?); but *thvot* may equal *thve* = *thruya*,—see V. 44. 11, where the *thvot* may = *thve*; and where the *e* may equal *y+a* = *ya* in a *thruya* = 'Thy', as nom. sg. f. *thruya d(a)ena*;—it seems to me not impossible that *thvot* may here as idiom represent 'a *thruya(n)* acc. pl. masc.; recall ved. *tea*, possessive.

9. (Aye, when shall faith and prayer be changed to sight); and when shall I in verity discern if Ye indeed have power over aught, (b) O Lord, (in this Chief effort of Our life), and through the Holy Order of Thy Law, (O Thou) within whose (power lie) my griefs and doubts? (c) Let then Thy Saving Prophet find and declare aright (for) my delight Thy Good Mind's wonder-working grace; (d) yea, let Thy Soshyant see how gifts of blest recompense may be his own.

* 1 See Y. 32. 16.

* 2 *ucham*, same have suggested 3d sg. imperv. perf. to *uch* = 'let him declare' or 'let it be declared aright'; see Dict.; to-am as 3d sg.; see *duham* for *dugdham*. Otherwise 'the delighting' acc. sg. f. to *uc*.

HOW LONG ! WHEN SHALL THE EFFICIENT MEN ARISE ? AND WHEN
SHALL THE FOUL TYRANTS BE REPELLED ?

10. *Kada*, *sumedhañ(-a)*, *mañishayañ(-a)* *narah(-a)* *visante* ;
(b) *kada (-a)* *apa (-a)* *ajan(-n)*, *ajishyanti*, *mutram asya madasya*,
(c) *yena (-a)* *adhasa (-e)* *iNgayata*, *(-a)* *anhranena*, *(-a)* *aNgayata*,
(*vikrañ*) *Kalpakañ(-o)* *rupyanti*, *(-yan)*, *ropishyanti*),
(d) *yena cha (vikrtena)* *kratuna dush-kshatrañ(-o)* *ropishyanti dasy*
unam (asmakam janma-bhumi-desanam) *kshayan*).

AYE, WHEN SHALL THE SACRED FIELD LABOUR BE RE-ESTABLISHED ?
WHAT PRIEST-WAR-CHIEFTAIN SHALL GIVE THE SETTLING
BLOW TO THE DEVASTATORS ?

11. *Kada*, (*haye*) *sumedhañ(-a)*, *rtena smad*, *aramatiñ(-r)* *gamai*
(*ishyati sukshitiñ*) ;
(b) *kada*, *gamat kshatrena sukshitiñ(-s)* *trna-vasita*, *ksetra-yavaśa-*
vasini ?
(c) *ke dhvaradbhiñ(-r)* *dveshibhiñ kruraiñ ((-s)*, *tebhyañ(-s)*, *tesham*
prati, *tan pratikshañ(-a)*, *uparamam dhuñ*, *dhante*,^{oo} (?) ;
(d) *kñi a vasoñ(-or)* *gamat (-d)* *mraśaś(-s)* *chittiñ* ?

WE HAVE THE ANSWER—THE MEN ARE HERE. OUR SUSHYANTS WILL DO
THE WORK FOR THEE.

12. *At te (tava satyena (-a)) asan svayayishantañ(-o)* *dasyunam*
(*asmakam janma-bhumi-desanam*)
(b) *ye kshutamat namañ(-s)* *samtosham tubhyam dadatañ(-s)*, *tvam*
(*-s*) *joshayantañ(-s)*, *samtoshayantañ(-o)* *vasuna manasa sachantai*.
(c) *chyautnaiñ(-r)*^{oo} *rtena tava (tvadiyasya) sasasya*,
(d) *te hi hitañ(-a)* *dhitañ(-a iva)* *adhiyanta*^{oo} *sammethitarañ(-o)* ^{••}
mithati-krtañ^{oo} (*-kartarañ*), *(-a)* ^{oo} *eshmasya*, *iti*, *kila (-ai)*, *esha-*
kedasya (-a) *asman prati (-y)* *akramatañ*.

10. When, Mazda, shall the men of active judgment come? (b) when shall they drive from hence, the soil of this (polluted) drunken joy, (c) whereby the Karpans with (their) fierce zeal would crush us, (d) and by whose planning inspiration the tyrants of our Provinces (hold on) their evil sway?

* *Mauroish*, 'of enlightenment,' to *man*,—for the suffix *ri* recall *sahu ri*; cp. also *anghri*. *A Ngraya*, to the foot of *anah*, 'through whose torturing fury; see *Anghri* = 'foot', 'root', but Wh. seems to think that it may belong here;—possibly having some reference to the 'twisted limb' at the end of the leg, and the 'twisting roots' at the foot of the tree.' *A Ngraya* has possibly some allusion to the Soma-juice used as a stimulant by the Priestly Warriors of the enemy before battle in the preparatory sacrifices.

11. Aye, when shall our Aramaiti, (High Angel of Our true Herdsman's Zeal) appear with Asha, Archangel of Thy Law, and with Khsathra (Thine established government)? (b) When shall she come, as having the amenities of home for us, and provided (like our land) with pastures (for the sacred Herds)? (c) (And) who shall give us rest from the bloody foes of evil deeds and faith? (d) To whom (to what Ardra-princes) shall Thy Good Mind(-ed One)'s wise plan (of strategy and policy) come near (to guide them in their toil to rescue and defend us).

12. (To whom?) The answer lieth near; the men are here). Such (needed) ones shall be the princely Saviours of the Provinces, (b) they who through Thy Good-Mind(-ed Chief) follow up a keen mental scheme of satisfaction (to thy Will) (c) through great deeds done with Asha's law, the Law of Thy Revealed Commandment, O Mazda, (d) for these Prince Saviours are set for us as the (deadly) foes of Aeshma (Foul Demon of the bloody Raid—Arch Foe of all our Country's Life—Yea, they are set for us, and shall be once more and firmly established in their offices).

* *Ashnum* = 'sharpening' in the sense of 'animating satisfaction.'

* *A* Formed for *ham(a)stara*—recall *mithat*.

It is impossible that this and the other Gathas could have been composed without a pointed reference to the particulars of a religious-political crisis in time of war.

ART. XX.—*Some Interesting Antiquities of Salsette*

By

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(Read on 12th January 1917.)

Next to Bombay there is no part of this Presidency which engages so much of the solicitude of Government and the concern of the public as the island of Salsette. It is to this island that the Bombay Town Planning Act of 1915 has primarily been made applicable—with a special collector, called the Salsette Development Officer, to carry out its purpose with a direct eye to the highest type of sanitation and the best amenities of a town life. The study of the past of such a place must be of unique interest and value.

2. In this paper I propose to confine myself to some of its antiquities over which light is thrown from legal enactments and documents. The first one that occurs to us is a very antique regulation of the Bombay Government, which, though not standing in any Statute book of un repealed laws and regulations, still holds good in certain parts of the Salsette island. It is the Salsette Revenue Settlement Regulation No. 1 of 1808. It consists of an historical memoir of the revenue systems established by the Portuguese, the Mahrattas and the East India Company as well of a little of geography, ethnography, botany and zoology of the place. In fact, it is a small gazetteer of the island in the form of one of the old Bombay Regulations, held by Courts to have had the force of a legislative enactment and relied upon as binding in regard to land tenures in certain Khoti villages.

3. Salsette—it is explained by the author of the regulation with evident taste for philology—was corrupted by the Portuguese from *Sashti*—*Sashasti*—that is consisting of 66 villages. This *Shashty* should be distinguished from the Gon "*Sahsti*" similarly corrupted by the Portuguese into Salsette.

4. It would not be out of place to mention here that Salsette is described in a map drawn by the famous traveller Fryer as Canora, and by Couto, Canaria. Clements Dawning in his compendious *History of Indian Wars* describes the original inhabitants of this part of India to be *Keneyrians*, probably the Kolis. The terms Canora, Canoria and Keneyrians should, I think, be traced to the famous Kenheri caves or the village in which they are situated. Here I may warn you against confusing Keneyrians with the Kanarians, by which

name the Goan priests or people settled in Salsette, Bassein and Bombay were called by the Portuguese, deriving that name from Kanara of which they thought Goa formed a part (*vide* my paper on *Kanarian-Konkani Communities in Bombay*, Part III, read before the Anthropological Society, Bombay, last year).

5. To go back now to Bombay Regulation I of 1808, it describes Salsette as subdivided into 7 islands when some 12 out of 17 square miles of its area were submerged at spring tides, namely, Salsette proper, Trombay, Juhu, Versowa, Marwa, Daravi, Raimurdha (omitted by mistake). The channels between the islands are being gradually filled up by silt and artificial embankments. We may be allowed to fancy a time when almost the whole of the island except the hills were submerged by the sea, and there dwelt in caves on the hills fishermen or jungle tribes.

6. We may skip over the description in Regulation I of 1808 of the vegetable kingdom, the sun-hemp and American aloe, cattle and beasts and only note that the population of the island numbered in 1808 only 49,530, which would give 300 inhabitants for a square mile after deducting the 12 miles overflowed by spring tides. The present population of the Salsette Taluka is 153,853 and that of the island may be computed at 145,000 after deducting the small strip on the continent. It has trebled itself in a century under *Pax Britannica*.

7. Of the primitive tribes of this part of India mention is made in the Regulation of the Kolis, Thakurs and Varlis. The Kolis were composed in equal numbers of Hindus and Roman Catholic Christians who had been subjected to some 12 personal taxes by the Mahrattas. These taxes were reduced to a small lump sum per body of those who served in the fisheries called *angedena*, which was later on allowed to be commuted for cultivation of the waste land as was the *moturia*, the tax on professions, industries, &c. (ss. 36, 37 and 38).

The Thakurs and Varlis were to be subjected to some restrictions in respect to hill cultivation (s. 64). The Varlis were so called from their living on uplands or hills. They were no doubt highlanders, the most aboriginal of the inhabitants of the district, still with a fondness for hill life and little under the influence of Brahmanism (*vide* Mr. R. E. Enthoven's draft monograph on Varlis).

8. Living as the Varlis were on the hills of Salsette, was it not natural for them to have excavated caves and been cave-dwellers like the ancient cave-dwellers in Europe and other parts of the world?

9. Remarkable discoveries have recently been made giving us some insight into the civilization of these ancient cave-dwellers of the Stone Age some 10 to 20,000 years ago. Their beautifully ornamented caves with fresco paintings and carvings remarkably life-like and artistic have evoked admiration among even modern artists. Referring to these at the last presidential address at the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Dr. Evans says : " In their most developed stage . . . these primeval frescoes display not only a consummate mastery of natural design but an extraordinary technical resource. Apart from the charcoal used in certain outlines, the chief colouring matter was red and yellow ochre . . . In single animals the tints varied from black to dark or ruddy brown or brilliant orange, and so by fine gradation the paler nuances, obtained by scraping and washing. Outlines and details are brought out by white incised lines, and the artists availed themselves with great skill of the relief afforded by convexities of the rock surface. But the greatest marvel of all is that such polychrome masterpieces as the bison standing and couchant, or with limbs huddled together, of the Altamira cave, were executed on the ceiling of inner vaults and galleries where the light of day has never penetrated. Nowhere is there any trace of smoke and it is clear that great progress in the art of artificial illumination had already been made. We now know that stone lamps decorated in one case with the engraved head of ibex, were already in existence."

10. Describing the caves of Niaux in France, Marret in his *Anthropology* (Home University Library Series) says : " So it was indeed a cathedral after a fashion, and having in mind the cavern pillars, the curving of alcoves and chapels, the shining white walls and the dim ceiling that held in scorn our modern powerful lamps, I venture question whether man has ever lifted up his heart in a grander tone."

The caves of India display greater art and grandeur notably those of Kenhri, Ajantha and Ellora. That there is good deal in them that can be traced to Buddhist, Jain and Hindu monastic institutions, there can be no doubt. But did they not find much that had been ready-made for them by the old cave dwellers of this part of India? This question suggests itself to that eminent scholar James Douglas, who in his *Bombay and Western India* hints on a much more ancient origin of the Kenhri caves than from the Buddhistic ages.

11. If there is good foundation for this question, India may well be proud of its ancient aboriginal cave-dwellers. In the Vardis, the most aboriginal of the primitive hill-tribes of this part of India we may

perhaps stumble upon a tribe as the original founders or the successors of the founders of the caves of Kenhari.

12. Another reference in Regulation I of 1808 that throws light on ancient history of Salsette relates to the prosperity that reigned in it during the rule of Raja Bimb towards the latter end of the 13th century. The time of this famous king is corroborated by documents of a legal character which relate to a dispute between Nayaakrao, a descendant of Raja-Guru Purshottamrao Paithankar, and a Pathare Zamindar of Malad concerning *piechori* rights. This was in the reign of Allaudin II of Bedar (1520-22 A.D.). The dispute was first decided by Diwan Mahomed Calil, but on being carried in appeal to the king of Bedar, during the investigation, a sanad or patent of Raja Bhimdeo was produced which had been given to the Raja-Guru under peculiar circumstances described below. On the invasion of Devgiri by Sultan Allaudin in Shake 1220 (1298 A.D.), one of the two sons of the king of Devgiri, fled with the Raja-Guru to the Konkan and took possession of the territory from Parnera to Astagar. He came to Mahi-Mahim (Bombay) and divided the country into twelve parts. He gave the district of Malad and some villages from the district of Pahad to the Raja-Guru as jahagir and watan, and the Raja-Guru divided it into nine parts and assigned one to each of his relations. The raja purchased from the widow of Govind Mitkari the watan of sir desai and sir deshpande of Malad (in 1221 Shake-A.D. 1298-99) and gave it to his abovenamed Raja-Guru in charity. In this way the Raja-Guru and his son Trimbakrao reached the dignity of sir desai and swarajya kulkarni or independent officers. This account having been testified to by several elderly witnesses, the king Allaudin II of Bedar confirmed the title and dignity of Raja-Guru on the plaintiff, whose descendants hold an important place even now among what are called Deshasth Brahmans of Bombay, Salsette and Bassein.

13. The account given in the regulation of the revenue policy adopted by the Portuguese Government gives us an inkling into the revenue system prevailing under the old rule of Hindu rajas which the Portuguese seem to have followed. The Indian vernacular terminology used in quoting the several taxes furnishes additional proof of their antiquity dating from the old Hindu regime.

14. Their *tokah* or *demp*, *ardhul*, *shilotri*, and other revenue tenures are too well known to need further description than that given in the Regulation, which I shall quote here :—

(A) The island of Shasty was conquered by the Portuguese in 1534 from the Mahomedhan prince who was then its sovereign, and there-

after parcelled out among the European subjects into village allotments at a very small *faro* or quit rent; those European proprietors continuing the local usage of levying, under the denomination of *tokah* or *demp*, an *ascertained* and *permanent* rent from the Native Indians, who cultivated their estates, which was rated with a view to yield to the land-lord *one-half of the crop*.

This produce consisted, as far as regarded the cultivation of rice grounds, of *chowka* or white, called also *gora* and of *khara* or *ratta* (*i. e.*, salt or coloured batty, the term batty or paddy meaning rice in husk), the latter bearing throughout the island a very small proportion to the former.

The crops of the *chowka* being liable in ordinary years to little or no variation were subjected for the most part to the above mentioned fixed proportion of taxation on a bigha or other given extent of the several sorts of ground; whilst those of the *khara* being more fluctuating and precarious were regulated at that early period by the contingent *ardkul* or *moiety of the varying annual produce*.

(B) For cultivation of surplus batty or rice lands, the Portuguese land holder allotted to the cultivator spare grounds called *chikal* and furnished him with the seed, on condition of the latter's rendering besides the amount of the original quantity of seed, the third or sometimes only a fourth, or still less proportion of the produce.

(C) (i) Holdings in *shilotri* tenure (called also *sarroter*) consisted of lands said to have been acquired on favourable terms of tenure by purchase from the Portuguese, which property was respected throughout the subsequent revolutions.

(ii) *Shilotri* lands also consisted of certain plots of ground gained from the sea by embankment or brought into cultivation from the jungle or forest at the personal expense of individuals, who thence continued to pay thereon in several instances a fixed quit rent without reference to the produce.

(D) Some of the coarser grains, pulse and vegetables were raised, to a very limited extent, in a few available spots in the *dongar* or hills whence this was known under the name of *dongar* or hill cultivation (Sections II, III and IV).

Every possible excuse was taken to make various additions to the land revenue. To these Portuguese added a few including a basketful of paddy as a wedding gift to a Portuguese proprietor's daughter which in one village became permanent.

15. Among these taxes one of the most interesting was *fary serotare*, a small money rent levied from the Kunbies for their being allowed to raise vegetables on the general barnyard of the village. There were numerous other taxes during the Portuguese or pre-Portuguese times. The Mahrattas added largely to these. The most notable among the Mahratta additions was *mohiturje* tax on professions and industries and *gharpatty*, a tax on houses at the rate quarter to one rupee per *chula* or fire-place (s. 8).

16. Taxes on industries and professions are calculated to check growth and increase the price of the articles they produce. They were based on a policy, the reverse of the policy of subsidizing industries adopted with success in several countries, notably Germany and Japan, for which there is a strong demand among a section of political economists in India.

17. From the outcry in some quarters against the Abkari policy of the British Government one would fancy that it is the creation of the present rulers of India. But the history recorded in Regulation I of 1808 affords us a glimpse into the excise policy of the old Indian rajas as well as that of the Portuguese and Mahrattas which gives a lie to the theory. We are apt to overlook the fact that the use and abuse of liquor had been widely prevalent in India long before the advent of the Europeans and Manu's laws and Yajnyavalkya lay down punishment for excessive drinking. The *praschit* of drinking boiling liquor is prescribed in case of the twice-born transgressing the laws enjoined against drinking any liquor (Manu XI, 91-92). The Portuguese imposed the ancient tax on the caste of Bhandaris for the liberty of extracting liquor from trees and levied a tax called *rend-daru* (*renda* signifying a farm in Portuguese) for the exclusive right of selling toddy and *inowrah* arrack and tax on Bhandaris (called *rend-bhutty*) for the licence of distilling and selling the spirit at their own house (s. 6 of Bombay regulation of 1808). The Mahratta elaborated this Abkari system with the addition of taxes from particular arrack shops (s. 10 *ibid*).

18. The tax gathering among the Mahratta was entrusted largely to farmers—a practice at first followed by the East India Company both in Bengal and the Bombay Presidency. The disastrous results of the heavy taxation on so many counts, entrusted for collection to farmers is briefly but graphically described in section 28 of Regulation I of 1808.

19. The Bombay Government vigorously applied at the close of the 18th century to do away with the farming system and succeeded

in most cases and adopted the following measures for restoring the island to the old prosperous condition :—

- (1) They declared old holders of the land perpetual proprietors of their tenures subject to the condition of paying one-third of the average crop instead of half as under the Portuguese Government.
- (2) Many of the old taxes connected with the land revenue under various excuses were abolished.
- (3) A number of villages leased in perpetuity or for long periods to capitalists—Europeans, Parsis and others—with a view to inducing them to cultivate osik lands on various conditions among others that the lessees collected the revenue or assessment which could not be increased without the sanction of Government and that they respected the old rights and privileges of the cultivators.

20. The words used in many of the leases are *khotine dile* (given in farm) and the lessee was described to be Khot with certain rights under Ch. VI of Reg. XXVII of 1827. These lessees may therefore be rightly called Khots in the original and strict sense of the term. The character of the tenure on which the Salsette khots held villages puzzled Mr. Westropp when he was Remembrancer of Legal Affairs for the Bombay Government in 1862, but the Privy Council in 1868 in the case of *Ruttunji vs. Collector of Thana* (X. W. R. P. C. 13; 11 M. I. A. 795) with reference to the Ghutkopar Khot held that he was merely a revenue farmer and enjoyed no proprietorship of the soil in any of the lands leased to him and that his title was limited to the particular waste lands described, not to all the waste lands of the village. I mention this ruling here because it is so old that it has been sometimes overlooked in deciding similar or analogous points in the 20th century as if it were an antique relic of ancient times.

21. We shall now see what light Reg. I of 1808 throws on the constitution of villages in Salsette. In this connection we must bear in mind that Salsette originally consisted of 66 villages which still exist with a few additions, out of which 50 have been alienated in khoti or in fee simple as indicated above. The managers of the villages—*mahataras* (old men or elders) or probably a council of elders were retained by the Portuguese (s. 6). To these a patil and a karkun were added during the Mahratta times. From *mohturfi* or tax on professions and industries levied by the Mahrattas it would appear that there existed a number of village artisans—the shoemaker, the blacksmith, carpenter, priest of temples, who were a sort of *balutedars*

entitled to some dues from the villagers as in Konkan and Deccan. Patils and Mahataras took cognizance of village disputes (s. 55).

22. In my paper on village communities in Savantvadi read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay (Vol. VIII of its Journal p. 490), I have shown how there exist still vestiges of the old village community life in that part of Konkan. We find some indications of village community organization in Salsette. A village in the West and East as pointed out by Sir Henry Maine in his *Village Communities* comprises (a) the village site or township, (b) the cultivated area and (c) the common mark or waste.

In Salsette the first is the *gaonthan*, the second is the cultivated paddy or rice lands and the third the common grazing lands and waste lands. In India common pastures do not occupy such an important place as in the West, since we need cattle mostly for tillage, not for its meat. Yet there is considerable *gurucharn* land in Salsette for grazing for the preservation of which special stipulation was made in meat making grant of villages to the Khot of Malad in S. 55 of Regulation I of 1808. This section also reserves to the villagers the continuation of the use as usual of jungle grass for manuring, the produce of village tanks, common forest timber and unproductive brab trees belonging to Government for house building, firewood from forests, &c.

23. Grass lands in India, as I have pointed out, are not so much of use for grazing purposes as in the West. In Salsette grass lands—once waste and almost useless for any purpose—gradually acquired a high value from the growing demand for grass in Bombay. Hence the Kunbis seem to have gradually acquired exclusive rights over parts of old waste grass lands, which belonged to the village community or to individuals and the hay exported from them was subject under S. 61 of Bombay Regulation I of 1808 to a tax of Rs. 7 on each jangar of two boats, which tax was also exacted from the hayfarmer, who was allowed to cut it from the hills and waste grounds and other spots appertaining to Government.

24. "The so-called waste lands in India," remarks Sir Henry Maine in Lecture IV on *Village Communities*, "are parts of the domain of the various communities which they theoretically are only waiting opportunity to bring under cultivation. Yet this controversy elicited an admission which is of historical interest. It did appear that though the Native Indian Government had for the most part left the village communities entirely to themselves on condition of their paying the revenue assessed upon them, they nevertheless sometimes claimed (though in a vague and occasional way) some exceptional authority

over the waste ; and acting on the precedent the British Government at various settlements of land revenue has not seldom interfered to reduce excessive wastes and re-appropriate uncultivated land among various communities of a district. In connection with this claim and exercise of rights you will call to mind the power vested in the early English kings to make grants of waste to individuals in severalty first with and then without the consent of the Witan and we shall see that the much more extensive rights acquired by the lord over the waste than over the village domain constitutes a point of capital importance on the process known as the feudalization of Europe."

25. A process somewhat on these lines appears to have taken place in the kholi or the landlord villages of Salsette. But it is a question whether Government did transfer to khots occupancy rights acquired over bhati or grass lands which formed portions of the assessable lands of villagers. In a recent case coming from Malad to the High Court of Bombay, this question was answered in the negative.

26. What we have to bear in mind is that the rights of village communities in India over waste lands preceded as a rule the claim made or established by Government or landlords over them. If this were a fact in Salsette, the presumption that arises from it is a matter that belongs to the domain of law, which would be out of place to discuss here.

27. The existence of such a thing as the title of aggregates of individuals, therefore of village communities, to lands in a village is recognised in our land revenue codes (*vide* S. 37 of Bombay L. R. Code). Some of such rights of village communities in Salsette have been indicated above. To what farther extent they may exist and to what extent they are now vested in Government or khots is a question of much interest and importance that has arisen and may arise in many a case before courts for solution.

I shall now close. I have indicated in this paper a few points relating to Salsette antiquities which are I suppose of much interest, but which I have dealt with but adequately. Many of them are of sufficient importance to require more careful handling at the hands of scholars who have more learning and leisure to command than myself.

ART. XXI.—*Ancient Geography and Civilization of
Mahārāshṭra.*¹

By P. V. KANE, M.A., LL.M.

(Read on 29th January 1917.)

The abbreviations employed herein are—

- A. G. I.—Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India.
- A. S. W. I.—Archæological Survey of Western India (Reports of).
- B. G. or Bom. G.—The volumes of the Bombay Gazetteer.
- Bom. S. S.—Bombay Sanskrit Series.
- B. R.—Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World.
- COR. INS. I. or C. I.—Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
- E. I.—Epigraphia Indica.
- I. A.—Indian Antiquary.
- J. B. B. R. A. S.—Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- J. R. A. S.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.
- S. B. E.—Sacred Books of the East Series.
- S. B. H.—Sacred Books of the Hindus.

In the case of the Rāmāyana and the Māhābhārata, the Bombay edition has been used unless otherwise expressly stated.

THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF MAHĀRĀSHṬRA.

The subject of the present essay is the Ancient Geography of Mahārāshṭra as collected from Indian and non-Indian sources.

By 'Ancient Geography' I mean Geography from the earliest times to about 1300 A.D., when the modern period of the history of Mahārāshṭra is generally held to begin. Within the limits of time thus prescribed, I propose to deal with many of the topics that are treated of in ordinary manuals of Geography in modern times, such as the origin of the name of Mahārāshṭra, the extent of territory comprised in it, its political divisions, mountains, rivers, cities, towns, sacred places, population, castes and communities, trade and communications, language and religion, political administration, &c. Though by no means professing to write the ancient History of Mahārāshṭra (which subject has already been treated by a master mind, *viz.*, Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar) it will often be necessary for me to discuss

¹ This paper represents part of the work done as Springer Research Scholar in the Bombay University for 1915-16.

questions that may be thought with greater propriety to belong to the province of ancient History. But ancient History and Geography are very closely connected and the treatment of one cannot but stray into the domain of the other. The two cannot be kept separate in water-tight compartments. History and Geography always act and re-act upon each other.

Before proceeding further it will be well to indicate the various sources which shed light on the ancient Geography of India in general and of Mahārāshtra in particular.

I.—Indian Sources—

(a) Sanskrit Literature—

1. Ancient Vedic Literature.
2. Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patanjali.
3. The two epics, Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata.
4. The Purāṇas, such as Vāyu, Matsya, Viṣṇu, Mārkaṇḍeya, Bhāgavata.
5. Astronomical works, such as the Bṛihatsaṃhitā, the Sūryasiddhānta.
6. Dramas, poems and romances, such as the Bālarāmāyaṇa of Rājaśekhara, the Meghadūta, the Raghuvaṃśa, the Daśakumāra Charita.
7. Other Sanskrit works, such as the Kāmasūtra, the Yogabhāṣya of Vyāsa, the Bṛhatkathāmanjarī, the Rājataranginī, the Kāvyaṇuśāsana of Hemachandra and Vāgbhaṭa, local Māhātmyas, embodying traditional and often fanciful information.

(b) Buddhist Literature, such as the Jātakas, the Dīpa Vaṃśa and Mahāvamśa.

(c) Jain Literature.

(d) Inscriptions on stone and copper published in various books and journals.

(e) Coins.¹

¹ Ancient coins have been of very great use in settling vexed questions in History. They are not, however, of much use in purely geographical questions. Still, there are coins impressed with well-known geographical names, e.g., see Rapson's Indian Coins (1897), p. 24.

where we have the names शिव, त्रिपुरी, Ujjain on coins of the 2nd and 3rd centuries B. C.

II.—Ancient non-Indian Sources—

- (a) Classical notices of India in the works of Herodotus, Ktesias, Megasthenes, Arrian, Ptolemy, in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea.
- (b) Accounts of Chinese Pilgrims, such as Fa Hian, Hiouen Tsang, I-tsing.
- (c) Mahomedan writers, like those in Elliot's History of India, Vol. I, and Alberuni.
- (d) European travellers like Marco Polo, Friar Odoric, Friar Jordanus.

III.—Modern works on History and antiquities, such as the writings of Dr. Bhandarkar, Dr. Fleet, Mr. Vincent Smith.

Earliest traces of intercourse with the Deccan.

As the ancient Aryans were settled in the Punjab, there are naturally no references in the ancient Vedic literature to any place that belongs to the peninsula of India. The most ancient reference that points to the south is perhaps in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII, 18), where the Andhras, Puṇḍras,¹ Śabarās, Pulindas and Mūtibas² are mentioned as degenerate tribes. So also in the same Brāhmaṇa (VII, 34, 9), the Prince Bhima is called Vaidarbha (of Vidarbha, modern Berar) and is said to have received instruction from Parvata and Nārada regarding the substitutes for Soma juice. Prof. Macdonell's Vedic Index says that Vidarbha occurs as the name of a place only in the Jaiminiya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa, where Māsālas (dogs) are said to kill tigers. Vidarbhi-Kaundinya is the name of a teacher mentioned in the first two Vamśas in the Bṛihadāraṇyakopanishad (II, 6, 3; IV, 6, 21). Vaidarbhi is the patronymic of a Bhārgava in the. Praśno-panishad. Prof. Macdonell sees a reference to Revā (Narmadā) in the name Revottara that occurs in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa several times (XII, 8, 1, 17; XII, 9, 3, 1). These are almost the only notices in the Vedic literature that in any way point to places south of the Vindhya. From this we may safely conclude that even in the latest period of Vedic literature represented by the Upanishads, almost the whole of the country south of the Vindhya was *terra*

¹ The Kāvya-darsa of Daṇḍi associates the city of काञ्ची with पुण्ड्रक Kings 'नासिक्यमध्या परितश्चतुर्वर्णविभूयिता । अस्ति काचित्पुरी यस्यामटवर्णाह्वया नृपाः॥' III. 114. It is extremely doubtful whether the Puṇḍras of the Aitareya are identical with the पुण्ड्रक kings.

² त एतेभ्यः पुण्ड्राः शबराः पुलिन्दा मूतिबा इत्युदन्त्या वदन्ते भवन्ति वैश्वामित्रा दस्यूना भूयिष्ठाः ।

incognita. The river Narmadā or Revā has always been regarded, as we shall see later on, as the dividing line between Āryāvarta and the Deccan. Vidarbha lies on the borderland of Āryāvarta; and the Andhras and other tribes mentioned in the Āitareya Brāhmaṇa most probably lived in Kalinga between the mouths of the Godāvarī and the Kṛishṇā.

We are not in a position to fix the exact point of time when the peninsula of India became known to the Aryans of the north. Yāska in his Nirukta (not later than 500 B. C.) refers to certain customs of the southern people.¹ Whether he means the people of the Deccan is not quite clear. In times later than Yāska's, the people of the peninsula of India came to be called Dākshinātya and their country Dakṣiṇāpatha. In Pāṇini's Sūtras, we do not meet with Dakṣiṇāpatha. But out of the numerous geographical names occurring in his Sūtras, there are two that point to the southern portion of India. In Aṣṭādhyāyī, IV, 1, 170 and 173 he refers to the two countries named Āśmaka and Kalinga.² The Arthasāstra (300 B. C.) of Kauṭilya, while giving the extent of rainfall in various countries, refers to the countries of Āśmaka and Aparānta.³ We shall see later on that Āśmaka was the name of the country round about the Ajanta caves. As geographical names have a tendency to persist, we shall not be quite wrong if we assume that Pāṇini refers to this country. Kalinga is the country which corresponds to the northern part of the Madras Presidency between the mouths of the Kṛishṇā and the Godāvarī. The word Dakṣiṇāpatha is, however, found as early as the Baudhāyana Śrauti which quotes a Gāthā of the Bhṛguvins.⁴ The Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya contains an interesting discussion as to the relative superiority of trade routes radiating to the south from Pātāliputra to those going to the north.⁵

¹ See निरुक्त III 5 (Rinb) 'अध्रातृकेव पुंसः पितृनेत्यभिमुत्सी सन्तानकर्मणे पिण्डदानाय न पनि गर्तसिद्धिर्नैव धनलाभाय दाक्षिणाजो तं तत्र यापुत्रा यापनिका सारोहति तं तत्रक्षिराग्रति सा रिक्थं लभते.'

² 'मान्वावयव-प्रपयधकलकृदावमकादिस्' IV, 1, 171.

³ 'द्व्यञ्जमगधकलिङ्गमूरमसदस्' IV, 1, 172.

⁴ 'येडशदीर्णं जःकृन्वानां वर्धमानमःवर्धमानूपाणां देशापाणामध्वयदीशशस्त्रकानां वयोविशानिरवन्तीनाममितपपरात्नानां हेमन्यानां च कालतः' अधिकरण II, p. 115.

⁵ 'वैधापनमृति (आनन्दधर्म edition) I, p. 29 and 31' अध्यायश्च भावविनो गायामुदाहरति । अवन्तयोऽगमगन्धाः सुराद्रा दक्षिणापथाः । उपावृत्तिन्धुसौवीरा एते संकीर्णयोनयः ।

⁶ 'म्यलपथेऽपि हेमवतो दक्षिणापथाःकृत्यान् हस्वक्षगन्धदन्ताजिनःपुष्पवर्णपण्याःस्सारवन्तराः' इत्याचर्याः । नेति कीदृन्त्यः कःवलाजिनाश्चपण्यवर्जाः शङ्खवज्रमणिमुक्ताः सुवर्णपण्याश्च प्रभूततया दक्षिणापथे ।' अधिकरण VII, p. 278 (text).

In the Mahābhārata the word Dakṣiṇāpatha occurs frequently. In the Sabhāparva (31. 17) we are told that Sahadeva went to Dakṣiṇāpatha after conquering the Pāṇḍyas. From the Vanaparva we learn that Dakṣiṇāpatha was to be reached after crossing Avantī and mountain Rikṣa.¹ In the Bhīṣmaparva we are told that Nila, King of Māhishmati, with troops called Nilāyudhas from Dakṣiṇāpatha fought on the side of the Kauravas (Cal. Ed. of 1834, verse 375). In the Nānāghat inscription (No. 1 in A. S. W. I., Vol. V, p. 60) Vedisiri is mentioned as the king of Dakṣiṇāpatha about 200 B. C. In the Rāmāyaṇa, Dakṣiṇāpatha is enumerated along with Saurāṣṭra (II, 10, 37). Patañjali (140 B. C.) in his Mahābhāṣya (on Pūṇini, I, 1, 19) says that in Dakṣiṇāpatha a great lake is called Sarasi instead of "Saras." In the well-known Gīrnar inscription of the Kṣhātrapa Rudradāman (150 A. D.) Sātakarni is spoken of as the king of Dakṣiṇāpatha.² One of the Nasik inscriptions mentions Dakṣiṇāpatha (A. S. W. I., IV, p. 110). The Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta (middle of the 4th century A. D.) mentions several kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha vanquished by that brilliant Gupta Emperor.³ It is not necessary to refer to writers later than the 4th century A. D. Among ancient foreign books, it is the Periplus (1st century A. D.) that first mentions Dakṣiṇāpatha (Dakṣiṇāpatha).⁴ Fa Hian (in India from 399 to 415 A. D.) speaks of a country called 'Ta-thsin' Dakṣiṇa, which seems to correspond with the narrower sense of Dakṣiṇāpatha (for which see further on). He says "Going two yojanas south from this, there is a country called 'Ta-thsin'. Here is a Sanghārāma of the former Buddha Kāśyapa. It is construct-

एते गच्छन्ति बहवः पन्थानो दक्षिणापथम् ।
अवन्तोमृक्षवन्तं च समतिक्रम्य पर्वतम् ॥
एष विन्ध्यो महाशैलः पयोध्नी च समुद्रगा ॥
एष पन्था विदर्भाणामसौ गच्छति कौसलान् ।
अतः परं च देशोऽयं दक्षिणे दक्षिणापथः ॥'

Vanaparva, Chap. 61, 21-22.

This was said by Nala when leaving Nishadha. If properly interpreted these verses mean that while going from Nishadha to Dakṣiṇāpatha one had to cross the territory of Avantī (Eastern Malva) and Rikṣa Parvata (probably the Śālpura Range), that several roads led from Nishadha to Dakṣiṇāpatha and that Vidarbha formed part of Dakṣiṇāpatha.

¹ 'दक्षिणापथे हि महान्ति सरासि सरस्य इत्युच्यन्ते ।' Vol. I, p. 73 (Kielhorn) In another place he speaks of the Dakṣiṇāpathas as being very fond of नदित 'प्रियताक्षिता दाक्षिणात्याः' Vol. I, p. 8.

² I. A. Vol. VII, p. 262; A. S. W. I., II, p. 123.

³ See Cor. Ins. I., Vol. III, p. 7.

⁴ See I. A., Vol. VIII., p. 145.

ed out of a great mountain of rock hollowed to the proper shape. . . . The country of 'Ta-thsin' is precipitous and the roads dangerous.¹

I have thus traced the occurrence of the name Dakṣiṇāpūtha from the times of the Baudhāyana Smṛiti (500 B. C.) to the times of Samudragupta and Fa-Hian.²

I shall next turn to other places in the peninsula of India referred to in ancient records.

Kātyāyana in his Vārtikas has several important allusions to places in the south. He mentions a country named Mahishmān (in his Vārtika on Pāṇini, IV, 2.87) and the Pāṇḍyas (in Vārtika on Pāṇini, IV, 1.168). Is it too much to suppose that this country called Mahishmān is identical with the Mahisamagḍala referred to in the Mahāvamśa and with Māhishmati, a city on the Narmadā? The countries of Chola and Kerala are included in the Kambojādigaṇa³ and Kishkindhā is mentioned in the Pāraskarādigaṇa (Pāṇini, VI, 1.157). The edicts of Aśoka furnish very interesting information about the peninsula of India. The 2nd Rock Edict mentions the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, Satiyaputa and Ketalā (Kerala) puta.⁴ The 5th Rock Edict speaks of the Rāṣṭikas and the Petepikas and the Aparāntas.⁵ Who the Rāṣṭikas were is not settled beyond doubt. General Cunningham thought it to be a name of Surāshṭra (Kathiawar). The word corresponds to the Sanskrit word Rāṣṭrika and may have been employed to denote

¹ See Beal's Fa-hien, Vol. I, p. LXVIII.

² The prevalence of the name of Dakṣiṇāpūtha gave rise to the term Uttarāpūtha for the whole or some portion of Northern India. In the Harshacharita we read that Rājyavardhana was sent to Uttarāpūtha to vanquish the Hūnas. (Bom. S. S. P. 210). In a Chalukya grant the Emperor Harsha is called the sovereign of उत्तरापथ (J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. 14, p. 26 श्रीमदुत्तरापथाधिपतिश्रीहर्षपराज्योपलब्धपरनामधेयः.....श्रीपुलकेशिवरमः). In another grant Pulakesi II is described as 'समस्तसत्तकलीनरापथेश्वरश्रीहर्षवर्धनपराज्योपलब्धपरमेश्वरापरनामधेयः सत्याश्रयः श्रीपृथ्वीवरममहाराजः' (I. A. Vol. 8, p. 46). In the घटजातक (Cowell, Vol. IV, p. 50, No. 434) a king महाकेश is said to have reigned in उत्तरापथ in the कंस district. A Buddhist inscription of the 10th Century has उत्तरापथ for Northern India (I. A. Vol. 17, pp. 307-309). The बृहत्संहिता (9.31) and the भागवतपुराण (9.2.16) refer to उत्तरापथ. Is 'Utarāha' in a Nasik inscription (B. G. Vol. 16, p. 587; A.S.W.I., IV, p. 114) a Prakrit equivalent of उत्तरापथ? The Commentator of the कामसूत्र identifies उत्तरापथ with Bahlika (II 5, p. 129). Horse-dealers from उत्तरापथ are spoken of in the Pārāṣika (Vinayapitaka, Vol. III, p. 6).

³ कम्बोजादिभ्य इति वक्तव्यम् ' बार्हिक on IV, 1.175.

⁴ See A.S.W. I., Vol. II, p. 66.

⁵ See A. S. W. I., Vol. II, p. 72.

the people of that country that afterwards came to be called Mahārāshṭra. The Petenikas are generally regarded to be so denominated after Pratishṭhāna (Modern Paithan). The words 'Anye Āparantā' occurring in the 5th Edict at Khalsi, Girnar and Dhauli, if interpreted as meaning 'other western countries,' lead to the conclusion that the Rāṣṭrikas and Petenikas must have been some people in the west. The 13th Rock Edict mentions the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, Andhras, Pulindas and couples the Bhojas and Petenikas (Petenikya at Khalsi) together.¹ The Bhojas ruled in the Bernrs for several centuries.² The Vārtikas of Kātyāyana mention the Bhojas as Kshatriyas.³ The Bhārhut Stupa (200 B.C.) in the Central Provinces records in an inscription on one of the pillars of the railing a gift from Gorakṣitī (Gorakshitā) of Nāsik.⁴ The Nānāghat inscription points out that about 200 B. C. the country about Junnar was the seat of civilization and Brahmanical culture. Patanjali in his Mahābhāṣya notices Kānchipura, Kerala, Māhishmatī, Nāsikya (Nasik) and Vaidarbha.⁵ In the times of the Suttanipāta we meet with the story that the disciples of Bāvuri with their faces turned to the north went to Patishṭhāna of Alaka first, then to Mahissati and then to Ujjeni.⁶ The Periplus of the Erythraean sea speaks of Paethana (modern Paithan) and Tagara as two specially important market towns of Dakshināpatha (Dakshināpatha).⁷ Ptolemy also mentions Baithana as the royal seat of Ptolemaios (Pulumāyi).⁸

Taking all that has been said above about Dakshināpatha and the notices of various places and countries in the peninsula of India, we can affirm that several centuries before the Christian era, the whole of the peninsula from Cape Comorin to the Narmadā had been explored, that it contained populous and prosperous cities at that period and that it was divided into several well-organized kingdoms.

I shall now try to point out the extent of the country known as Dakshināpatha. The word seems to have been used in some cases for the whole of the peninsula from the Setu to the Narmadā, as for

¹ See A. S. W. I., Vol. II, pp. 85-87.

² भीमक king of the Bhojas in Bhājakata and called ruler of the दाक्षिणात्य submitted to जरासन्ध. See for references J. R. A. S. for 1908, p. 315.

³ See Vārtika, on 919 IV, 180.

⁴ Cunningham's Bhārhut Stupa, p. 138.

⁵ 'नासिकगोरखितपथमो दानं समुक्त भारियाय.'

⁶ Vol. II, p. 298 (काञ्चीपुर, काञ्चीपुरक); Vol. II, p. 270 (केरल); Vol. II, p. 35 (माहिष्मती); Vol. III, p. 42 (नासिक्य नगरमिति संकाशादिषु पाठः करिष्यते).

⁷ See S. B. E., Vol. 10 (Part 2) p. 188.

⁸ Schöff's Periplus, p. 43, Section 51.

⁸ M'crindle's Ptolemy, p. 175.

example in the grant of the eastern Chālukya King Vishṇu-Vardhana Rājārāja I, which speaks of the founder Vishṇu Vardhana as having conquered the seven and a half lakṣi Dakṣiṇāpāthā¹ between the Setu and the Narmadā. So also in the inscription of Samudragupta Piṣṭapura (modern Pithapuram in the Madras Presidency), Eranda-palla (Erandol in Khandesh), Kānchl, Vengi and Devarāṣṭra are included in Dakṣiṇāpāthā, i.e., it covered the whole of the peninsula from the Narmadā to Cape Comorin. The Purāṇas understand the word Dakṣiṇāpāthā in the same sense. (See Vāyu, Chap. 45, 109 ff.; Matsya, Chap. 114; Brahma, Chap. 27, 54 ff.) But the word Dakṣiṇāpāthā was usually understood as designating a more limited territory excluding Malabar and the Tamil countries and covering a large portion of modern Berar, the Central Provinces, the Nizam's Dominions and the whole of Mahārāṣṭra excluding the Kāṁkan, i.e., the country a little below the Narmadā and above the Kṛṣṇā.² As Sahadeva is said in the Mahābhārata to have gone to Dakṣiṇāpāthā after conquering the Pāṇḍyas, it follows that the Pāṇḍya territory in the extreme south of India was not included in Dakṣiṇāpāthā.³ The Vāyu-purāṇa mentions the Godāvari, the Kṛṣṇā and others as rivers of Dakṣiṇāpāthā rising in the Sahya mountain, but does not style the Tāpī and the Narmadā in that way. Hence it may be assumed that they were not looked upon by the author of that Purāṇa as included in Dakṣiṇāpāthā. The Periplus seems to have included in Dakṣiṇāpāthā all the country from Barygaza (Branch) to Naura and Tyndis, the first markets of Damirica (i.e., the Dravida country). The term 'Deccan' in modern times is similarly employed to designate the whole of the peninsula from the Narmadā to Cape Comorin.⁴ The commentator of the Kāmasūtra

¹ See E. L. Vol. IV, p. 303. 'सेतुनर्मदामध्ये सार्धसप्तलक्षे दक्षिणापथे पालयामास.' राजशेखर in his बालरामायण VI Act (Bonares Pañjī, Vol. III for 1868-70, p. 131) speaks of Revā (Narmadā) as the dividing line between आर्यावर्त and दक्षिणापथ 'या किल भगवतो आर्यावर्तदक्षिणापथयोर्विभागेरेखा.'

² See Foulke, in I. A. Vol. 16 at p. 31 Bom. G. Vol. 1, part 2, p. 133.

³ सभाषर्ष 31, 16-18 'युयुधे पाण्डुब्राह्मेण दिक्षे मुकुलानुजः ॥ तं जिन्वा स महाबाहुः प्रययौ दक्षिणापथम् । गुह्यमासादग्रामास किङ्किन्वा लोकाविभुताम् ॥ ततो रत्नानुपुरादाय पुरं माहिष्मतीं प्रयौ ।'

⁴ See Schöff's Periplus, p. 34.

⁵ In this sense, it is that part of भरतवर्ष, which was beyond the pale of Āryavarta. The Baudhāyana Smṛiti says 'The country of the अर्यैः lies to the east of the region where the river Sarasvatī disappears, to the west of the black forest, to the north of the पारिदात्र mountain and to the south of हिमालय.' ('माग्विश्वशनादत्रत्यकालकवनात् दक्षिणेन हिम-

says that Dakṣiṇāpātha is the country to the south of the Narmadā. It also more usually denotes the territory between the Narmadā and the Kṛishṇā and pretty closely corresponds with Mahārāshtra when used in an extended sense.¹ The term Dakṣiṇāpātha was thus applied in the centuries preceding and immediately following the Christian era to that territory which was also called Mahārāshtra in later times.

MAHĀRĀSHTRA.

I shall now take up the question as to the early notices of Mahārāshtra. The term Mahārāshtra as the name of a country does not occur so far as is at present known in any record before the Christian era. It does not occur in the Rāmāyaṇa nor in the Mahābhārata; though the Purāṇas mention the country of Mahārāshtra (Vāyu, 45, 110 and Brahma 27, 55 and Mārkaṇḍeya, 57, 46, all of which put the Māhishikas or Māhishakas after Mahārāshtra; while the Matsya, Chap. 114, reads Navarāshtra before Māhishika). Probably the earliest unmistakable reference to Mahārāshtra occurs in the Mahāvamśa, the Chronicle of Ceylon, the traditional date of which is 459-474 A. D.² The Mahāvamśa mentions that certain Theros were sent as missionaries to several countries by Moggalliputta Tissa in the 17th year of the reign of Aśoka. 'He deputed the Thero Majjhantiko to Kashmir and Gāndhāra and the Thero Mahādevo to Mahisamaṇḍala. He deputed the Thero Rakkhito to Vannavāsi and the Thero Yonadhamma-Rakkhito to Aparantaka; he deputed the Thero Mahādhammarakkhito to Mahāratta; the Thero Mahārakkhita to the Yona country.'³ Then again we read

इन्तमुदक् पारियात्रे तदार्यावर्ते तस्मिन् य आचारः स प्रमाणम् । गंगायमुनयोरन्तरमित्येके
बौधायन I. 1.27-28; S. B. E. Vol. 14, p. 147). Patanjali in his Mahābhāṣya gives the
same limits of आर्यावर्त. (' प्रागादशात् प्रत्यक्षालकवनान् दक्षिणेन हिमवन्तमुत्तरेण
पारियात्रम् ' Kielhorn, Vol. I, 475 and Vol. III, 174.) The मनुस्मृति II, p. 32) places
आर्यावर्त between the eastern and western oceans and between the हिमालय and the विन्ध्य
(आसमुद्रानुवे पूर्वादासमुद्रानु पश्चिमात् । तयोरिवान्तरं गिर्योरार्यावर्तं विदुर्बुधाः II). The अमरकोश
says ' आर्यावर्तः पुण्यभूमिर्मध्ये विन्ध्यहिमागयोः '

¹ See V. A. Smith's "Early History of India," Chap. 15, p. 423 (3rd edition); Allyn's "Ancient India," p. 29. Dr. Bhattacharya appears to take the term "Deccan" in this restricted sense in his History of the Deccan.

² But Dr. Fleet holds that the महावंश was composed between 520-540 A.D. *Vish. J. R. A. S.* for 1907, p. 317. See also Introduction to the महावंश by Geiger and Bode, p. XII 'धनुसेन reigned at the beginning of the 6th century after Christ. About this time the महावंश was composed'.

³ Turnour's Mahāvamśa, p. 71; Geiger's Mahāvamśa Chap. XII, p. 82 and p. 85; see also Vinayapitaka (Oldenberg), Vol. III, p. 314, the Samantapāsādikā, which mentions the same countries and missionaries.

'the sanctified disciple Mahādhamma-rakkhito repairing to Mahāratta preached the Mahānarada-Kassapa Jātaka'.¹ The *Bijhat-samhitā* of Varāhamihira (about 550 A.D.) mentions the people of Mahārāshtra.² In the Aihole inscription of 634 A.D. the Chālukya Saityāshraya Pulakesi II is praised as having attained to the position of the overlord of the three Mahārāshtrakas.³ The famous Chinese traveller, Hiouen Tsiang, who was in India between 629-645 A.D., names Mahārāshtra as Moholach and gives very interesting and detailed information about it.⁴ The *Kāmasūtra* in a coarse way registers the peculiarities of the women of Mahārāshtra. The Prakrit grammar of Vararuchi refers to Mahārāshtri as the Prakrit *par excellence*. That the term Mahārāshtri, when used for a Prakrit dialect, must be connected with the country of Mahārāshtra is expressly stated by Daṇḍin⁵ (6th century A.D.).

The above data go to establish beyond the possibility of doubt that from the 5th century at all events the term Mahārāshtra began to be employed as the name of a country.

But the matter does not rest here. We can urge, though not without hesitation, that the name Mahārāshtra goes back to a few centuries before the Christian era. As the Mahāvamsa is based upon ancient traditions, it is not unlikely that the names of the various countries mentioned by it as the centres of the proselytising activities of Buddhist Missionaries had come down to it from ancient times and were not invented by it. Then we have to note that in several inscriptions at Nanaghat, Bhaja, Karle and Kanheri (ranging from 200 B.C. to 200 A.D.) male donors have the appellation Mahārātri prefixed to their names and female donors are designated Mahārātrini.⁶ The

¹ Turnour's *Mahāvamsa*, p. 74.

² *बृहत्संहिता* (Kern's ed.) 10.8 'भार्ये रत्नविक्रयिणः पण्यक्रीकन्यका महाराष्ट्रः'

³ I. A., Vol. 8, p. 247 ff. 'अगमदधिपतित्वं यो महाराष्ट्रकाणां नवनवतिमहस्रपामभाजां त्रयाणाम् ॥'

⁴ See Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 255 ff.; Beal's *Life of Hiouen Tsiang*, p. 146; *Bom. G. I., Part II*, p. 184; Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 353 ff.

⁵ कात्यायनश्री. I. 34 'महाराष्ट्रथया भाषां प्रकृष्टं प्राकृतं विदुः'.

⁶ See A. S. W. I., Vol. V, p. 60 (Nanaghat No. 1) 'वेदिसिरिस'.....महारटिनो; Burgess and Bhagwanlal's cave temples of Western India, p. 24 (Bhaja cave inscription No. 2) 'महारटिस कोसिकीपुत्तस विण्णुदत्तस;'*ibid.* p. 26 (Bedc. Cave No. 2) महाभोजय बालिकाय महादेविय महारटिनिय &c.; *ibid.* p. 28 (Karle inscription No. 2) 'महारटिस गोतिपुवस अगिमिन्नकस;'*A. S. W. I., Vol. V, p. 26* (Kanheri No. 29) 'महाभोजिय बालिकाय महारटिनिय;'*ibid.* J. B. B. R. A. S., vol. V, p. 263 we have a महारटकोसिक.

bearing of this on the origin of the term Mahārāshtra will be discussed later on. Scholars like Dr. Stevenson and Dr. Bhagvanlal think that the terms 'Mahārāthi' and Mahārāhini' in these places mean 'great warrior' and 'wife of a great warrior' respectively. But I submit, with great deference to these eminent scholars, that there are serious objections against their interpretations. In the first place there is no great propriety in calling a person a 'Mahārāthi' (great warrior) in making a brief votive dedication. Moreover, if we scan the numerous inscriptions contained in the books referred to in the note above, we shall find that they generally register the donor's domicile, his residence, his rank and position, his clan or family, his occupation, and his relationship by blood or otherwise to other people. In this light to interpret 'Mahārāthi' as meaning 'one who belongs to the country or clan of 'Mahārātha' would be very natural and appropriate. Besides it is not clear that all the donors to whose name the appellation 'Mahārāthi' is prefixed were such persons as to deserve the high sounding title 'Mahārāthi'. On the contrary some of them at least appear to have been persons of a more peaceful turn of mind. It will be seen from the inscriptions to be found at the places referred to above that the donor's name is almost invariably preceded by a word denoting his place of residence in the ablative or by some derivative word co-ordinated with the donor's name (wherever his place of residence or domicile is at all intended). There is no reason why this should not be so in the case of Mahārāthi or Mahārātha. But the most formidable objection is that the interpretation entirely begs the question at issue. To those who affirm that the term 'Mahārāthi' signifies a person of the country or clan of 'Mahārātha', it would not be a satisfactory answer to say that, as Mahārāshtra is specifically mentioned as a country only from the 5th Century A. D., the term 'Mahārāthi' must be interpreted differently. The only way of making their interpretation doubtful would be by showing that in parts of India other than Mahārāshtra and in connection with persons who could not have belonged to Mahārāshtra, the term 'Mahārāthi' is used in Prakrit epigraphical records of the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era in the sense of 'great warrior.'

I think therefore it is possible (I do not use a stronger phrase) that Mahārāshtra was so called from about 200 B. C. (the age of the Nanaghat inscription) if not earlier.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME MAHĀRĀSHTRA.

It is unfortunate that scholars are not at one as to the origin of the term Mahārāshtra. It was Molesworth who in this Marathi Dictionary (Intro. page 23) started the startling theory that Mahārāshtra was

so called after the Mahārs, one of the lowest castes among Hindus, the members of which are untouchable. The Rev. Dr. John Wilson lent the weight of his authority to that theory.¹ He quotes the Marathi proverb गांव आहे तेथे महाराजा आहे in support of his opinion and compares the word with Gurjara-rāshṭra, Saurāshṭra or Saurā-rāshṭra (the country of Śūras). The idea of these venerable scholars seems to be that the Mahārs represent the aboriginal races of the present Mahārāshṭra, who were vanquished by the Aryan invaders from the north and that the conquerors called the land the conquered aborigines inhabited after the latter. I frankly own that I fail to understand how the Marathi proverb supports the theory that Mahārāshṭra is the country of Mahārs. All that the proverb literally means is that the Mahārs are to be found in every village and it implies nothing more than the expression 'black sheep' does in English. This theory finds believers even now.² Oppert identifies the Mallas with the Mahārs and says "Mahārāshṭra was also called 'Mallarāshṭra,' the country of the Mallas. The Mallas are the same as Māras, who are better known as Mārs or Mhārs. Mhār was eventually transformed into Mahār; in fact both forms exist in modern Marathi. Two terms identical in meaning Mallarāshṭra and Mahārāshṭra were thus used. The former dropped into oblivion and with the waning fortunes of the Mahārs their connection with the name was soon forgotten and Mahārāshṭra was explained as meaning the 'Great Kingdom' instead of the kingdom of Mahārs or Mallas" ('on the original inhabitants of Bharatvarsha,' 1893, p. 22, and footnote). A more uncritical passage than this it would be difficult to find. Has Dr. Oppert brought forward any single epigraphic record of the ancient Mahār kings of Mahārāshṭra? By what philological laws does he identify Malla with Mhār? Has he shown any ancient Sanskrit writings locating the Mallas in what is Mahārāshṭra at present? Parvāri, which Dr. Wilson identified with Ptolemy's Pouravaroī, is not the name of a tribe but an official designation. It is the same as Patavāri, the holder of a Paṭṭa, a royal or other grant on copper or a piece of cloth (*i.e.*, a village or other officer). Reliance is placed on what the Mahārs say as to their being the original inhabitants. Granting that they are so, it does not necessarily follow that Mahārāshṭra was so named after them. There are numerous scholars who dismiss this theory of the origin of the name Mahārāshṭra as untenable. It is not explained how of all others it was the Mahārs,

¹ See I. A. Vol. III, p. 221.

² See Baden-Powell in J. R. A. S. for 1899, p. 303, footnote 2.

³ *E.g.*, See Sir Walter Elliott in I. A., Vol. 15, p. 268.

who are lowest in the social scale that gave a name to the country. In the case of the Gurjaras we can understand a country being designated after them, as they were conquerors. Epigraphy has failed to bring forward the slightest trace of the conquest of Mahārāshṭra by the Mahārs at any period of history. There are scholars who would identify the Mahārs with the Mibīras (Persian 'Mihr') and Maitrakas who were a branch of the Hūpas that under Toramāṇa and Mihirakula overthrew the early Guptas in Kathiawar and in their turn met their match in the Senāpati Bhatārka¹ of Valabhi. Granting for a moment the correctness of this identification, it is not clear how Mahārāshṭra came to be called after them. Ancient history does not tell us when the Mibīras or Maitrakas overran the Maratha country as they are said to have overrun Sindh, Rajputana and Kathiawar. If the Mahārs were like the Maitrakas conquerors, no explanation is offered why they fell so low in the social scale in subsequent times. But the best reason for rejecting this theory of the identity of the Maitrakas with the Mahārs and of Mahārāshṭra being named after the Mahārs is furnished by the data mentioned above as to the times when Mahārāshṭra came to be so called. The Hūpas under Toramāṇa and Mihirakula fought the Gupta Emperors in the latter half of the 5th Century A. D.² But we have already seen that the Mahāvamśa composed about the same time mentions Mahārāṣṭha as the name of a country. Hence the term Mahārāshṭra had come into vogue at least as early as the time when the Hūpas under Toramāṇa were fighting Skandagupta. If we accept the theory that Mahārāshṭra was so named after the Mahārs by the Aryan invaders in the dawn of the history of the Deccan, it is not unreasonable to expect that the earliest references to the country south of the Vindhya should mention Mahārāshṭra. Instead of the latter, we find such names as Āśmaka and Dakṣiṇāpatha. Eminent scholars like Dr. Fleet think that the earliest mention of Mahārāshṭra as a country is that in the Mahāvamśa. But it can never be said that the present Mahārāshṭra was conquered by the Aryan invaders only in the 6th Century A.D. or thereabouts. Aryan culture had spread over Mahārāshṭra several centuries before the date of the Mahāvamśa.

¹ Oppert (in his book mentioned above p. 47) says that Mahrwara (Ajmere) and Marwar (Jodhpur) are the ancient home of the Mahārs. See I. A., Vol. 15, pp. 361-62, where the Mehars are traced to Kathiawar even now and in Merwada in Rajputana; *Vide* Bom. G. I., part 1, p. 87, for the identification of Maitrakas with Mibīras, the Medh or Mierh tribe; Bom. G. I., part 1, pp. 135-36. Dr. Fleet (Intro. to Gupta inscriptions, p. 12) suggests that the Maitrakas, that is, the Mibīras, were the particular family or clan among the Hūpas to which तौरमण and मिहिरकुल belonged. But see against this J. R. A. S. for 1905, p. 4.

² See Cor. Ins. I, Vol. 3, pp. 54 and 800; Bom. G., Vol. I, part 1, p. 135.

What then is the origin of the term Mahārāshṭra? Two solutions seem possible. The one is very ably set forth by Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar in his 'Early History of the Deccan.' 'The Rāshṭrikas or— according to Mansehra version Raṭrakas, corresponding to the Sanskrit Rāshṭrikas, were very likely the people of Mahārāshṭra, for a tribe of the name of Raṭtas has from the remotest times held political supremacy in the Deccan. One branch of it assumed the name Rāshṭrakūṭas and governed the country before the Chālukyas acquired power. . . . In later times chieftains of the name of Raṭtas governed Sugandhavari or Saundatti in the Belgaum District. Bhojas we know ruled over the country of Vidarbha or Berar and also in other parts of the Deccan. . . . Just as the Bhojas called themselves Mahābhojas, the Rāshṭrikas, Raṭtis, Raṭhis or Raṭtas called themselves Mahāraṭhis or Maharāṭhas and thus the country in which they lived came to be called Maharāṭha, the Sanskrit for which is Mahārāshṭra.¹'

This is one way of explaining the origin of the term Mahārāshṭra. The only objection against this explanation is that the connecting links are rather weak. The Rāshṭrakūṭas attained to the sovereignty of the Deccan only in the 8th Century A. D.; while the term Mahārāshṭra came into vogue at least three centuries before that period. It is the Andhrabhūṭiyas or Sātavāhanas, the Vākātakas and the Chālukyas that held the sovereignty of the Deccan in succession from 200 B. C. to about 750 A. D. With great diffidence I make bold to suggest another explanation of the term Mahārāshṭra. Mahārāshṭra means 'great or wide country'. From the remotest times of which historic records are available there was a great forest running through the peninsula of India variously designated Mahākāntāra or Daṇḍakāraṇya or Mahā-tavi. As the great forest came to be gradually cleared up and explored, as towns and villages sprang up, as population increased, this great tract of forest land came to be called Mahārāshṭra as also Mahākān-

¹ Bom. G., Vol. I, part 2, p. 143. But see Bom. G., Vol. I, p. 385, note 2, where Dr. Fleet criticizes the views of Dr. Bhandarkar and takes Mahārāshṭri as meaning 'wife of a great warrior' and calls attention to such Marathi words as पाटकीण, देसाईण &c. His own view is that the राट्कुट connect themselves with the राटोड of Rajputana and Kaneji and that Raṭta is an abbreviation of राट्कुट and not the original name of which राट्कुट is an amplification, as Dr. Bhandarkar thinks. See Bom. G., I, 2, p. 384. There is much to be said in favour of Dr. Fleet's remarks that the forms Rathod and Rāshṭrakūṭa can be easily shown to be closely connected according to the rules of philology. But the meaning he assigns to Mahārāshṭri cannot be accepted for reasons given above. Besides history does not tell us that the Rathods became politically powerful at the time when the name Mahārāshṭra was coined for the first time.

tāra¹. It was probably during the time of the Andhrabhrityas or Sātavāhanas that Mahārāshṭra came to be so called (i.e., about 200 B. C.). The Sātavahanas were very powerful and their dominions extended from the Coromandel Coast on the east to the Ghauts on the west. Paithan was their capital in the western portion of the Deccan. There are many countries the latter portion of the names of which ends in Rāshṭra, the first portion being not always easily explicable. Kathia-

1 See Pargier's article on the Geography of Rāma's exile in J. R. A. S. for 1891, p. 244. He comes to the conclusion that in the times of the Rāmāyana 'Dandaka appears to have been a general name which comprised all the forest from Bundelkhand down to the first Kāshīpā'. According to the list of Tirthas in the Vanaparva (Chap. 83, 40-49) the Dandakāranya seems to have been located somewhere between the Tāpi and Panyashni on the one hand and Central India on the other. Bom. G., Vol. 23, p. 378, says that eight places in the Bijapur District, such as Aivalli, Badāmi, Bagalkot, &c., are connected by local tradition with the Dandak forest. The Rāmāyana speaks of a city called Vaijayanta in Dandakāranya. अयोध्याकाण्ड 9.12 'दिशामाश्रय केकेयी दक्षिणा दण्डकान् प्रति । वैजयन्तमिति ख्यातं पुरं यत्र तिमिध्वजः ॥' Is Vaijayanta the same as Vaijayanti, the Byzantion of Ptolemy? The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa commemorates the Valdarbhas along with the Dandakas (Chap. 37.47 'वर्दमी दण्डकेः सह'). The Ptolemy after referring to the region called Dakshinabades says 'The inland country back from the coast toward the east comprises many desert regions and great mountains; and all kinds of wild beasts, leopards, tigers, elephants, enormous serpents, hyenas, baboons of many sorts and many populous nations as far as the Ganges.' (Schoff's edition, p. 43, Sec. 30). Hiouen-Tsang's travels contain a reference to a wild forest between Kong-Kinnapulo (कौकिलपुर) and Moholacha (महाराष्ट्र). 'From this going north-west we enter a great forest wild, where savage beasts and bands of robbers inflict injury on travellers. Going thus 2400 or 2500 li, we come to the country of Moholacha' (Beal's Buddhist Records, Vol. II, p. 255). Even so late an author as Hemādri locates Deogiri in Seunadeva, which he says was on the confines of the Dandakāranya (Bom. G., I, part 2, p. 231). The Mahaband stone-pillar inscription of समुद्रगुप्त informs us that the region called महाकान्तार formed a part of Dakṣiṇāpatha (Corpus Ins., I, Vol. III, p. 7). The Khos copperplate of महाराजसंक्षेप (गुप्तवत् 209, i.e., 528-29 A. D.) speaks of हस्तिना father of संक्षेप as governing Dabhāla (Bundelkhandā) with the 18 forest kingdoms. (Corpus Ins., III, p. 114). The बृहत्संहिता mentions a country called महादवि in the south 'कर्णाटमहादविचित्रकूटनासिन्धुकोडगिरिचोळ' (Chap. 14, v. 14). In the Uttarākāṇḍa the दण्डकारण्य is located between विन्ध्य and शैव्य and is said to have been originally a prosperous kingdom, ruled by दण्ड the youngest of the hundred sons of इक्ष्वाकु and reduced to a wilderness for his crime in committing a rape on the daughter of भार्गव (Chap. 81, 10, 18-19). The कामसूत्र describes the plight of king दण्डवधभोज, 'who perished for casting amorous eyes toward a Brahmin girl'. The commentator says that his was the same as दण्डकारण्य.

war has, from very ancient times, been named Surāshtra.¹ We do not know for certain why it was called 'a good kingdom'. Perhaps it was so called because it was a fertile or flourishing country. Some explain it as the land of Sus. But what people were called Sus, nobody can definitely say. In various epigraphical records we come across regions called Karmarāshtra, Goparāshtra, Devarāshtra and Pūrvarāshtra, without being able to determine their exact location.² From the details furnished in the note below, it will be seen that all these four regions were included in Dakṣiṇāpātha used in the wider sense. Hence it is possible to derive Mahārāshtra as meaning the 'Great Country'.³

THE EXTENT AND BOUNDARIES OF MAHARASHTRA.

It is difficult to assign exact limits to the extent of Mahārāshtra in ancient times. In modern times the exact boundaries may be approximately obtained by taking the extent of the territories over which the Marathi language is spoken. On the west it extends from

¹. The Baudhāyana Smṛiti mentions सुराष्ट्र as a country with people of mixed origin. *Vide* page 616 above. In the Pāṇiniya Śikṣā a 'Saurāshtrika woman' is referred to. The रामायण speaks of सौराष्ट्र as the allies of दशरथ 'प्राचीनान्स्मिन्धुसौवीरान् सौराष्ट्र्याश्च पार्थिवान्' (I. 13. 27) 'द्रविडाः स्मिन्धुसौवीराः सौराष्ट्र दक्षिणापथाः' (II. 10. 37). In a Nasik inscription of Gotamiputra the Prakrit form Suratha occurs (J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. V., p. 35. 41). In the Girnar inscription of रुद्रदामन्, सुराष्ट्र is mentioned (A. S. W. I. Vol. II, p. 128). In the Junagadh rock-cut inscription of रकन्दगुप्त (455 A. D.) we read 'सर्वेषु भूयैवपि सिंहनेषु यो मे प्रशिष्यान्निखिलान् सुराष्ट्रान्' (Cor. Ins. I. Vol. III, p. 29). A grant of ध्रुवसेन of वलभी dated वलभीसेवन् 310 (629 A. D.) has सुराष्ट्र कालापकपथके भसन्तग्रामः' (I. A. vol. VI., p. 13). See Rom. G. Vol. I., part I., p. 6. 'Its earliest foreign mention is perhaps Strabo's (B. C. 50 to 20 A. D.) 'Saraostus' and Pliny's (A. D. 70) 'Orasura.' Ptolemy and the Periplus call it 'Surastrene.' The Milindapañha (S. B. E. Vol. 26 p. 221) refers to the people of Surastha.

². A कर्मराष्ट्र country is mentioned in an eastern चालुक्य grant (I. A. Vol. 20, p. 106). गोपराष्ट्र seems to be Nasik. नागवर्धन, son of जयसिंह brother of the great पुलकेशि II, made a grant of Halegama in the गोपराष्ट्र district (J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. II, p. 1. 12; J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. 14, p. 26 and Ponn. G. I. part 2, p. 183). In the भीष्मपर्व Chap. 9. 44, we meet with a country called गोपराष्ट्र, देवराष्ट्र is mentioned as a part of दक्षिणापथ conquered by समुद्रगुप्त (Cor. Ins. I. Vol. III, p. 7). V. A. Smith is inclined to identify it with महाराष्ट्र or देवगिरि (J. R. A. S. for 1897, p. 874). The Arang copperplate of श्रीमहाजयराज records a grant of Pannā in the country of पूर्वराष्ट्र from शरभपुर and the Raypur copperplate contains a grant of भीसाहिका in the पूर्वराष्ट्र made from शरभपुर (Corpus Ins. I. Vol. III, pages 291 and 196).

³. Dr. Burnell (Introduction to South Indian Paleography, p. X) said that Rāshtra was a mythological perversion of Ratta, which he held to be equivalent to Canarose and Telugu 'Raddi' or 'Reddi'.

Daman to Goa ; on the north it extends partly to the river Narmadā and in some places to the Tapti, which separates it from Gujarathi. From the neighbourhood of Gavilgad it turns eastward in the direction of Betul and Seoni. From Nagpur it turns towards the south to Chanda and then to the west along the Phinganga river. Then it runs south to the Godāvari, from which in an irregular line it runs southward to Sholipore and Bijapur, from which it gets to the Kṛishṇā which separates it from Canarese ; then it runs south-west and west to Goa.¹ The evidence of language for determining the boundaries of a country is, of course, a very uncertain one. For political and other reasons, languages often come to be spoken by people who originally belonged to a different country altogether and employed a different tongue. In spite of this drawback the boundaries within which a language is current furnish tolerably correct limits for the extent of a country. I hope to be able to show that the boundaries of Mahārāshṭra from ancient times corresponded pretty closely with the boundaries of the Marathi language in modern times.

From the list of countries contained in the Mahāvamsa to which Buddhist Missioinaries were sent by Moggalliputta Tissa, we can form some estimate, though necessarily vague, of the extent of Mahārāshṭra. The countries are Kāśmīra, Gāndhāra, Mahisamaṇḍala, Vanavāsa, Aparantaka, Mahāratta, Yona, Himālaya country, and Suvannabhūmi.² Out of these the four countries beginning with Mahisamaṇḍala clearly belong to the Deccan. Mahisamaṇḍala is the country about Māhishmatī on the Narmadā.³ Vanavāsa is the ancient kingdom of Banavasi (modern North Canara) and Aparantaka is the strip of land between the Sahyādri and the sea called the Konkan. So we shall not be wrong if we assume that 'Mahāratta' was the country between the Narmadā on the north, Konkan on the west and the kingdom of Banavasi on the South. This corresponds very well with the limits of Mahārāshṭra as derived from the boundaries of the Marathi language (except that here Konkan is excluded). The Aihole inscription of 634 A. D. says that there were three Mahārāshṭras which together comprised 99,000 villages.⁴ What these three sub-divisions of Mahā-

¹ See I. A. Vol. III, p. 231, for limits of Marathi and Ben. G. Vol. I, part 2, Introduction to dynasties of the Canarese Districts (for limits of Canarese); see Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VII, p. 1.

² See Geiger's *महावंश*, Chap. XII, pp. 7-8.

³ See Dr. Fleet in J. R. A. S. 1911 p. 816 ff and J. R. A. S. (1912) p. 243 ff; Mr. Rice, however, identifies Mahisamaṇḍala with Mysore; J. R. A. S. 1911, p. 609 and J. R. A. S. 1912 p. 241 and is followed by Mr. Altyagar in his 'Ancient India,' p. 77. Dr. Fleet's view seems to be the sounder of the two.

⁴ See page 622 above.

rāshṭra were we shall see later on. From several grants the villages mentioned in which can be satisfactorily identified we shall see that in ancient times the villages were at least as large as in modern times.¹ The probabilities are that the sites of villages were, if anything, larger in ancient times than at present. Population was not so dense as it is now. The same village was often split up into two in later times. Therefore we shall not miscalculate if we take the 99,000 villages comprised in Mahārāshṭra in the 7th Century as having been as large as the villages at present. Dr. Fleet says that there are less than 44,000 villages and hamlets in the whole of the Bombay Presidency, excluding Sindh and the Native States.² To allow room for 99,000 villages, Mahārāshṭra must have been at least double of this and must have extended up to the Narmadā on the North, the Kṛishṇā on the South, and far into the Central Provinces and the Nizam's Dominions. From Hiouen-Tsang's accounts, we see that Mahārāshṭra was about 2400 or 2500 li (i.e., about 400 miles according to Cunningham)³ to the north-west of Kong-kin-napulō (कंकणपुर) and that its extent was about 5,000 li (i.e., about 800 miles).⁴ He further says that the capital borders in the west on a great river and that going from Mahārāshṭra 1,000 li to the west and crossing the Naimoto (Narmadā) we arrive at the kingdom of Polukiechepo⁵ (Bharukachchappa, i.e., modern Broach). We are further told that on the eastern frontier of Mahārāshṭra there was a rock cut Buddhist Vihāra, which seems to have been the Ajanta caves. All these details point to the present Mahārāshṭra excluding Berar and Central Provinces, as Ajanta is mentioned on the eastern frontier.⁶ Almost the same details are given in Hiouen-Tsang's life,⁷ except that Broach is said to be to the north-west instead of in the west as in the travels. In the Bālarāmāyaṇa of Rājasekhara, we find that while Rāma and Sītā are on their journey from Ceylon to Ayodhyā in the Pushpakaviṃāna, Sugriva draws Rāma's attention to Mahārāshṭra and Rāma in his turn at the same moment pours into the ears of Sītā a eulogy of Vidarbha and then refers to Kuntala as the seat of the

¹ See I. A. 17, p. 183-181 (Bagumra grant of Dadda II, dated Śaka 415 i.e., 493-94 A. D.; I. A. Vol. 17, p. 117-121) (The Kalashudenk grant of Bhilama III, dated शके 944, 1025 A. D. in this case.)

² Bom. G. Vol. I, Part 2, p. 298, n. 2.

³ A. G. I. Appendix II, p. 373.

⁴ Beal's Buddhist Records, Vol. II, p. 255.

⁵ Beal's B. R. Vol. II, p. 257.

⁶ Dr. Fleet says that the country called Mahārāshṭra by Hiouen-Tsang would have been more appropriately called Kuntala in Mahārāshṭra, Bom. G. vol. I, part 2, p. 355, n. 5.

⁷ See Beal's Life of Hiouen-Tsang pp. 246-247.

dalliances of Cupid.¹ Sitā then breaks in by referring to Vidarbha as the home of Indumatī the mother of her father-in-law, Daśaratha; while Trijaṭā puts to Sitā a conundrum about Narmadā. Rāja-Śekhara was himself a poet of Mahārāshṭra, as he informs us that he was the fourth in descent from Akālajaloda, who is styled 'Mahārāshṭra-Chudāmaṇi' in the first act of the Bālarāmāyaṇa. Mahārāshṭra, Vidarbha and Kuntala are here referred to as if in one breath and as being below the Narmadā. Alberuni (about 1,000 A. D.) says 'marching from Dhar southwards you come to the valley of Namiyya, 7 farsakhs from Dhar; Mahrattadesh, 18 farsakhs; the province of Konkan and its capital Tana on the sea coast, 25 farsakhs.'² From this we see that even in Alberuni's day the Konkan was not included in Mahārāshṭra, which extended southwards from the Narmadā. The commentator of the Kāmasūtra says that the country of Mahārāshṭra lies between the Narmadā and the Karnatic.

The foregoing discussion gives us a pretty clear idea as to the extent of Mahārāshṭra. The Konkan was generally not included therein. In the present essay also, I shall not, as a rule, go into the details of the geography of the Konkan. But from the most ancient times, the ports of Konkan, such as Sopara and Chaul, were the scenes of the greatest maritime activity which brought the Konkan in intimate touch with foreign nations of the West. The parts above the Ghats were in close connection with the ports, towns and cities of Konkan as is evidenced by the inscriptions in the Nānāghat and other passes in the Konkan. The Konkan was also politically in close connection with the country above the Ghats. Northern Konkan was a portion of the kingdom of the Kshatrapas of Valabhi and also of the Sātavāhanas. The Chālukya Emperors Kīrtivarman and Pulakeśi II are said to have

¹ Benares Pandit Vol. III for 188-90, p. 239 ff (14th Act) सुग्रीवः—भरताग्रज, अयमग्रे

महाराष्ट्रविषयः । रामः—यत्क्षेमं त्रिदिवाय वर्तमं निगमस्याङ्गं च यत्सप्तमं स्वादिष्टं च यदेक्षवादपि रसाच्चक्षुष्य यदाङ्गम् । तद्यस्मिन् मधुरं प्रसादि रसवत् कान्तं च काव्यामृतं सोऽयं सुभ्रु पुरो विदर्भविषयः सारस्वतीजन्मभूः ॥ ७४ किंच । रतदिवाविदग्धानां विप्रमोलेखलम्पटः । नित्यं कुन्तलकान्तानां किंकरो मकरध्वजः ॥ ७५ सीता—
जहि उप्पण्णा मे पिदाभइससुरस्य घरिणी इन्दुमदी । त्रिजटा—कौटुकैलिकलस्य किल भवति सखी सुखधाम । का च सुता शशितिलकस्य विन्ध्यमहीधरधाम ॥
सीता—नर्मदा.

² Alberuni (Sachau Vol. I, p. 303.)

vanquished the Maurya Chiefs of the Konkan.¹ The Śūhāra Chieftains of Thana acknowledged themselves to be the vassals of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Malkhed. Though the history of the Konkan is thus closely interwoven with that of Mahārāshṭra, yet, as from the most ancient times the Konkan was looked upon as a unit by itself and is distinguished from Mahārāshṭra by physical and topographical peculiarities, I have deemed it necessary to exclude the Konkan from treatment in this essay as far as possible.²

The Rāshtrakūṭas of Malkhed wielded the sovereignty of Mahārāshṭra from about 750 A. D. to 973 A. D. Their dominions and those of the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi are often referred to (especially

¹ Aihole Inscription in I. A. VIII, p. 242.

कोंकणेषु यदादिष्टचण्डदण्डाम्बुचीचिमिः ।

उदस्तास्तरसा मौर्यपत्न्याम्बुसमृद्धयः ॥

² In the Purāṇas महाराष्ट्र is distinguished from अपरान्त and from the country between the नर्मदा and the तापी. In the रत्नकोश, महाराष्ट्र, वैदर्भ, कोंकण, नर्मदातटदेश and तापीतटदेश are distinguished. See *Bom. G. Vol. I.*, part 2, p. 134, for this information. That अपरान्त usually means the Konkan admits of little doubt. The अर्थशास्त्र of कौटिल्य says that the quantity of rain that falls in अपरान्त is immeasurable as compared with the rainfall in Avanti and Aśvaka and places the अपरान्त and the Himalayan regions on a level as regards rainfall. In Kanheri Inscription No. 24 (A. S. W. I., Vol. V., p. 84) we read सिधे कलिअणिकाय भोजगिया अपरान्तिकाय दामिलाय लेण वेदि च कण्ठसेले. Here we see that the husband of दामिला was भोजक, the ruler of अपरान्त and that she hailed from कल्याण near modern Bombay. Asoka's 5th edict mentions the Āparāntas (अपरान्त), but whether he means the Konkan is not clear. The Milindapaṇṭha mentions Āparantaka (S. B. E., Vol. 36, p. 211). महाभारत, आदिपर्व Chapters 217-218 describes अर्जुन as going from गोकर्ण to अपरान्त, thence to प्रभास, thence to रवतक, and then to द्वारका. In the inscription of रुद्रदामन्, अपरान्त occurs as the name of a single country distinct from सुराष्ट्र and the other countries enumerated in it (A. S. W. I., Vol. II, p. 128). We saw above that the महावंश mentions अपरान्तक; कालिदास says that रघु, after conquering केरल (Malabar) received the submission of the अपरान्त king and then proceeded for the conquest of the पारसीका by the land route. See रघुवंश I IV, 52-59. From the description it is clear that according to कालिदास, अपरान्त was between the western ocean and the Sahya mountain (see Verse 38). The काममूश of वात्स्यायन registers some peculiarities of Āparāntika women. By अपरान्त Dr. Fleet understands the Konkan, Northern Gujarat, Kathiawar, Kutch and Sind (J. R. A. S., 1910 p. 427). But this opinion of Dr. Fleet seems to ignore the indications offered by the अर्थशास्त्र, the महाभारत, the रघुवंश and the inscription of रुद्रदामन्.

in the grants of their opponents) as Raṭṭapādī or Raṭṭapādī 7½ lakh country.¹ There is a sharp conflict of views as to the meaning of this latter expression.² The Imperial Gazetteer (Vol. X, page 291, note) says that these numbers (occurring in such expressions as Raṭṭapādī 7½ lakh, Gangavādī 96,000, Nalambavādī 32,000, Bannavasi 12,000, Toragalē 6,000, Kuṇḍī 3,000, Konkan 900, etc.) refer to their revenue capacity or to the number of their Nads (or districts). Mr. Rice thinks that the numbers denote revenue value and apparently indicated *nishkas*. Mr. Aiyangar (Ancient India, p. 78, foot-note) thinks that these numbers either indicate the revenue or income or sometimes the quantity of seed required. But Mr. Aiyangar does not tell us the purpose for which the seed was required. Dr. Fleet is of opinion that the numbers refer to villages, in some cases grossly exaggerated. Mr. Narsimhachar (see J. R. A. S., 1912, p. 708) brings to notice a new inscription of 902 A. D. from Bandalike, which speaks of the Mahāsāmānta Lokateyarasa as governing 31,102 villages, comprising the Bannavasi 12,000, the Palasige 12,000, and Mānyakheda 6,000, etc. The view of Dr. Fleet seems to me to be the right one. In a grant of the Śilāra prince Aparājita of Thana, Konkan is expressly said to contain 1,400 villages.³ We cannot say that taxes were usually collected in money; it was rather the reverse. Besides the numbers attached to various districts remain unchanged for centuries together. It cannot be said that the revenue never fluctuated for centuries; but it is very probable that the number of villages did not vary from century to century. Moreover, there is nothing to show what the standard of value was with reference to which these numbers were given and that that standard was uniform from Dahālā (Bundelkhand) to southern India.⁴ Hence it is better to assume that the numbers refer to villages and hamlets. In that case Raṭṭapādī, the dominion of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, would be very extensive indeed and would stand for a country very much larger than Mahārāshṭra.

¹ See Bum. G. Vol. I, 2, p. 341, Note 2. In the खेरियाण grant of 1068 A. D., the second king of the later चालुक्य as कल्याणी is described as ruling over रटपादी and the records of his चौल opponent राजराजदेव describe the latter as the conqueror of the 7½ lakh country. See above on दक्षिणापथ. A spurious दाण inscription of Śākri an uses the rather strange collocation 'Ruler of a 7½ lakh country containing 12,000 villages in the आन्ध्रमंडल' I. A., 15, p. 177.

² See J. R. A. S. 1912 p. 707 (Dr. Fleet).

³ Vide E. I., Vol. III, pp. 207, 274. ⁴ चतुर्दशग्रामशतोपस्थितकौकणान्तः-पाति.

⁴ An inscription of Harihara in Mysore of the time of the Kalachurya Bijjala of Kalyāṇ speaks of the founder कृष्ण as having obtained possession of the 9 lakh Dahālī country, i.e., Chedi in Central India. Bom. G. Vol. I, 2, p. 418.

MOUNTAINS OF MAHĀRĀSHTRA.

The Purāṇas contain long lists of the mountains and hills of India.¹ The traditional number of the principal mountain ranges is seven.² Out of these we are concerned with the Vindhya and the Sahya. The Vindhya runs along the Narmadā and thus is on the northern border of Mahārāshtra; while the Sahya furnishes the western boundary of Mahārāshtra almost throughout. The Anugītā mentions these two mountains along with others.³ The Vāyupurāṇa gives a list of subsidiary mountains,⁴ one of which, Kṛishṇagiri, the modern Kanheri hill, may be mentioned here, although it falls outside the limits of Mahārāshtra as defined above. The Brahmapurāṇa⁵ (Chap. 27) gives a long list of mountains, none of which can be definitely located in Mahārāshtra. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa also gives a very long list in prose (V, 19, 16). It mentions a Devagiri after Sahya. It is not clear by what name the Sātpurā range between the Narmadā and the Tāpī is referred to in the Purāṇas. It may be the Riksha Parvata, one of the seven principal ranges or it may have been included under the Vindhyas. Mr. Nundolal Dey identifies the Vaidūrya mountain with the modern Satpura range.⁶ The Rāmā-

¹ Vāyupurāṇa, Chap. 45, Verse 88.

² S. B. E., Vol. VIII, p. 346 (अनुगीता Chap. 28.) हिमवत्, पारियात्र, सहा, विन्ध्य, विक्लवत्, श्वेत, नील (modern Nilgiri), भास, कौटवत्, मेहन्द्र, गुरुस्कन्ध, मलयवत्, are mentioned as the principal among mountains. Is विक्लु the same as that mentioned by कालिदास in रघुवंश 4. 59. or is it the same as the विरहिम (Tirahim in the Nasik Cave inscriptions) mount near Nasik?

³ Vāyupurāṇa Chap. 45, vv. 89-92.

⁴ कोलाहलः सर्वभ्राजो मन्दरो दर्दराचलः।
वातन्धयो वैद्युतश्च मैनाकः सुरसस्तथा ॥
तुङ्गप्रस्थो नागगिरिर्गोधनः पाण्डराचलः ॥
पुष्पगिरिर्वैजयन्तो रैवतोऽर्बुद एव च ।
ऋष्यमूकः सगोमन्थः (न्तः v. l.) कृतशैलः कृताचलः ।
श्रीपार्वतश्चकोरश्च शतशोऽन्ये च पर्वताः ॥ 31-34

⁵ See his geographical dictionary of ancient and mediæval India, p. 7. Pāṇini mentions Vidūra 'विदूराऽन्यः' (IV, 384) from which came the valuable stone वैदूर्य. पतञ्जलि's comment on this runs 'अयुक्तोपं निर्देशो न स्यात् विदूरात्मभवति किं तर्हि बालवायात्मभवति विदूरे संस्क्रियते &c.' Vol. II, p. 313. A mountain called वैदूर्यशिखर is described as being on the नर्मदा in the list of Western तीर्थसु in the वनपर्व (Chap. 89/6).

yaṇa in several places speaks of Sahya as a very extensive range.¹ Coming to epigraphical records we have a list of mountains in one of the Nāsik inscriptions of Gotamīputra. The mountains mentioned are Himavat, Meru, Mandara, Vijjha, Chhavata, Pārichāta (Pāriyātra modern Aravalli range including Mount Abu), Sahya, Kaṇhagiri, Mancha, Siriṣana, Malaya, Mahida (Mahendra), Setagiri, and Chakora.² In several Nāsik inscriptions, the hill on which the Pandulēpa caves are excavated is called Tiraṇhu Pavata, 'Trirāśmi Parvata' in Sanskrit.³ In several inscriptions of Western India various donors are styled as coming from Sāḍagiri or Saḍagiri. It may stand for the Salsette Hills.⁴ The hill on which the Kanheri Caves were excavated was called Kaṇhagiri or Kaṇhasela in the prakrit and कृष्णगिरि in Sanskrit.⁵ In the cave temples of Western India, there are inscriptions mentioning several isolated hills; e.g., the hill near the Bedsa caves seems to have been called Mārakuḍa (Mārakūṭa in Sanskrit) and the hill Mānamoḍi near Junnar appears to have been designa-

¹ सुदकाण्ड 4.37 'अपश्यन्त गिरिश्रेष्ठं सद्यं गिरिशतायुतम्'। See also verses 72, 76.

² See J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. v, 41 and also Bom. G. Vol. 16, p. 330. विज्जलवत् stands for विन्ध्यक्षेत्रवत्—the विन्ध्य and क्षेत्रवत् mountains. The क्षेत्रवत् seems to be a portion of the विन्ध्य near नर्मदा or the Satpura range. कालिदास mentions क्षेत्रवत् as a mountain near नर्मदा (रघु V. 44). The ब्रह्मपुराण (see below) makes the rivers तापी, पयोष्णी, निर्विन्ध्या rise in the क्षेत्र. That पारियात्र was in Malva seems clear from the बृहत्संहिता 'मालवान्समरुकच्छसुराष्ट्रान् लाटसिन्धुविषयशृतींश्च । विक्रमाजितधनोऽवति राजा पारियात्र-निलयः कृतबुद्धिः ॥ सप्ततिवर्षे मालव्योऽयं त्यक्त्वानि सम्यक्प्राणरतीर्थे' Chap. 69. 11-12. Buhler prefers the form पारिपात्र. It is suggested in J. B. B. R. A. S. V. p. 51 that मच and सिरिठन (? कीरतन) may be Nilgiri. According to Bombay G. Vol. 16, p. 632 सिरिठन is श्रीशैल in Telugu. What is सैदगिरि is not clear. Dr. Bhagvanlal takes it to be षड्गिरि. Is it श्रेष्ठगिरि or षड्गिरि? चर्कर is also mentioned as a mountain in the passage of the ब्रह्मपुराण quoted above.

³ See Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. 16 inscriptions Nos. 3, 5, 18, &c.

⁴ See Briggs and Bhagvanlal's inscriptions from cave temples of Western India, p. 4 (Kunda Ins. No. 1) 'महाभोजीय सडगिरिय विजयाय पुतस महाभोजस मन्दस &c.; the same words in inscription 9 (at p. 9 *ibid.*); but in Nos. 19 we read महाभोजस साडकरस सुदसणस दुहुतुय &c. See also J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. V. pp. 170-71. Modern Salsette was called षड्गिरि; Vide the inscription of the Konkan चक्रवर्ति अपरादिष्वदेव of Sake 1109 (1187-88 A. D.), where the village Mahavali (modern Mahuli) was said to be included in षड्गिरि (J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XII, p. 333).

⁵ See A. S. W. I. Vol. V. p. 59 (Kanheri Ins. No. 13 of the time of गौतमिपुत्र सिरियस सानकणि); I. A. Vol. 13, p. 133 (Ins. of Sake 763, i.e. 843-44 A.D. of पुष्यशक्ति the महामासंत of Konkan (कृष्णगिरि)).

ted Mānamukaḍa.¹ The Buddhist Jātakas and other works in Pāli contain some passing notices of hills in the Deccan. In the story of the two merchants of Sunāparanta we read of a hill called Mudugiri on the seashore near Suppara (modern Sopara) on which Pūnna dwelt for some time, whence he removed to Mailigiri which was not far from Mudugiri.² The only other hill mentioned is Sachabadha on the northern water shed of the Narmadā when going from Sopara to Sewet (Śrāvastī). Ptolemy mentions seven mountains in Intra-gangetic India.³ They are (1) Apokop, called Poinai Theon, said to be the Aravalli hills; (2) Mount Sardonyx (the present Sātpudā); (3) Mount Ouindion (Vindhya); (4) Bettigo, a peak of Malaya; (5) Adeisathron, to the west of which Ptolemy locates both Baithana (Paithana) and Tagara; (6) Ousention, the eastern continuation of the Vindhya, which M'Crindle identifies with Rikshavanta; (7) Oroudian mountains, (which Yule identifies with Vaidūrya), the northern section of the Western Ghats. Kālidāsa when describing the conquering expeditions of Raghu refers to a hill Trikūṭa in Aparānta (Raghu 4'59). It is not possible to identify this hill. Dr. Bhagvanlal thought that Trikūṭa refers to certain hills near Junnar (B. G., Vol. I, p. I, page 57). To take Trikuṭa as the name of a city (as done in B. G., Vol. I, p. 2, page 13, note 5) in this passage does not seem to be correct.

As to mountain passes, very little information is available. But there can be no doubt that some of the present passes in the Western Ghats must have been also in use from ancient times. As we are told in the accounts of Greek writers that Barygaza (Broach), Soup-para, Kalliena (Kalyan) and Senyilla (Chaul) on the Western Coast were emporia of trade to which merchandise from the whole of Indū was brought for being carried to the marts of the West, and as we have stories of merchants proceeding from Sopara on the Konkan Coast to Śrāvastī, the passes that connect these coast towns with the cities above the Ghats must have been much used routes even before the Christian era. Merchandise must have flowed to Sopara through the Thal pass and must have connected it with Nasik; and the Malsej and Nana pass would have brought it in close communication with Junnar and Paithan. Inscriptions and cave remains at Kondana, Jambrug, and Ambivli in the Thana District and at Karle, Bhaja and Bedsa in the Poona District establish that the Bor pass was much

¹ See Burgess and Bhagvanlal's cave temples of Western India p. 16 (Bedsa No. 1) and A. S. W. I, IV, p. 89, No. 3 and p. 46, (Junnar No. 14).

² See Hardy's Manual of Buddhism (2nd Ed.), p. 167 and Foulke's Article in I. A., Vol. 16, p. 49.

³ See M'Crindle's Ptolemy, pp. 77-78.

resorted to for purposes of trade between 100 and 600 A. D. The same holds good of the Kumbharli pass connecting Chiplun and Dabhol with the ancient district of Karahātaka (modern Karad).

THE RIVERS OF MAHĀRĀSHTRA.

In the Mahābhārata we have perhaps the most copious list of the rivers of India.¹ But it is of doubtful authenticity. The Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas agree remarkably in the list of rivers enumerated by them.² The Brāhṃa Purāṇa had a similar but slightly different list before it.³ The Padma Purāṇa (Chap. 6) enumerates the rivers of India in a confused way without specifying the mountains from which they rise. And so does the Bhāgavata Purāṇa in prose (V., 19-18). In an inscription of Ushavadāta, son-in-law of the Kshatriya Nahapāna, (Nasik No. 10, and I. A. 12, p. 27 and J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. V., p. 49) we come across the rivers Bārjāsā, Ibā, Pārādā, Damaṇa, Tāpī, Karabeṇā, and Dāhaṇukā, out of which the Tāpī alone falls within the limits of Mahārāshtra as defined above. In the Gaṇaratna-mahodadhī of Vardhamāna we meet with more than a dozen rivers ending in the affix 'vatī'; but unfortunately none of them can be unmistakably identified.⁴

We shall now take up the larger rivers of Mahārāshtra from the Narmadā southwards and then enumerate some of the lesser ones. The epigraphic records mention many small and insignificant streams which I shall pass over.

Narmadā.—The earliest reference seems to be in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa⁵ where we read of a priest called Revottara Pāṭava Chākra Sthapati. Revā is another name for Narmadā.⁶ We know

¹ भीष्मपर्व Chap. 9-14-36. The समापर्व has a similar list (Chap. 9, 18-21).

² वायुपुराण Chap. 45 vv. 102-104 'तापी पयोष्णी निर्बन्धा मद्रा च निषधा नदी । वेन्वा (v. l. वेण्वा) वैतरणी चैव शितिबाहुः कुमुदती ॥ तोया चैव महागङ्गा दुर्गा चान्तशिला तथा । विन्ध्यापादप्रमृताभं नद्यः पुण्यजलाः शुभाः ॥ गोदावरी भीमरथी कृष्णा वैष्णव्य वञ्जुला । तुङ्गभद्रा सुमयोगा कावेरी च तथापमा ॥ दक्षिणायन्यनयन्तु सद्यपादाग्निनिःसृताः ॥ ; See मत्स्यपुराण Chap. 114 vv. 27-29.

³ ब्रह्मपुराण Chap. 20 vv. 11-13 'नर्मदा सुरमायाश्च नद्यो विन्ध्याविनिःसृताः । तापी पयोष्णी निर्बिन्ध्या कावेरीप्रमुखा नदीः । ऋक्षपादोद्भवा रोताः शुताः तापं हरन्ति वाः । गोदावरी भीमरथी कृष्णवैष्णव्यादिकास्तथा । सद्यपादोद्भवा नद्यः &c. See also Chap. 27.

⁴ See गणरत्नमहोदधि (Eggeling?) p. 179.

⁵ S. B. E., Vol. 44, p. 236, 269-272.

⁶ But it is strange that the भागवतपुराण V. 19-18 (mentions the Revā and Narmadā) separately.

from Buddhist stories that Nāga kings on the Narmadā requested Buddha to leave his footprint, which is said to be still visible in the Yon country; and that from the river Buddha went to the rock Sachabadha.¹ In the Vanaparva, the Narmadā is mentioned (Chap. 85'9). Ptolemy refers to the sources of the Narmados in the Ouindion range.² In the Brahma Purāṇa the Narmadā is said to spring from Vindhya, while the Matsya Purāṇa makes it rise from the Pāriyātra. The latter Purāṇa contains a Māhātmya of the river (Chap. 186 ff). In the Meghadūta Kālidāsa says that the Revā comes into view from the Āmra-Kūṭa hill and that it is to be seen straggling down the slopes of the Vindhya.³ In the Saptasatī of Hāla, the author speaks of the Revā as possessing qualities that transcend those of other rivers.⁴ The Bṛhatsaṃhitā mentions the Narmadā as under the influence of Mars.⁵ The Amarakosha mentions several synonyms of Revā or Narmadā. Hiouen Thsang tells us that after crossing the Naimoto (Narmadā) we arrive at the kingdom of Polukiechepo (Bhārnkacchha i. e., Broach).⁶

Tāpī.—In the Mahābhārata the river Tāpī seems to have been called Payoshnī. In the list of Tīrthas in the South, the highest praise is bestowed on the Payoshnī and it is spoken of as the river of King Nṛiga.⁷ But the Purāṇas clearly distinguish between the three rivers Tāpī, Payoshnī and Nīrvindhya. These three are said to spring from mountain Riksha according to the Brahma-Purāṇa; while the Matsya and Vāyu make them rise in the Vindhya. Ptolemy mentions the sources of a river Nanaḡouna as being in the Ouindion range.⁸ M'Crimble (p. 158) identifies the Tāpī with the Nanaḡouna. The Tāpī is included in the list of rivers enumerated in the

¹ See Hardy's manual of Buddhism (2nd Ed). p. 325; I. A. Vol. 16, pp. 1, 2.

² M'Crimble's Ptolemy, p. 102.

³ मेघदूत Verse 19 'रेवा इक्ष्वाकुपलविषमे विन्ध्यपादे विशीर्णाम् ॥

⁴ आम बहला वणाली मुहला जलरङ्कुणो जलं सिसिरम् । अण्णण्णं वि रेवाइ तह वि अण्णे गुणा केवि ॥ गाथासप्तशती VI. 78.

⁵ Kern's बृहत्संहिता Chap. 16-9.

⁶ Beal's Buddhist Records, Vol. II, p. 257.

⁷ वनपर्व 88 'राजप्रेतस्य च सरिन्दुगस्य भरतपर्व । रम्यतीर्था बहुजला पयोऽणी द्विजसेविता ॥ 4 अपि चात्र महायोगी मार्कण्डेयो महायक्षाः । अनुवंद्यां जगौ गाथां नृगस्य धरणीपतेः ॥ 5 एकतः सरितः सर्वा गङ्गाद्याः सलिलोत्थयः । पयोऽणी वैकतः पुण्या तीर्थेभ्यो हि मता मम ॥ 9.

⁸ M'Crimble's Ptolemy p. 103.

inscription of Ushavadāta (see above p. 637). The Gāthāsaptasatī speaks of the holy banks of the Tāpī (III, 39). The Bṛihatsaṃhitā speaks of the sweet waters of the Tāpī.¹ The Payoshnī is a feeder of the Tāpī which after running underground for some distance falls into the Tāpī at the town of Prakāśa, 25 miles north-west of Dhulia in the Khandesh district.² Nundolal Dey identifies the Nirvindhyā with the Paingangā. But this does not seem to be correct. In the Meghadūta the poet tells us that the river Nirvindhyā was to be met with on the road from Vidiśa (Bhilsa) to Ujjayinī.³

Godāvarī.—This river surpasses in sanctity the Krishṇā and may be styled the most sacred river of Mahārāshtra. We have quoted several passages about the sacred land of the seven Godāvarīs. The river Godāvarī is mentioned in the Suttanipāta as running through the country of Assaka (Āsmaka).⁴ In the list of sacred places in the South, we find that the Godāvarī is mentioned first as a holy river (Yanaparva Chap. 88. 2). In the Rāmāyaṇa we have frequent poetic descriptions of the scenery on the banks of the Godāvarī. The Brahmapurāṇa devotes about a hundred Chapters (70-175) to the Godāvarī and the sacred places on it. In one place we are told that the banks of the Godāvarī are the most charming country in the world.⁵ The Matsyapurāṇa also says the same.⁶ The Saptasatī of Hāla refers to the river Gokī at least a dozen times and is very enthusiastic in its praise. The Bṛihatsaṃhitā⁷ says that the Godāvarī

¹ ये च पिबन्ति सुतोयां तर्था ये चापि गोमतीसलिलम् । बृहत्संहिता 16-12.

² Bom. G., Vol. XII, p. 466 note. But in the महाभारत it seems that the पयोष्णी is तपी itself, as the adjective समुद्रया in the passage quoted above clearly indicates.

³ मेघदूत Verse 29. 'निर्विन्ध्यायाः पथि भव रसाभ्यान्तरः संनिपत्य.'

⁴ Fausbøll's edition, Verse 977 and S. D. E., Vol. X part 2, p. 184.

⁵ See अरण्यकाण्ड Chapters 25, 26, etc.

⁶ ब्रह्मपुराण Chap. 27, verses 43-44 'सहस्र्य चोत्तरे यस्तु यत्र गोदावरी नदी । पृथिव्यामपि कृत्स्नायां स प्रदेशो मनोरमः ॥ गोवर्धनपुरं रम्यं भार्गवस्य ब्रह्मात्मनः ।'

See the same verses in मार्कण्डेय 57.34-35 and वायु 45. 112-113. (slight variations).

⁷ मत्स्यपुराण 114. 37-39 'सहस्रस्यान्तरे चैते तत्र गोदावरी नदी । पृथिव्यामपि कृत्स्नायां स प्रदेशो मनोरमः ॥ यत्र गोवर्धनो नाम मन्दरो गन्धमादनः । रामप्रियार्थं स्वर्गीया वृक्षा दिव्यास्तथैवपीः ॥ भरद्वाजेन मुनिना प्रियार्थमवतारिताः । ततो पुष्पवरो देशस्तेन जज्ञे मनारमः ॥

is under the 'influence of Mars'. In the Buddhist story of Bāvai, who was the former Purohita of Mahākosala and then of Pāscnadi, we are told that a residence was built for Bavāri on the Godāvari when he wanted to become a recluse. Alberuni speaks of Mandagir on the banks of the Godāvari, 60 farsakh (from Alispur it seems).² An inscription of the Yādava king, Rāmachandra, dated Śake 1193 (1271-72 A. D.) records a grant of the village of Vādāṭhāṇa on the northern bank of the Godāvari and calls it the ornament of Seṇa-deśa.³ It seems that the territory watered by the Godāvari was named सप्तगोदावर.⁴

Krishnā.—The Vishnusmṛiti mentions a Tīrtha, the Southern Panchanada, by which the commentator Nandapaṇḍita understands the five rivers Krīṣṇā, Venā, Tungā, Bhadrā, and Koṇa.⁵ The Mahābhārata speaks of the Krīṣṇavena.⁶

¹ Hardy's Manual of Buddhism p. 346.

² Alberuni (Sachau) Vol. I, p. 205.

³ I. A. Vol. 14, pp. 214-215.

⁴ 'सख्याया नदीगोदावरीभ्यां च' on अचूप्रत्यन्ववपूर्वात्प्रामल्लोऽः पा: V. 4-75, commented upon by काशिका. According to the Kāshikā (Benares) the name of the country referred to by the rule is सप्तगोदावर. It is to be noted that the कथासरित्सागर (III 397) refers to the elephant-
of उदयन as having drunk the waters of the seven Godāvaris after he crossed the कावेरी and the मुरला 'यत्तस्य सप्तधा मित्रं पपुर्गोदावरीपयः । मातङ्गास्तन्मदभ्याजात्सप्तधैवा-
मुचक्षिव ॥'. The Mahābhārata, while dwelling upon the merit to be secured by bathing at various sacred places, comes to सप्तगोदावर after Śūpuraka 'सप्तगोदावरे स्नात्वा
नियतो नियताशनः । महापुण्यप्रवाप्नोति देवलोकं च गच्छति ॥' (वनपर्व Chap. 85. 44).
In the वायुपुराण (77'19) सप्तगोदावर is mentioned as a तीर्थ 'सप्तगोदावरे चैव गोकर्णे च
तपोवने । अश्वमेधफलं तत्र स्नात्वा च लभते नरः ॥' But in the बालरामायण of
राजशेखर (Vol III of Benares Pandit for 1868-70) we are told in the 10th Act that the आश्रम
dwelt in the seven गोदावरी, then the river कावेरी, and the country of महाराष्ट्र are
described. सुशीवः—(दक्षिणतो दृश्यन्) देव सप्तगोदावरीतीरे भीमो भगवान्भर्गः । रामः—
अत्रान्ध्रास्तव दक्षिणेन त इमे गोदावरीस्तोत्तसां सहानामपि वानिधिप्रणयिनां द्वाशान्तराणि
श्रिताः ॥ Verse 79.

⁵ S. B. E., Vol. V p. 259.

⁶ समापर्व 9.20; भीष्मपर्व 9-28.

The Vāyupurāṇa and Bhāgavata mention the rivers Kṛishṇā and Veṇā separately ; while the Brahma and the Matsya combine them into one ās Kṛishṇaveṇā.¹ The Veṇā and Kṛishṇā are mentioned in the Vāishṇapurāṇa.² A grant of the Śilāhara chieftain Mārasimha of Śake 980 (1058-59 A. D.) speaks of the Kṛishṇaveṇā in the Mirinjadeśa (modern Miraj).³ The village of Koḍaladāmavāḍa (Kurundvad in the S. M. country) on the confluence of the Kṛishṇaveṇi and Bheṇasī was granted by the Yādava Emperor Singhaṇa in Śake 1136 (1214-15 A. D.).⁴ The Vikramānakadevacharita calls it Kṛishṇaveṇi or Kṛishṇaveṇi.⁵

Among the lesser rivers the Veṇā deserves the first place. Pargiter takes the Kṛishṇaveṇā mentioned in the Vanaparva (Chap. 85.37) to be a tributary of the Veṇā (which he identifies with the Waingangā) north of Nagpur.⁶ The Bṛihatsaṃhitā several times mentions the Veṇā or its banks and it gives us the interesting information that Vajra diamonds were found on the banks of the Veṇā.⁷ The Brahma-purāṇa speaks (in Chap. 77.5) of the confluence of the Kṛishṇā, Bhīmarathī and Tungabhadra as a very holy place conferring *mukti* on mortals.⁸ The river Bhīmarathī appears to be the Bhīmā that falls into the Kṛishṇā.⁹ The Bṛihatsaṃhitā calls it Bhīmarathā¹⁰. A village called Alandatīrtha on the southern bank of the Bhīmarathī was granted by the grandson of Satyāśraya (Pulakeśin I); see J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. II, pages 1, 11 and I. A., Vol. 19, pp. 303-304. The Kāśīkāvṛitti (on Pāṇini, IV., 2, 85) mentions a river

¹ ब्रह्म. Chap. 20.13 and मत्स्य 114. 33. . . At ब्रह्म 27.35 we have कृष्णवेणा. The भागवत (V. 19) reads कृष्णावेण्या.

² Wilson's V. P. p. 384. The waters of the कृष्णा are described to be always salubrious in the विष्णुपुरा.

³ Burgess and Bhagvanlal's Cave temples, p. 104.

⁴ See J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. 12, p. 7.

⁵ See IV, 26; XIV, 13 and 71.

⁶ J. B. R. A. S. for 1894, pp. 231, 444.

⁷ बृहत्संहिता Chap. 4. 26; 10. 9; 20. 6. 'वेणातटे विशुद्धं शिरीषकुसुमोपमं च कोशिलकम्' ॥

⁸ कृष्णा भीमरथी चैव तुङ्गभद्रा तु नारद । तिसृणां सङ्गमो यत्र तत्तीर्थं मुक्तिदं नृणाम् ॥

⁹ See ब्रह्मपुराण Chap. 20. 13 and 27. 35; बह्वि 45. 101; मत्स्य 114. 29.

¹⁰ Chap. 16.9.

Bhīmarathī. The river Bhīmarathī and Pauṇḍarikapura (Pandharpur) on it are mentioned in a grant of Krishṇayādava dated Śake 1170 (1249-50 A. D. in this case).¹ A grant of the Rāshṭrakuṣa Govinda III, dated Śake 730 (808-09 A. D.) speaks of the village granted, *vis.*, Rattajjuṇa having as its eastern boundary the river Sinhā.² This is the river Sinā, a tributary of the Bhīmā. The river Malaprahārī (modern Malaprabhā that falls into the Kṛishṇā) is mentioned in a Yādava inscription of Śake 1145 (1223-24 A. D.).³

The river Varadā (modern Wardhā in Berar) is said in the Mālavī-kāgnimitra to have been fixed as the boundary between the kingdoms of Yajnasena and Mādhavasena by Agnimitra, the second Śunga sovereign. The Nalachampā speaks of a country called Varadātaḷa. The river Vainganga in the Central Provinces appears to have been referred to as Beṇṇa or Veṇā. In the Seoni copperplate of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II, we have a grant of the village of Brahmapūraka in Beṇṇā-Kārparabhāga. This district appears to have derived its name from the river Beṇṇā, which from the situation of the village granted and the place where the plate was found seems to be the Vaingangā. In the list of Tīrthas in the Vanaparva the pilgrim's course is made to run along the Godāvarī to its junction with the Veṇā and then northwards to the junction of the Varadā with the Veṇā.⁴

POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS.

In the Aihole inscription of 634 A. D. we are told that there were three Mahārāshṭras.⁵ What these three main divisions of Mahārāshṭra were the inscription does not tell us. But it seems that Vidarbha, Mahārāshṭra proper (*i.e.*, the country from Khandesh to Satara) and Kuntala were the three countries intended to be designated as the three Mahārāshṭras. This surmise derives support from the fact that the limits of Mahārāshṭra as discussed above extended from the Narmadā to the Kṛishṇā. The fact that the Bālarāmāyaṇa of Rājasekhara groups the countries together lends further support to this surmise.⁶ I have referred above to the notices of Vidarbha in the ancient Vedic literature. Vidarbha was a very powerful and prominent kingdom from ancient

¹ I. A. Vol. 14, p. 71.

² See I. A. Vol. VI, p. 68.

³ J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. 12, p. 24.

⁴ See वनपर्व 85. 31-35.

⁵ See I. A., Vol. VIII, page 241.

⁶ See above p. 640.

times.¹ The poets of Vidarbha surpassed those of any other part of India, and their style came to be called Vaidarbhi even so early as the 6th Century A.D.² We hear the echo of a war between the Magadha Emperors and Vidharbha in the Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālidāsa. Agnimitra, the son of Pushyamitra, the first king of the Śunga dynasty, reigned at Vidiśā in the second and third quarters of the second Century B.C. He proposed marriage with Mālavikā, whose brother Mādhavasena had a quarrel with his cousin Yajnasena, king of Vidarbha. When Mādhavasena was on his way to Vidiśā in Malva, Yajnasena's general imprisoned him, but his councillor Sumati and sister Mālavikā escaped. Agnimitra demanded the release of Mādhavasena; but Yajnasena agreed to do so only on condition that his wife's brother, (styled Mauryasachiva in the drama) kept in imprisonment by Agnimitra, be released. Agnimitra vanquished Yajnasena and Vidarbha was divided between Mādhavasena and Yajnasena,

¹ The महामारत mentions the वैदर्भs among fighters in the great war. विदर्भ occurs in the list of countries in the भौषपर्व (9. 64.). In the शान्तिपर्व (272.3.) we are told that विदर्भ was a very religious nation 'राष्ट्रे धर्मोत्तरे श्रेष्ठे विदर्भेष्वभवद् द्विजः ।' In the सत्यपुराण Chap. 44, we learn that King Jyāmagha had a wife Chaitrā from whom was born विदर्भ, whose sons were क्रथ, कैशिक and लोमपाद (v. 36). कैशिक had a son चिदि from whom the चैद्य kings took their name (v. 37). In the भागवतपुराण (9.24) we read that विदर्भ had three sons कुश, क्रथ and रोमपाद, the 5th in descent from the latter being चेदि. In the विष्णुपुराण (Wilson, Vol. 4, p. 67 ff.) we are told that विदर्भ had three sons क्रथ, कैशिक and लोमपाद. क्रथ was the ancestor of the भोजस, कैशिक was the father of चेदि, the progenitor of the चैद्य kings. In the हरिवंश (Langlois, Vol. I, p. 165) विदर्भ is similarly made father of क्रथ, कैशिक and लोमपाद; but it makes चेदि the son of a second कैशिक, great grandson of लोमपाद. In the Vedābhajātaka (Cowell's Jātakas, Vol. I, p. 121) a charm called Vedābhā is said to have been known to a ब्राह्मण whose pupil the बोधिसत्त्व was. Both are said to have come to the country of Cheti (चेदि ?) and met with four robbers. Kālidāsa uses the word क्रथकैशिक (रघुवंश 5. 39. 61 and 7. 49) for the people of विदर्भ. From Kālidāsa's description it appears that the नर्मदा had to be crossed while going from उत्तरकोसल to the capital of विदर्भ (which was कुण्डिन according to रघु 7.33).

² काव्यादर्श I. 40. अस्त्यनेको गिरां मार्गः सूक्ष्ममेदः परस्परम् । तत्र वैदर्भगौडीयो वर्ण्येते प्रस्फुटान्तरो ॥

the Varadā (modern Vardha river) being the boundary between their kingdoms. The Daśa-kumāra-charita, (VIII Uchhlhvāsa) mentions six feudatory kingdoms of Vidarbha, viz., Āsmaka, Kuntala, Murala, Richika, Konkana and Sāsikya (Is it Nāsikya?). The Bhojas ruled in Vidarbha (Raghuvamśa, V., 39-40 and Daśa-kumāra-charita VIII). Even the Mahābhārata tells us that Bhishmaka king of the Bhojas in Bhojakaṭa, and called Lord of Dākṣiṇātyas submitted to Jarāsandha.² The Bhārhut Stupa has an inscription commemorating a donation from a nun of Bhojakaṭaka.³ The Bhojakaṭa kingdom is mentioned in the Chammak copper-plate of the Vākātaka Mahārāja Pravarasena II.⁴ Thus we see that from very ancient times Vidarbha (modern Berar and the country beyond it on almost all sides) was an independent and powerful kingdom, but during the time when the Chālukyas of Badāmi, the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa and the Yādavas of Deogiri wielded sovereign power, Vidarbha⁵ came to form part of Mahārāshṭra.

The country of Kuntala was also well known from very ancient times. Its exact boundaries are a matter of great difficulty. Dr. Burgess says that "Kuntala stretched from the Narmadā in the north to somewhere about Tungabhadra (or further) in the south, having the Arabian Sea for its border on the west, and reaching the Godāvari and the Eastern Ghats on the north-east and south-east. But these boundaries are much too exaggerated, as they would make Kuntala embrace the whole of the peninsula except the southernmost part of it and would leave no room for Mahārāshṭra or would make

¹ See सभापर्व 14. 21-22 "चतुर्थमाङ्गमहाराजो भोज इन्द्रसखो बली । विद्या-बलाद्यो व्यजयत् सपाण्ड्यकथकैशिकान् ॥ भ्राता यस्याकृतिः शूरो जामदग्न्यसमोऽभवत् । स भक्तो मागधं राजा भीष्मकः परवीरह ।". सभापर्व (Chap. 31-63) describes how सहदेव came in his career of conquest to भीष्मक king of भोजकट.

² Bhārhut Stūpa (Cunningham), p. 123.

³ V. A. Smith identifies भोजकट with the fort of Gavilgad near Ellichpur, J. R. A. S., 1914, p. 330.

⁴ Cor. I, Vol. III, p. 235.

⁵ The modern name Varhāḍa seems to connect itself with Varadāstān. In the Nala-champū of त्रिविक्रमभट्ट we read 'वीरपुरुषं तदेतद्वरदातटनामकं महाराष्ट्रम् । दक्षिण-सरस्वती सा वहति विदर्भा नदी यत्र ॥' 6-66. It is possible that the word महाराष्ट्र is used here as the name of a country and then the poet's meaning would be that that portion of महाराष्ट्र called वरदातट is a land of heroes.

⁶ A. S. W. I., Vol. III, p. 73.

the latter its sub-division. But we have seen that Mahārāshtra was a separate country from at least the 5th Century A. D., and that Badāmi was its capital in the 7th Century. In my opinion, Kuntala may be roughly described as the country from the Bhīmā and Kṛishnā to some distance beyond the Tungabhadra and included Kolhapur and the other Southern Mahratta States such as Miraj, Belgaum and Dharwar districts, a portion of the Nizam's dominions and of the Mysore State and North Canara. It will be seen from the quotations given below that the modern districts of Belgaum and Dharwar were the heart of Kuntala. Mr. Rie defines Kuntala as the country between the Bhīmā and the Vedavati, bounded on the west by the Ghauts and including the Shimoga and Chitaldurg districts of Mysore, Bellary, Dharwar and Bijapur and certain tracts in the Nizam's dominions.¹ According to Dr. Fleet Kuntala included Banavasi in North Canara, Belgaum and Harihar in Mysore, Hampi or Vijayanagar in the Bellary district; to the north of these places Hāngal, Lakshmeshwar, Lakkundi, Gadag in Dharwar; further to the north Belgaum, Savundati, Manoli, Konnur in the Belgaum district; Paṇḍakert, and Aihole in Bijapur and still more to the North Terada in the Sangli State, Bijapur itself and Kalyāṇi (see Bom. G., Vol. 1, part 2, p. 411). When the Vākāṭakas, the Chālukyas, the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Yādavas were at the height of their power, Kuntala formed part of their dominions and so came under Mahārāshtra.²

¹ See Mysore and Coorg from the inscriptions, p. 3 (1909) quoted in J. R. A. S. (1914), p. 339.

² In the महाभारत, कुन्तल are referred to: मोक्षपर्व 9/39. One of the inscriptions at Ajanta recites that the वाकाटक king पृथिवीपेण, son of रुद्रसेन, conquered कुन्तल and that another वाकाटक king हरिषेण conquered कुन्तल, अवन्ति, कलिङ्ग, कोसल, त्रिकूट, लाट and आन्ध्र (Burgess and Bhagwanlal's cave temples, p. 74; J. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII, p. 57; A.S.W. I, IV, p. 124; J. R.A.S. 1914, pp. 324, 327). The कामसूत्र of वात्स्यायन (Chap. 3, p. 154) refers to a कुन्तलशतकर्ण 'कर्णयोः कुन्तलः शतकर्णः शतवाहनो महादेवी मलयवती (जपान)'. We have seen above that according to the दशकुमारचरित कुन्तल was under the kings of विदर्भ. The Vengur inscription of the चातुर्विक्रमादित्य or त्रिभुवनमह, dated Śaka 999 (A. D. 1077-78) informs us that through कुन्तल flowed the कृष्णवेणी, 'विख्यातकृष्णवेणीतैलरनेहोपसम्पन्नरत्नत्वः । कुन्तलविषयो नितरां विराजते मल्लिकामोदः ॥' मयूरवर्मा mentioned as the first of the कदम्ब kings of Banavasi is said to have brought 18 ब्राह्मण from Atchchhabatra and established them in कुन्तल, which

As for the part of the country excluding Vidarbha and Kuntala as defined above, we are confronted by several names. It seems that a portion of modern Khandesh, Nasik, Ahmednagar and part of Berar and the Nizam's dominions went by the name of Āsmaka in very ancient times. In the Suttanipāta, the country of Assaka (Āsmaka) is placed on the banks of the Godāvarī.¹ The Dighanikāya speaks of the earth being divided into 7 territories, one of which was Assaka with its capital Potana² (is it Paithan?). One of the Nasik inscriptions of Gotamīputra, in the list of countries conquered by that king, separately mentions Asaka (Āsmaka), Anūpa (Capital Māhishmati on the Narmadā, see Raghuvamśa, 6, 37 and 43) and Vidabha (Vidarbha).³ In the Chullakālingajātaka (Cowell, Vol. III, p. 1, No. 301) a king Assaka of Potali in the Assaka country is referred to.⁴ In the Ajanta caves there is an inscription which reads 'for the spiritual benefit of Bhavvirāja, the minister of the very glorious Āsmakarāja, . . . also for the good of his mother and father, did Buddhābhadrā cause this Sugata's abode to be constructed.'⁵ In the Daśakumāracharita the

included Banavāsi (I. A., Vol. X, pp. 150 and 153). In an inscription of Gmika dated Śaka 1015 (1123-24 A.D.) we read 'There where Bharatavarsha appears is situated, appears full of charms, the great country of Kuntala; and in that land shines the great district called Kūṇḍi and in the heart of this district, the Teridāla twelve shines', etc. (I. A., Vol. 14, p. 21). Teridāla is a town in modern Sangli State. An inscription, dated Śaka 1069 (1147-48 A.D.) makes Narugunda (in the modern Nivargund Taluka of Dharywar district) one of the 18 Agrahāras in the district of Belvāja in कुन्तल.

An inscription dated Śaka 1110 (1187-88 A.D. in this case) refers to Toragaṇe as situated near the river मलप्रहारी and as a district of कुन्तल (I. A., Vol. XII, p. 98). The यदव वीरबल्लभ of Halebid in Mysore is said to have fought with the Deogiri Yādava, Jaitrasimha at Lakkigūṇḍi (now Lakkundi in Dharywar district), to have defeated him and to have secured कुन्तल (I. A., Vol. II, p. 300, the inscription is dated 1114 Śaka, i.e., 1192-93 A.D.). A Ratna inscription of Śaka 1151 (1229-30 A.D.) speaks of the district of Kūṇḍi as part of कुन्तल (J. B. R. A. S., Vol. X, p. 273) and places "Sugandharati (modern Saundatti) in the midst of the plain of the Kūṇḍi 3,000 (p. 281). A grant of the Yādava Kanhara dated Śaka 1171 (1249-50 A.D.) makes Hurvalli (modern Hubli) a part of the district of Kanhara in कुन्तल. Why the country was called कुन्तल cannot be definitely explained. I suggest a tentative explanation. The warriors from this country were fond of or experts in wielding the कुन्ति (lance) or perhaps the men of that country were fond of long hair.

¹ See Fausbøll's Edition, Vol. V, 977, and S. B. E., X (2nd part), p. 184; also Hardy's Manual, p. 346.

² See J. R. A. S. (1907), p. 653, whence the references are taken.

³ J. B. R. A. S., Vol. V, pp. 35, 41; Bohn, G., Vol. 16, pp. 541, 550.

⁴ Is Potali the same as Potana above?

⁵ J. B. R. A. S., Vol. VII, No. 22, pp. 61-62, and Burgess and Bhagwanlal's cave temples, pp. 77-78.

Āsmaka chief is spoken of as a neighbour of Vidarbha and as fighting with the king of the latter on the Narmadā.¹ From Bhāmahā's work on rhetoric we learn that a poem called Āsmakavampśa² was claimed to have been composed in the Vaidarbha style.³ In the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, Āsmaka is mentioned several times, sometimes along with Tripura or Vidarbha.⁴ From all these data, we come to the conclusion that from the centuries preceding the Christian era up to the 6th century A. D., at all events, the country from Khandesh up to the Godāvari was called Āsmaka; probably had Paithan as its capital and included Ajanta in it.⁵ We shall see later on that the Andhrabhrityas or Śātavāhanas, whose capital was originally at Dhanakataka (Dharnikotta or Amravati on the Kṛishnā) found it necessary to have a capital at Paithan in the west in order to be better able to stem the rising tide of Kshatrapa aggression.

The same country or at least a large portion of it came to be called *Seunadeśa* in later times under the Yādavas. A Yādava chief named *Seunachandra*, son of *Dṛiḍhaprahāra* and grandson of *Subāhu*, is said to have given his name to this country and founded the city of *Seunapura* in *Sindinera*⁶ (modern Sinnar in the Nasik district) in a grant, dated Śake 991 (1069-70 A.D.). An inscription of the Yādava *Rāma-*

‘ सर्वथा नयज्ञस्य वसन्तभानोरश्मकेन्द्रस्य हस्ते राज्यमिदं (विदर्भ-
राज्यम्) पतितम् ।’ and then ‘ अथ वसन्तभानुर्भानुवर्मणां नाम वान-
वास्यं प्रोत्साह्यानन्तवर्मणा व्यग्राहयत् । . सर्वसामन्तेभ्यश्चाश्मकेन्द्रः प्रागु-
पेत्यास्य प्रियतरोऽभूत् । अपरेऽपि सामन्ताः समगंसत । गत्वा चाम्यर्णे
नर्मदारोवसि न्यविशन् । तस्मिन्वावसरे महासामन्तस्य कुन्तलपतेरवन्ति-
देवस्य . अश्मकेन्द्रस्तु कुन्तलपतिमेकान्ते समभ्यधत् । . . तदावां
संभूय मुरलेशं वीरसेनमृचीकेशमेकवीरं कौकणपतिं कुमारगुप्तं सासि-
क्यनाथं च नागपालमुपजपाव ’ ।

‘ ननु चाश्मकवंशादि वैदर्भमिति कथ्यते । कामं तथास्तु प्रायेण
संज्ञेच्छातो विधीयते ॥ ’ भासह I. 31.

¹ Chap. 5.31 (विपुर); 9.27 (विदर्भ).

² Dr. Bhagwanlal identified Āsmaka with Khandesh; *vide* I. A., Vol. 16, pp. 98, 99.

³ I. A., XII, p. 119. *Sindinera* seems to be the same as *Sindinagara* said to be the capital in the *Kalashbudruk* grant of *Bhīlāma III*, dated Śake 948 (1025 A. D. in this case); see I. A. Vol. 17, pp. 117, 120.

chandra, dated Śake 1193 (1271-72 A. D.), records a grant of the village of Vādāsthāna on the northern bank of the Godāvarī and calls it the ornament of Seunadeśa.¹ In the Vratakhanda of Hemādri, we are told that Deogiri was situated in Seunadeśa and that the latter was on the confines of Daṇḍākāraṇya.² The Pratāparudra Yaśohhūshana speaks of the Yādava kings of Seunadeśa.³ The Kākatya king Pratāparudra (1295-1323 A.D.) is said to have vanquished the Yādava king of Sevaṇa, that had crossed the Gautamī river (Godāvarī). From this it appears that Seunadeśa extended from the Godāvarī northwards to Degīri (modern Daulatabad).⁴

Before proceeding further, it is better to say a few words on the terms used to denote the divisions and sub-divisions of a country in our authorities. The commonest or most usual term for a country is Deśa as in Seunadeśa. Another generic term for a country met with in the Purāṇas and other Sanskrit works (like the Daśakūmaracarita) is Janapada.⁵ The Amarakośa gives Deśa, Janapada and Vishaya as synonyms.⁶ It must be said at the outset that

¹ I. A., Vol. 14, pp. 314-15. Between Seunachandra and Bhūllama, III, six kings intervened.

² Bom. G. vol. I, part 2, pp. 231 and 512. At page 231 it is suggested that the name सेउणदेश is preserved in the modern Khandesh between which, it is said, there is a close resemblance. One fails to see how सेउण came to be converted into खान. Is it possible that Khandesh was so named after the King Kanha Sādavīhana (See Nasik Inscription No. 22) or better still after Kanhara Yādava of Deogiri (see J. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX, p. 246, for a grant of his). It may be that the country came to be so called on account of its dark soil (कुण्डदेश changed into कण्डदेश from which Khandesh is an easy corruption.)

“रे रे सेवण कस्तवायमनिदं पूर्वोद्य गव्यो महानुत्तीर्णा किल येन गौतमनदी प्राप्नोति मृत्योर्मुखम् । एषा काकतिर्वारुद्र इति किं नाश्रावि सप्ताक्षरी प्रक्षुभ्यप्रतिपक्षपार्थिवमहाभूतग्रहोच्चादनी ॥” रसप्रकरण p. 146 of the Balamanojama series: ‘राज्ञो यादववंशपार्थिवमणेः प्रख्यातशौर्यश्रियस्त्वङ्गतुङ्गतुरङ्गसैन्यमहतो मानैकचित्स्य च । सद्यो रुद्रनरेन्द्रनायकचमूनाथेन केनाप्यधिक्षिप्तस्याचरितानि सेवणपतेर्जानाति सा गौतमी ॥’ अलङ्कारप्रकरण p. 316. In another place we have ‘प्राप्तवशाः सेवणाः’

p. 133.

⁵ See the remarks of Dr. Fleet in I. A., Vol. 30, p. 518.

⁶ See e.g. वायुपुराण, Chap. 45/109; मत्स्य 114; ब्रह्मपुराण 27.54.

⁷ नीवृज्जनपदो देशविषयो तूपवर्तनम्.

ancient usage is not uniform in the employment of terms denoting a country and its sub-divisions. I shall try to give what appears to be the general usage about each term and note the exceptions if any.¹ In doing so I shall illustrate my remarks by naming most of the known sub-divisions of Mahārāshṭra.

In epigraphic records we often come across the words 'Rāshṭrapati' (ruler of a province), 'Vishayapati' (lord of a district) and 'Grāmakūṭa' (head of a village).² From the order in which the terms occur it is clear that Rāshṭra is a division larger than Vishaya.³ In the inscriptions of Southern India we meet with the terms Maṇḍalā, Nāḍu and Ur (township) which correspond to Rāshṭra, Vishaya and Grāma. The word Maṇḍala is often employed in the same sense as Deśa or Rāshṭra, e.g., in Mahishamaṇḍala (for which, see above p. 621.) But the Sahyādrīkhaṇḍā, that hangs loosely on to the Skandapurāṇa, says that a Deśa comprises 100 villages, that a Maṇḍala is equal to four Deśas and that a Khaṇḍa comprehends a hundred Maṇḍalas.⁴ At all events Maṇḍala was larger in extent than Vishaya or Bhukti.⁵ The term Deśa, though generally applied to such large tracts as Mahārāshṭra, Kārkāṭaka, is sometimes used for small ones. For example in a grant found at Gon, dated Śaka 532 (610-11 A.D.) the district of

¹ See Dr. Fleet's note on these terms for political divisions in *Corpus I.*, vol. III., p. 32, n. 7.

² See I. A., Vol. VIII., p. 20 (grant of चालुक्य त्रिभुवनमल्लदेव, dated Śaka 999, i.e., 1077-78 A.D. and I. A., 12, pp. 249, 252 (grant of राष्ट्रकूट गोविन्द V., dated Śaka 835, i.e., 913-14 A.D.).

³ The term राष्ट्र seems to have sometimes been applied to territories that could not have been very large. For example, गोपराष्ट्र, the present Nasik District (for which see above). But in a grant गोपराष्ट्र itself is termed a विषय (J. B. B. R. A. S., II., p. 1, 12). The Milindapaṇṇa (about 430 A. D.) mentions countries called Nikumbharattham and Vāṭkarattham (S.B.E., Vol. 35 p. 43). The latter cannot be identified. The former was probably Khandesh. We have inscriptions of a Nikumbhavarapra that began to reign in Khandesh about 1000 A. D. See I. A., Vol. VIII., p. 39.

⁴ 'अनुमामो भवेदेशो देशचत्वारि मण्डलम् । शतमण्डलं भवेत्खण्डं नवखण्डा च मेदिनी' ॥ सहाद्रिखण्ड (Ed. Gerson Da Cunha) उत्तरार्ध Chap. 4. The सहाद्रिखण्ड is, it must be admitted, a very late work and is not of much authority in settling questions of ancient History and Geography. From the Cambay plate of A. D. 930, we see that मण्डल was a sub-division of Deśa (E. I., Vol. VII., p. 40).

⁵ लाटदेशखेटकमण्डलान्तर्गत-काविकामहस्थानविनिर्गताय.

⁶ I. A., Vol. 15, p. 107, where 'Pāṇiyakagrāma' in the Śālvastibhukti, belonging to the Vālayikā-rishaya in 'आवस्तीमण्डल' is referred to.

Khetāhara (modern Khed in the Ratnagiri district) is termed 'Deśa. Similarly we have the term Deśa applied to the tract about Mirinja or Mairinja (modern Miraj) and Kuṇḍī (modern Belgaum and Dhārwar).¹ We have seen above that Vishaya is a division less than a Maṇḍala and it seems that it was less than a Deśa.² The term Vishaya is, however, often applied to such large tracts as the Konkana.³ We find the terms Deśa and Vishaya indiscriminately applied to the same tract of country.⁴ Vishaya seems to have been a larger division than Āhara⁵ and Patha or Puthaka.⁶ The exact relationship between Vishaya and Bhukti is not quite clear. Bhukti is certainly less than a Maṇḍala.⁷ In some places it seems that Bhukti was larger than Vishaya.⁸ Whatever the relationship may be, there are indications that Bhukti was comparatively a small division. In the Sāmangad grant of Rāshtrakūta Dantidurga, dated Śaka 675 (753-54 A. D.), we meet with Koppara 500 as a Bhukti.⁹ In the Paithan plates of A. D. 794 we read of a grant by the Rāshtrakūta

¹ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X, pp. 348, 365.

² See J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII, p. 1 (grant of the Śākhāra Mahāmaṇḍalesvarn Gaṇḍarāditya, dated Śaka 1034, i.e. 1120-11 A. D.) for मिरिञ्जदेश; I. A., Vol. 16, pp. 15, 24 (Kauthep grant of विक्रमादित्य II, dated Śaka 930) for कूण्डीदेश.

³ A grant of राष्ट्रकूट गोविन्द III, dated Śaka 730 has 'नासिकदेशीयवटनगरविषयान्तर्गतः अवकग्रामः' (I. A., Vol. 11, p. 136, 139).

⁴ See for कोंकणविषय (I. A., Vol. 13, pp. 63, 67) a grant of the राष्ट्रकूट अकालवर्ष कुण्णराज, dated Śaka 810 i.e., 888-89 A. D., and I. A., XI, p. 293, for a quotation from the गणधरसार्धशतक in Prakrit (कुण्णविमल, &c.)

⁵ We have a Karahitakūṇḍī-vishaya. (See Burgess and Bhagwanlal's Cave Temples, p. 102); while we had कूण्डीदेश also above.

⁶ See J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. 16, pp. 1, 3 where in the Naosari grant we read 'ठाहिरिकाविषयान्तर्गतकण्डवल्हाहारविषये.'

⁷ I. A., Vol. XV, p. 130 speaks of a 'दिकरिकाग्राम' in the प्रतिष्ठानमुक्ति and attached to the काशीपारपथक which belonged to the 'वाराणसीविषय.'

⁸ See I. A., Vol. 15, p. 107 quoted above.

⁹ See Cor. I, III, p. 213 the Deo-Varanasi Inscription of Jitlogupta II, where we have a बालवीविषय in नगरमुक्ति. See I. A., Vol. 21, p. 97, where the Āngāchāl grant of Vigrahapāladēva III records a gift of some land in Kotiraha-vishaya in the Prayāgaradhana Bhukti; the Mongie plate of Deopāladēva in the same volume (p. 253) records a grant of the village of Meshika in the Krimilavishaya of the Shrinagarabhukti.

¹⁰ I. A., XI, 108.

king Govinda III of a village named Limbārāmikā in the Sārāka-chappa twelve in Pratishhāna-bhukti. (E. I., Vol. III, p. 103). As the Godāvari is one of the boundaries of the village granted, Pratishhāna-bhukti here means the district round Paitān. In the Rādhampur grant of Rāshtrakūṭa Govind III of Śake 730 (807 A. D. in this case) we read of a Rāsiyana-bhukti¹ (Modern Rāsin in the Ahmednagar district). The word Bhoga (derived from the same root as Bhukti) was employed to denote a territorial division. The Satara copper-plate of Vishnudevardhana I (the founder of the eastern Chālukyas) registers a grant of the village of Alandatirtha in the Śrīnilayabhoga, on the north of the Agrahāra of Anapalya and on the south bank of the river Bhimarathi (I. A., Vol. 19, pp. 303, 304). Dr. Fleet identifies Alandatirtha with Alundah, five miles north-east of Bhor and not with Ālandi in the Poona district which is on the north bank of the Indrāyāni. An Āhāra as a sub-division was less than a Vishaya as we have seen and larger than a Pathuka. A grant of Śilāditya VII dated in 447 of the Gupta-valabhi era (i.e. 766-67 A.D.) speaks of a village Mahilābali in Uppalahetapathuka in Śrikhetakāhāra (modern Kaira district in Gujrat).² Besides the abovementioned Khetakāhāra in Gujrat, we find the following Āhāras, viz., Govardhana³ (modern Nasik district), Kāpura⁴ (probably on the sea coast in Konkan), Sopānaka⁵ (modern Sopara near Bombay), Māmala⁶ (modern Māval in the Poona district), Kheṭa⁷ (modern Khed in the Ratnagiri district). It will have been noticed that many of these divisions termed Āhāra go so far back as the first century of the Christian era. Patha or Pathaka was less than Vishaya and Āhāra. We come across a Pāthhānapatha⁸ (modern Pāthan), a Kālāpakapathuka in Surāshtra⁹ (modern Kathiawar), a Kūshipārapathuka in Vārāṇasivishaya,¹⁰ and Uppalahetapathuka¹¹ in the Kaira district. Sthali seems to have been a division

¹ J. A., VI, 59.

² See Cor. I., III, p. 171.

³ Nasik Inscriptions No. 3, Bom. G. Vol. 16, p. 555.

⁴ Nasik Inscriptions No. 12, Bom. G. Vol. 16, p. 572.

⁵ A. S. W. L., Vol. V, p. 76 (Kānheri Inscriptions No. 5).

⁶ In an inscription at Karlem, dated in the 10th year of Vāsiṣṭhiputra's time for which see J. B. B. R. A. S., V, p. 54, Vol. 18, p. 402.

⁷ See J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. X, p. 365, grant of the village of Kārelikā by the ruler of Revatidvīpa, dated Śake 332 (610-11 A.D.).

⁸ Kānheri Inscriptions No. 5, A. S. W. L., V, p. 76.

⁹ I. A., Vol. VI, p. 18 (grant of भुवसेन II of Valabhi, dated in वलभिसंवत् 310 i.e., 619-30 A.D.); J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. X, p. 791a (grant of धरसेन III of वलभि era 326 i.e., 645-46 A.D.).

¹⁰ I. A., Vol. 15, p. 149.

¹¹ See above.

larger than Peṭha.¹ In the Kīloḥ copper plate of Mahārāja Samkshobha of the Gupta era 209 (528-29 A. D.), we meet with a Maṇināga-peṭha. Puṭṭa seems to have been a term for a division of a country. A copper plate of Mahārāja Hastin of the Gupta year 163 (482-83 A. D.) records a grant of Kōrparikāgrahān in 'Uttarapuṭṭa'.² Saṅkaka seems to have been another territorial subdivision.³ Bhūga as a term for a territorial division occurs in the Sironi copper plate of the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja Pravarasena II, where we read of a Venṇākār-parabhāga⁴ (which must have been near modern Ellichpur). Kampāṇa⁵ (sometimes written as Gaṇpaṇa) as a term for a division occurs very frequently. We read of a Kundaṛige Kampāṇa, which formed part of the Kūṇḍi 3,000. A grant of the Kādamba Jayakeśin I of Goā speaks of a Kampāṇa called Kūṇḍigiri.⁶ A copperplate of the Śūlīhāra Bhoja of Panhāli, dated Śaka 1113 (1191-92 A. D.) records a grant in the village of Kaseli in the Ajivirekampaṇa⁷ (Ādivārem in the Ratnagiri district). We find a Mirinjegampaṇa 300, while the Mirinjadeśa is always described as a 3000 province.⁸

In the epigraphic records we come across certain numbers that are always affixed to certain territorial divisions, e.g., Raṭṭapāḍī 7½ lakhs, Gangavāḍī 96,000, Nolambavāḍī 32,000, Kavaḍīdvīpa 12,500, Banavasi 12,000, Torṅaḷe 6,000, Karahāṭa 4,000, Kūṇḍī 3,000, Mirinjā 3,000, Konkana 1,400 (Northern Konkana), Tardevadi 1,000, Konkana 900 (Southern Konkana near Goā), &c. The significance of these numbers we have discussed above. What is worthy of note is that these large round numbers are rarely affixed after territorial divisions of the northern portion of Mahārāshṭra, i.e., the territory from the Narmadā to the Godāvarī and a little beyond the latter. It is not easy to offer a satisfactory explanation. This difference may be due to the fact that the southern portion of Mahārāshṭra was closely connected with Southern India where these divisions with round numbers abound. In

¹ See I. A. 15, p. 187, where is recorded a grant of the village of Vatagrāma in the Dipanakaṇṭha and in the Bīlvakhūṭa-ṭhali by धरसेन II, dated 571-72 A. D.

² Cor. I, III, p. 116.

³ Cor. I, III, p. 100, 103.

⁴ We read of a Nāgadevavaniaka in the Kūṇḍalāi grant of Mahārāja Jayasīdha, dated 493-94 A. D., Cor. I, III, 117-118.

⁵ Cor. I, III, 243, 246.

⁶ J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 181.

⁷ J. B. B. R. A. S., IX, pp. 278-279 (grant dated in अतीतकालि 4270).

⁸ See the report of the भारत-इतिहास-संशोधक-मण्डल for Śaka 1815, pp. 220, 225.

⁹ Bonn, G. Vol. I, part 2, p. 518. See I. A. Vol. 14, p. 130, which records a grant by the Chālukya Virasatyaśrayadeva of Kaḷyāṇapura of a village named Selagāra in the Mirinjā 300 Kampāṇa.

illustrating the various terms used for territorial divisions, I have gone over most of the subdivisions, both large and small, of Maharashtra. But two or three of them deserve more than a passing notice. First comes Kūṇḍī which was a 3,000 province. It included almost the whole of the modern Belgaum district, a portion of the Kolhapur territory and of the Sangli State and of Dhurwar.¹

Next comes the Mirinja country. It was also a 3,000 province. It was variously spelt as Mirinji, Mairinjā and Mirinjā. It included the modern Mirij, Kurnadwad and a portion of the Bijapur district,² and may have included a portion of the southern part of Konkan just below the Ghāts. The Mahāsamudaleśvara Śilāhāra Gaṇḍarāḍīyā is said to have reigned over the Mirinja Deśa together with Konkan and the seven Kholas (valleys).³ Even Mirinja-Nagara is referred to.⁴ Karāḥāṭaka (modern Karhād) was a 4,000 province. It may have covered the whole of the modern Satara district and a portion of Bhōr and Phaltan States.⁵ About the antiquity of Karahātaka we shall speak later on. A Pratyapdaka 4,000 province is mentioned in the Tdgundi plate of 1082 A. D., the ruler of which was the Simla chief Munjarāḍeva (E. I., Vol. III, p. 310). Dr. Fleet identifies this province with modern Phaltan (I. A., Vol. 30, pp. 380-81).

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.

In these days we often hear it said that the form of Government in ancient India was a limited monarchy or that it was popular and democratic in spirit and not despotic.⁶ On the other hand there are

¹ See I. A., 14, pp. 21, 25 where Kūṇḍī is said to be a 3,000 province and to have included Terāḍīla (modern Terdal in Sangli State); I. A., Vol. 16, p. 25, where the Aintage 700 (modern Aitap in the Kolhapur State) is said to have formed part of the Kūṇḍī province. In I. A., Vol. 20, p. 278, Dr. Fleet gives an interesting note on the Kūṇḍī country. His conclusions are that the Kūṇḍī 3,000 province was only a part of a much larger territory known by the name of Kūṇḍī and that Kūṇḍī 7000 of the Rattas was probably bounded on the north by the Kṛishṇā and Dndhaganga, on the west by a line which left the Dndhagangā close on the west of Bhōj and ran irregularly southwards on the west of Nipani and Sankeshwar and the east of Huleas. These boundaries stretch rather too far and would not leave sufficient room for Mirinja and Karahātaka.

² J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII, p. 7, for Kurnadwad being a part of Mirinji Deśa.

³ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII, p. 1. See I. A., Vol. 30, p. 369 for Dr. Fleet's note on Mirinja Deśa.

⁴ Huggess and Bhagwatal's Cave Temples, pp. 102, 104.

⁵ I. A., Vol. 30, p. 378. Dr. Fleet admits that the boundaries can be indicated only partially. According to him, no portion of the Karahātaka district on its southern boundary is beyond the Kṛishṇā. On the north of it was the Pratyapdaka 4,000 province. To the east was Tardnāvādi 1,000 (Taddavādi is on the south bank of the Bhīmā 37 miles north-east from Bijapur).

Western writers who say¹ 'the great Empires of the East were in the main tax-collecting institutions. They exercised coercive force on their subjects of the most violent kind for certain purposes and at certain times, but they do not impose laws as distinct from particular and occasional commands. Nor do they judicially administer and enforce customary laws.' In my humble opinion, neither the enthusiastic but exaggerated encomiums of the former, nor the biassed and sweeping condemnation of the latter represents the truth about the ancient empires of India. In the following pages an endeavour will be made to convey a fair estimate of the state of government in ancient India.

Before proceeding further it will be necessary to make certain prefatory remarks. Ancient Indian writers had clear notions as to what constitute the essential elements of a state and their respective importance. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kaṇṇiṇya lays down that there are seven elements of the state, *vis.*, the ruler, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, the army and the friend.² The *Manusmṛiti* inserts 'the capital' before the country and omits 'the fort' and says that each proceeding is more important than each succeeding one.³ Thus we shall see the ruler was regarded as the most important element of the state. The king is consequently glorified as a veritable deity and anarchy is condemned in the strongest terms in such works as the *Manusmṛiti*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*.⁴ The latter work contains one of the most graphic descriptions of the evils of anarchy.⁵ But in spite of the fact that the office of the ruler was looked upon with the greatest veneration, Sanskrit writers did not evolve the theory that the king could do just as he pleased. In the Sanskrit writings we hear very little of the rights and privileges of kings; but the whole emphasis is laid on their duties. Instead of the favourite clamour of the Americans that taxation and representation go hand in hand,

¹ See T. H. Green's Lectures on the principles of Political obligation quoted in Prof. Aiyangar's 'Ancient Indian Polity,' p. 39.

² 'स्वाम्यमात्यजनपददुर्गाकोशदण्डमित्राणि प्रकृतयः' अर्थशास्त्र अधि० ७, पं. २५५.

³ स्वाम्यमात्यौ पुरं राष्ट्रं कोशदण्डौ सुहृत्तथा । सप्त प्रकृतयो ह्येताः सप्ताङ्गं राज्यमुच्यते ॥
सप्तानां प्रकृतीनां तु राज्यन्यासां यथाक्रमम् । पूर्वं पूर्वं गुरुतरं जानीयाद्व्यसनं महत् ॥
मनु० ७, २५५-२५८.

⁴ 'इन्द्रानिलयमार्काणामग्नेश्च वरुणस्य च । चन्द्रवित्तेशयोश्चैव मात्रा निर्हृत्य
शाश्वतीः ॥ यस्मादेषां सुरेन्द्राणां मात्राभ्यो निर्मितो नृपः । तस्मादभिभवत्येष सर्वभूतानि
तेजसा ॥' मनु० ७, ४५.

⁵ अयोध्याकाण्ड अ० ५७.

Indian writers say that taxation and protection of the people go hand in hand. The ideal king is he who taxes the people for their welfare, who maintains the rules of the Varnas and Āśramas and who affords protection to his subjects. This is the goal of kingship prescribed not only by altruistic philosophers and poets,¹ but even by practical politicians like Kauṣilya trained in the hard school of intrigue and bloodshed.² In one place Kauṣilya says 'the welfare of the king lies in the welfare of his subjects, his happiness is the happiness of his subjects.' These words remind us of the famous proclamation of the late Queen Victoria which breathes the same sentiment in the words 'in their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security and in their gratitude our best reward.'

According to the theory of ancient Sanskrit writers on political administration, the king was the head of the Government. He was to be assisted by a council of high ministers whose number varied from eight to twenty.³ He was to convene a meeting of his councillors when any important business arose and was to act on the advice of the majority. The Śukranīti⁴ lays down that the king's council should consist of ten ministers and describes their functions. These ten ministers were :—Purodhas (the priest), Pratinidhi (vicegerent), Pradhāna (Premier), Sachiva (Commander), Mantri (Councillor), Prādvivāka (Chief Justice), Paṇḍita (Scholar), Sumantra, Amūtya and Dūta (Spy). We are informed by the Śukranīti that according to some, the king's council should consist of eight ministers only, omitting the Purodhas (priest) and the Dūta. The functions of these ministers were as follows⁵ :—'The Pratinidhi is he who knows what is to be done and what is not to be done. The Pradhāna is he who has an eye on all things. The Sachiva is the man who knows

¹ Kalidāsa says 'प्रजानामेव भूत्यर्थं स ताम्यो बलिमग्रहीत्' रघु० I. 18; अश्वमेधः सुमहाश्रम भवेत्तस्य तु भूपतेः । यो हरेर्बलिपद्भागं न च रक्षति पुत्रवत् ॥ रामायण अरण्यकाण्ड 6. 11.

² 'अज्ञानं सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानां च हिते हितम् । नात्मप्रियं हितं राज्ञः प्रजानां तु प्रियं हितम् ॥' अर्थशास्त्र अधि. I. 17. 30.

³ Kauṣilya's Artha Śāstra, p. 29. 'मन्त्रिपरिषद् द्वादशमास्यान् कुर्वतीति मानवाः । षोडशेति बार्हस्पत्याः । विंशतिमित्यौशनसाः । यथासामर्थ्यमिति कौटिल्यः । आत्ययिके कार्ये मन्त्रिणो मन्त्रिपरिषद् चाहूय ब्रूयात् । तत्र यज्ञयिष्ठाः कार्यसिद्धिकरं वा ब्रूयुस्तत्कुर्वात् ।'

⁴ S. B. H., Vol. XIII, p. 68.

S. B. H., Vol. XIII (Śukranīti), pp. 70, 71.

all about the army. The Mantri is one who is an adept in diplomacy. The Paṇḍita is the person who is well up in the theory of religion and morals. The Prāḍvivāka is he who has knowledge of men, Śāstras and morals. The Amātya is known to be the person who has knowledge of lands and records. The Sumantra is he who knows of the incomes and disbursements.¹

Passing over the members of the king's council and coming to the gradation of officers, we see that according to the Smṛitis the village was the lowest unit of administration and the headman of the village the lowest officer. The Manusmṛiti says that the king should appoint officers for each village, for ten villages, for twenty, one hundred and a thousand villages and that the headman of the village was to submit reports about his village to the head of ten villages and so on.² We learn from the Śukranīti that an average village was a Kṛośa³ in area and yielded a revenue of a thousand silver Karshas.⁴ The person appointed over ten villages was called a Nāyaka, the ruler of 100 villages was called a Sāmanta and one who governed 10,000 villages was called Āśāpāla or Svarāt.⁵ The Śukranīti specifies another method of distinguishing the several titles of rulers of smaller or larger areas. A Sāmanta is one whose yearly revenue is from one to three lakh Karshas; a Māṇḍalika between three to ten lakh Karshas; a Rājā between ten to twenty lakh Karshas, a Mahārājā between twenty to fifty lakhs; a Svarāt's

ग्रामस्याधिपतिं कुर्यादशग्रामपतिं तथा । विशतीशं शतेन च सहस्रपतिमेव च ॥
ग्रामदोषान् समुत्पन्नान्नामिकः शनकैः स्वयम् । शमेद् ग्रामदशेशाय दशेशो विशतीशिने ॥
विशतीशस्तु तत्सर्वं शतेशाय निवेदयेत् । शमेद् ग्रामशतेशस्तु सहस्रपतये स्वयम् ॥ मनु०
७.११.१७.

¹ परमादीश्वर in his comment on आर्यभट्ट's दशगीतिकासूत्र (Dr. Kern's ed.), V. 6, says
'उक्तं च तत्परिमाणं तन्मान्तरे । यवोद्वैरहगुग्महसंख्यहस्तोगुलैः पद्गुणितैश्चतुर्भिः ।
हस्तैश्चतुर्भिर्भवतीह दण्डः क्रोशः सहस्रद्वितयेन तेषाम् ॥' According to this क्रोश
as a measure of distance is 1,000 दण्ड, i.e., 8,000 cubits. So the area of a village would be
(8,000 × 8,000) 64,000,000 square cubits, i.e., about 18,000,000 square yards, i.e., 5½ miles
(square). But according to the शुक्रनीति, क्रोश is 3,000 cubits if प्रजापति be followed
and 4,000 cubits if मनु be followed and the area of a क्रोश would be two crore and a
half cubits with the प्रजापति reckoning. S. B. H., Vol. XIII, p. 75.

² A Karsha was equal to eighty Ratīs, i.e., less than a Tola which is equal to 96 Ratīs. So 1,000 Karshas would be equal to 83½ Ruppes.

³ S. B. H., Vol. XIII (Śukranīti), p. 25.

income is between fifty lakhs and a crore; a Samrāt's income is between one and ten crores; a Virāt's income between ten and fifty crores. A Śīrvabhauṃa's income exceeds fifty crore Karshas.¹ It seems that the titles given above and the incomes corresponding to each are more fanciful than real and display more the author's love for symmetry than his faithfulness to practical life. There is of course some basis of facts as to the titles of rulers. From the inscriptions we see that an emperor (Chakravartin) was usually distinguished by the titles, 'pārameśvara, paramabhaṭṭaraka, mahārājadhirāja; that a king was usually styled simply Mahārāja; that feudatory princes were called Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara as the Śilāharas of Thana.

Among ancient Classical writers Strabo gives a detailed and interesting account of the several officers appointed to supervise the several branches of administration. He says 'Of the Magistrates, some have charge of the market, others of the city, others of the soldiery. Some superintend rivers, measure land, inspect sluices and have charge of hunters. They collect taxes and supervise occupations connected with land. They look after public roads and erect a pillar to indicate byroads and distances at every tenth Stadia.' Again we are told that those who have charge of the city are divided into six bodies of five each. The first inspect everything relating to industrial arts, the second entertain strangers, assign them lodgings and send them out of the country; the third enquire in what manner and at what time births and deaths occur not only for imposing taxes, but for preventing death; the fourth are occupied with retail and barter and weights and measures; the fifth supervise manufactured articles and sell them by public notice, the mixture of old and new being punished; the sixth collect the tenth part of the price of articles sold.² We shall compare this interesting account of the gradations of officers with the one contained in the Arthaśāstra and then try to find out what the inscriptions tell us about them.

(To be continued.)

¹ See B. B. II, Vol. XIII (शुक्रनीति), p. 24.

² See McCrindle's Ancient India (Strabo), p. 52.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

*Proceedings of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society,
1913-14 and A list of Presents to the Library, 1914.*

PROCEEDINGS.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 23rd March 1914.

The Hon. Mr. Justice J. J. Heaton, I.C.S.,

President, in the Chair.

The Honorary Secretary read the following report :

The Annual Report for 1913.

MEMBERS.

Resident.—During the year under review 31 new Members were elected and one Non-Resident Member having come to Bombay was added to the list of Resident Members ; 22 Members resigned, 2 died, and 7 having left Bombay were put on the Non-Resident list. This leaves 306 on the Roll at the end of the year, the number at the close of the preceding year being 305.

Non-Resident.—20 new Members joined under this class and 7 Resident Members having left Bombay were added to the Non-Resident list ; 17 Members withdrew, 2 died and 1 was transferred to the Resident list. The number at the close of the year was 156 against 149 at the end of 1912.

OBITUARY.

The Society records with regret the death of the following Members:—

Resident.

Rev. J. Cameron.

Miss R. Savage.

The issues of books under several classes were as under:—

Fiction	...	...	...	...	...	...	14,168
Biography	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,507
Travel, Topography	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,472
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,410
Politics, Sociology, Economics	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,231
History	...	...	...	...	...	...	998
Oriental Literature	...	...	...	...	...	...	809
Poetry, Drama	...	...	...	...	...	...	571
Philosophy	...	...	...	...	...	...	418
Reviews, Magazines (Bound Volumes)	...	...	...	...	...	...	387
Science, Natural History...	...	...	...	...	...	...	379
Archæology, Folklore, Anthropology	...	...	...	...	...	...	322
Grammars, Dictionaries...	...	...	...	...	...	...	258
Public Records	...	...	...	...	...	...	255
Religion	...	...	...	...	...	...	253
Foreign Literature	...	...	...	...	...	...	249
Literary History, Criticism	...	...	...	...	...	...	225
Naval, Military	...	...	...	...	...	...	215
Art, Architecture, Music	...	...	...	...	...	...	190
Classics	...	...	...	...	...	...	165
Logic and works relating to Education	...	...	...	...	...	...	139
Medicine, Surgery	...	...	...	...	...	...	114
Law	...	...	...	...	...	...	59
Botany, Agriculture	...	...	...	...	...	...	54
Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy	...	...	...	...	...	...	54
Periodicals in loose numbers	...	...	...	...	...	...	14,136
Total ..							40,218

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The total number of volumes added to the Library during the year was 1,565, of which 1,163 were purchased and 402 were presented.

Presents of books were as usual received from the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India, the Bombay Government and other Local Governments, and also from the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayet Funds and individual authors and donors.

The number of volumes added to the Library by purchase and presentation under the different subjects is shown in the following table :—

<i>Subjects.</i>	<i>Volumes purchased.</i>	<i>Volumes presented.</i>
Religion and Theology	23	2
Philosophy	32	...
Logic, Education	17	...
Classics, Translations	14	...
Philology and Literary History	15	...
History, Chronology	54	12
Politics, Political Economy	137	9
Law	3	7
Public Records	6	204
Biography	88	2
Archæology, Antiquities	15	13
Voyages, Travels, &c.	118	66
Poetry and Drama	49	3
Fiction	292	2
Miscellaneous	58	9
Foreign Literature	10	...
Astronomy	2	...
Art, Architecture, &c.	14	3
Naval, Military	17	2
Natural History, Geology, &c.	19	3
Botany, Agriculture, &c.	2	1
Physiology, Medicine	5	3
Annuals, Serials, Transactions of the Learned Societies	60	6
Dictionaries, Grammars and Reference Works	22	19
Oriental Literature	91	36
	<u>1,163</u>	<u>402</u>

The papers, periodicals, journals and transactions of the Learned Societies subscribed for and presented to the Society during 1913 were :—

English Newspapers—

Daily	1
Weekly	30

English Magazines and Reviews—

Monthly	34
Quarterly	25
English Almanacs, Directories, Years Books, &c.	17
Supplements to English Illustrated and other Papers	30

Foreign Literary and Scientific Periodicals	11
American Literary and Scientific Periodicals	14
Indian Newspapers and Government Gazettes	26
Indian and Asiatic Journals, Reviews, &c.	34

A meeting of the Society as required by Article XX of the Rules was held in November for the revision of the list of Newspapers, Magazines, &c., taken by the Society.

At this meeting it was resolved to subscribe to the following Magazines from 1914 :—

- (1) British Review,
- (2) Hindustan Review,

and to discontinue the Oriental Review.

The list of missing books has been checked and the Catalogue Sub-Committee is going over it with a view to see which of them should be replaced. Books of the Geographical section have been examined and catalogued. A list of Magazines has been drawn up and lists of Newspapers and Public Records will soon be made. Illustrated books on the Tables and Reference works have yet to be examined and given Press numbers. As soon as all this preliminary work is complete, Manuscript of the new Catalogue of the Library for the press will be taken in hand and it is proposed to add two temporary hands, one of them a graduate, for the work.

Mr. M. M. S. Gubbay, I.C.S., going home on long leave resigned his office as the Honorary Secretary of the Society in November. Prof. G. Anderson was appointed in his place.

COIN CABINET.

The number of Coins added to the Society's Coin Cabinet during the year was 78. Of these 8 were gold, 34 silver, 16 copper and 20 of mixed metal. Of the total, 3 gold were presented by the Chief of Jath and 2 copper were received from the Under Secretary to Government, General Department, Bombay, and the rest were acquired from different Governments under the Treasure Trove Act.

The Coins are of the following description :—

South Indian, Gold.

- (3) Achyut Raya (probably).

Obv. Blank.

Rev. Double headed eagle monster holding up small elephants in its beaks and claws.

Presented by the Chief of Jath.

- (1) Shri Pratapa Deva Raya.
Obv. Shri Pratapa; Deva Raya.
Rev. God and Goddess seated.

Found in Sholapur Dist.

Sultans of Delhi, Gold.

- (1) Sultan Muhammed (Ahmed) Malik.
Obv. Sultan Muhammed (Ahmed) Malik.
Rev. Sultan-ul-Adil.

Found in Arcot Dist.

- (1) Venktesh Ducat, Gold.

Found in Ratnagiri Dist.

- (2) Gold, not decipherable

Found in Champaran Dist.

Behar and Orissa.

- (5) Silver, Larins.

Found in Ahmednagar Dist.

Sultans of Delhi, Silver.

- (5) Muhammed Bin Taghalak.

Found in Shahajahanpur Dist., U. P.

Mogul Coins, Silver.

- (11) Akbar.
Mint Fattchpur (4)
„ Jaunpur (1)

Found in Mirzapur Dist., U. P.

- | | |
|---------------------|-----|
| „ Fattchpur | (1) |
| „ Ahmedabad | (1) |
| „ Tatta | (1) |
| „ Lahore | (1) |
| „ Urdu Zafar Querin | (1) |
| Ornamental Design | (1) |

Found in East Khandesh Dist.

- (1) Aurangzeb.
Barhanpur Mint.

Found in Ahmednagar Dist.

- (9) Shah Alum.
Benares Mint.

Found in Hardai Dist., U. P.

- (1) Shah Alum II.
Ahmednagar Mint.

Found in Muradabad Dist., U. P.

Mysore Coins, Silver.

- (1) Tipu Sultan.
Sheringapatam Mint.

Found in Satara Dist.

- (1) *Silver*, French East India Co.
Arcot Mint.

Found in Satara Dist.

Malwa Coins, Copper.

- (1) Muhammed Shah II.

Found in Tonk State.

Jaunpur Coins, Copper.

- (12) Husein Shah of Jaunpur.

Found in Sultanpur & Jalaun Dist., U. P.

Sultans of Delhi, Copper.

- (1) Muhammed Shah.
Obv. Mahammed Shah.
Rev. Sultan Allauddin.

Found in Krishna Dist., Madras.

- (2) **Chhatrapati Coins, Copper.**

*Presented by the Under Secretary to
Government, General Dept., Bombay.*

Sultans of Delhi, Mixed Metal.

- (7) Mubarak I.
(5) Muhammed II.
(4) Muhammed bin Taghalak

Found in Shahajahanpur Dist., U. P.

- (2) Masud.
(2) Nasiruddin.

Found in Sultanpur Dist., U. P.

There were 905 coins under examination at the end of the last year and 386 were received during the year under report. The latter included 6 gold, 1 gold ear-ring and 5 silver from the Mamlatdar of Shirpur, West Khandesh; 214 silver and one copper from the Mamlatdar of Halol, Punch Mahals; 29 silver from the Collector of East Khandesh; 1 gold from the Collector of Ahmednagar; 8 silver and 2 copper from the Collector of Larkana; one silver from the Mamlatdar of Chiplun; 1 silver and 4 copper from the Collector of Kaira and 113 from the Akkalkot State. Of these, 906 (905 under examination of last year and one gold from the Collector of Ahmednagar received in 1913) were examined and reported to Government. They were examined for the Society by Mr. F. J. Thanawala and Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar. 215 from Halol, 12 from Shirpur, 5 from Kaira and 113 from Akkalkot are under examination; 29 from East Khandesh were sent to the Mint for disposal and one from Chiplun and 10 from Larkana were returned as they were found to possess no historical and numismatic importance. 16 silver and 28 copper received from the Collector of Nasik in 1912 were also returned as they were without numismatic value.

The selected coins were distributed among the following institutions and the balance after distribution forwarded to the Mint Master for sale :—

<i>Institution.</i>	<i>Gold.</i>	<i>Silver.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
The Prince of Wales Museum of Western India	28	28	56
The Indian Museum, Calcutta	14	24	38
Madras Museum	11	20	31
The Provincial Museum, Lucknow	8	18	26
The Lahore Museum... ..	7	16	23
The Nagpur Museum	4	16	20
The Public Library, Shillong	4	16	20
The Archaeological Museum, Poona	3	15	18
The Peshawar Museum	3	15	18
The Quetta Museum	2	14	16
The Ajmer Museum	2	14	16
The Rangoon Museum	2	14	16
Asiatic Society, Bengal	2	14	16
Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society	2	14	16
The British Museum	2	13	15
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge	2	13	15
For sale at the Mint... ..	31	515	546
	127	779	906

ACCOUNTS.

A statement detailing the items of receipts and disbursements accompanies the Report. The total amount of subscription received during the year was Rs. 14,361. Subscription in the previous year amounted to Rs. 14,481. There was besides a sum of Rs. 1,120 received on account of life-subscriptions from two Resident and one Non-Resident members, which was invested in Government Securities as required by the Rules.

The Balance to the credit of the Society at the end of the year, including what has been advanced to the Jackson Memorial Fund is Rs. 4,453-3-8.

The Government Securities of the Society amount to Rs. 21,700.

Rao Bahadur Nadkarni proposed and Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson seconded that the following gentlemen form the Committee of Management and Auditors for 1914:—

President.

The Hon. Mr. Justice J. J. Heaton, I.C.S.

Vice-Presidents.

Shams-ul-ulma Dr. J. J. Modi, B.A.

Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, M.A., D.D., LL.D.

Rev. Dr. R. Scott, M.A., D.D.

Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Kt.

Members.

J. E. Aspinwall, Esq.

Rao Bahadur G. N. Nadkarni, B.A., LL.B.

Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.

V. P. Vaidya, Esq., B.A., Bar-at-Law.

The Hon. Sir Fazulbhoy C. Ibrahim.

H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.

The Hon. Dr. D. A. DeMonte, M.D.

Prof. S. M. Isfahani.

Lt.-Col. K. R. Kirtikar, I.M.S. (Retired).

Prof. P. A. Wadia, M.A.

Rev. R. M. Gray, M.A.

Dr. H. Stanley Reed.

The Hon. Mr. Justice L. A. Shah, M.A., LL.B.

Prof. K. N. Colville, M.A.

A. F. Kindersley, Esq., B.A., I.C.S.

Honorary Secretary.

Prof. G. Anderson, M.A.

Honorary Auditors.

Rao Bahadur S. T. Bhandare.

K. MacIver, Esq.

Mr. V. P. Vaidya proposed that the amount of Rs. 1,000 provisionally sanctioned by the Committee of Management for printing a new Catalogue of the Library and the amount of Rs. 1,250 sanctioned for furniture and repairs be confirmed.

Rao Bahadur S. T. Bhandare seconded the proposal which was unanimously carried.

After the Annual Meeting, an Ordinary Meeting of the Society was held when Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi read a paper on "A few materials for a chapter in the early History of Bactria."

Rao Bahadur P. B. Joshi having made a few remarks on the connection of Bactria with Ancient India from a Hindu point of view, Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan proposed a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Modi for his interesting paper and complimented him on his having contributed several valuable papers to the Society's Journal. Rao Bahadur G. N. Nadkarni seconded the proposal which was carried with applause and the proceedings terminated.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Saturday, the 5th September 1914.

The Hon. Mr. Justice J. J. Henton, I.C.S., President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Dr. Mann then read a paper on "Intermittent Springs at Rajapur in the Bombay Presidency" by himself and Mr. S. R. Paranjpe.

Mr. V. P. Vaidya on behalf of the Society thanked Mr. Paranjpe and Dr. Mann for the interesting paper and the proceedings terminated.

A meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, the 6th October 1914.

The Hon. Mr. Justice J. J. Heaton, I.C.S., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya then read a paper on "Solar and Lunar Races of Kshatriyas of India in the Vedas."

After some remarks Prof. H. M. Bhadkamkar proposed a vote of thanks to Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya for his interesting paper which being seconded by Dr. Modi was unanimously passed.

A meeting of the Society was held on Monday, 23rd November 1914.

The Hon. Mr. Justice J. J. Heaton, I.C.S., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The meeting considered the proposals for alteration in the list of Newspapers and Periodicals taken by the Society received from various members as well as those noted in the Suggestion Book during the year ; and after some discussion it was resolved to subscribe to the following papers from the beginning of 1915 :—

The Library World,
The English Woman,
The New Statesman,
The Round Table,
Journal des Debats (Weekly),
International Whitaker,

and to discontinue the following from the same date—

Les Annales,
The Observer,
The World,
Statesman's Year Book,

and to propose exchange of the Society's Journal for,

Journal, Central Asian Society,
Journal, Royal Horticultural Society,
Library, Miscellany, Baroda.

Prof. G. Anderson proposed and Mr. V. P. Vaidya seconded that Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson be appointed a trustee of the Society's Securities in place of Mr. James MacDonald. Carried.

Shruus-ul-Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi then read his paper on Goethe's Buch des Parsen or Parsi Nameli (The Book of the Parsis).

Justice L. A. Shah proposed a vote of thanks to Dr. Modi for his interesting paper, Mr. V. P. Vaidya having seconded it, it was passed unanimously.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 17th December 1914.

The Hon. Sir John Heaton, President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Prof. H. G. Rawlinson then read his paper on "Barham and Josaphat : a study in the migration of fables."

After some remarks on the paper by Rev. Fr. Aillinger, Mr. N. P. Pavri proposed a vote of thanks to Prof. Rawlinson for his interesting paper. The proposal being seconded by Mr. A. X. Soares was carried unanimously.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, 18th March 1915.

PRESENT :

The Hon'ble Sir John Heaton, President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Prof. K. N. Colville in the absence of the Honorary Secretary read the following report :—

The Annual Report for 1914.

MEMBERS.

Resident.—During the year under review 52 new members were elected and 2 Non-Resident members having come to Bombay were transferred to the list of Resident members. 33 members resigned, 5 died and 6 having left Bombay were put on the Non-Resident list. This leaves 316 on the Roll at the end of the year, the number at the close of the preceding year being 306.

Non-Resident.—14 members were elected under this class and 6 Resident members having left Bombay were put on the Non-Resident list. 18 members resigned and 2 members having come to Bombay were transferred to the Resident list. The number at the close of the year is 164 against 156 at the end of 1913.

OBITUARY.

The Society records with regret the death of the following members :—

Mr. B. N. Seervai.

„ H. C. Macintyre.

„ J. A. Brandon.

„ J. A. Stewart.

Rao Bahadur G. N. Nandkarni.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

The following papers were contributed to the Society's Journal during the year :—

- I. Goethe's Buch des Parsen or Parsi Nameh (the Book of the Parsis). By Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi.
- II. Intermittent Springs at Rajapur in the Bombay Presidency. By Dr. H. H. Mann and S. R. Paranjpe.
- III. The Solar and Lunar Kshatriya Races of India in the Vedas. By C. V. Vaidya, M.A., LL.B.
- IV. A few materials for a chapter in the early History of Bactria. By Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.
- V. Barlaam and Josaphat. By Prof. H. G. Rawlinson, M.A.
- VI. Successors of Ramanuja and the growth of sectarianism among the Shrivaislinavas. By Prof. V. Rangachari, M.A.

LIBRARY.

The issues of books during the year under review were 40,754 volumes—27,877 of new books including periodicals and 12,877 of old books. The daily average excluding Sundays, Holidays and the first week of December was 139. The total number of issues in the previous year was 40,218.

A detailed statement of monthly issues is given below :—

MONTHLY ISSUES.

						<i>New Books.</i>	<i>Old Books.</i>
January ...	...	...	...	...	...	2,423	1,199
February ...	...	...	...	...	...	2,169	1,004
March ...	...	...	...	...	...	2,419	1,059
April ..	...	...	...	...	...	2,376	1,111
May ...	...	...	...	...	...	2,469	1,105
June ...	...	...	...	...	...	2,327	1085
July ...	...	...	...	...	...	2,463	1173
August ...	...	...	...	...	...	2,043	882
September ...	...	...	...	...	...	2,285	982
October ...	...	...	...	...	...	2,425	1,126
November ...	...	...	...	...	...	2,478	911
December ...	...	...	...	...	...	2,000	1,234

The issues of books under several classes were as under :—

Fiction	13,897
Biography	1,739
Travels and Topography	1,521
Miscellaneous	1,461
Politics, Sociology, Economics	1,444
History	1,076
Poetry, Drama	796
Oriental Literature	780
Philosophy	509
Naval, Military	407
Reviews, Magazines (bound volumes)	375
Archæology, Folklore, Anthropology	351
Science, Natural History	300
Religion	250
Art, Architecture, Music	247
Literary History, Criticism	246
Foreign Literature	235
Public Records	226
Logic, Works relating to Education	187
Grammars, Dictionaries	167
Classics	155
Medicine	155
Law	79
Botany	73
Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy	38
Periodicals in loose numbers	14,040
Total	40,754

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The total number of volumes added to the Library during the year was 1,646, of which 1,220 were purchased and 426 were presented.

Books were received as usual from the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India, Bombay and other local Governments and also from the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayat Funds and individual authors and donors.

The number of the volumes added to the Library by purchase and presentation under the different subjects is shown in the following table :

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Volumes purchased.</i>	<i>Volumes presented.</i>
Religion and Theology	22	...
Philosophy	24	1
Logic, Education	15	...
Classics, Translations	8	1
Philology and Literary History...	29	...
History, Chronology	45	9
Politics, Political Economy	88	1
Law	2	7
Public Records ... ..	...	216
Biography	77	3
Archæology, Antiquities	30	6
Voyages, Travels, &c.	49	51
Poetry and Drama	75	2
Fiction	305	2
Miscellaneous	110	4
Foreign Literature	7	1
Astronomy, Mathematics	2	...
Art, Architecture, &c.	18	3
Naval, Military	40	1
Natural History, Geology, &c.	9	2
Botany, Agriculture	2	7
Physiology, Medicine	7	...
Annals, Serials, Transactions of the Learned Societies	161	13
Dictionaries, Grammars and Reference Works	17	18
Oriental Literature... ..	78	78
	<hr/> 1,220	<hr/> 426

The Papers, Periodicals, Journals and Transactions of the Learned Societies subscribed for and presented to the Society during 1914 were :—

English Newspapers (with supplements).

Daily	1
Weekly	28
English Magazines & Reviews.	
Monthly... ..	31
Quarterly	24

English Almanacs, Directories, Year Books, &c. ...	26
Foreign Literary & Scientific Periodicals ...	12
American Literary & Scientific Periodicals ...	17
Indian Newspapers & Government Gazettes ...	24
Indian & Asiatic Journals & Reviews, &c. ...	52

A meeting of the Society as required by Art. XX of the Rules was held on 23rd November for the revision of the list of Newspapers, Magazines, &c., taken by the Society.

At the meeting the following were added to the list from 1915 : —

1. New Statesman,
2. Journal des Debats,
3. Library World,
4. English Woman,
5. Round Table,
6. International Whittaker

and the following were dropped : —

1. Les Annales,
2. Observer,
3. World,
4. Statesman's Year Book.

THE NEW CATALOGUE.

The preliminary work of the New Catalogue is almost complete. A list of Newspapers and Public Records is made and Illustrated books on Tables have been arranged and given press numbers.

The Manuscript for the Authors' Catalogue is being prepared and will shortly be completed. Before putting it into the printer's hands, however, it will be thoroughly examined so as to ensure as far as possible that every book in the Library finds a place in the new Catalogue and corresponds to the description given therein. Every effort is being made to push on the work and it is hoped that a considerable portion of the Authors' Catalogue will be printed by the end of 1915. The cataloguing of the Jackson Memorial Books, which Mr. Mögre was invited to carry out and to which he was unable to attend owing to ill health, will now be undertaken by the Librarian and finished as early as possible. Though the lists of Magazines, Newspapers and Government Reports are complete, still from lack of space some of the unimportant volumes will have to be rejected and the lists will be referred to the Committee of Management for the purpose.

COIN CABINET.

The number of coins added to the Coin Cabinet during the year was 38. Of these 1 was gold, 19 silver, 14 copper and 4 lead. Of the total 6 were presented by the Durbar of Dewas State, 2 by the Durbar of Akalkot, 11 by U. P. Government, 6 by the Director of Agriculture and Industries, C. P., 8 by Madras Government and the rest were acquired under the Treasure Trove Act.

The Coins are of the following description:—

South Indian (Gold).

1. Nawab of Cuddappa.

Mint Kharpā or Cudappa.

Presented by the Madras Government.

Sultans of Delhi (Silver).

1. Kutbuddin Mubarak I, Khilji.

Presented by the U. P. Government.

Mogul Coins (Silver).

2. Alamgir II.

Mint Benares (1).

„ Shahjahanabad (1).

Presented by the U. P. Government.

6. Shah Alam II.

Mint Benares,

Presented by the U. P. Government.

Coins of Gujarath Sultanate (Silver).

2. Mahammad Shah I.

Found at Halol, Panch Mahals Dist.

3. Muzaffer II.

Found at Halol, Panch Mahals Dist.

French Colonial (Silver).

1. Mahé & Rupee.

Presented by the Madras Government.

Roman Coins (Silver).

1. Denarius of Augustus.

1. Do. of Tiberius.

Presented by the Madras Government.

2. **Punch Marked (Silver).***Presented by the Durbar of Akalkot.***Bahamani Kings of Kulbarni (Copper).**

1. Ahmad Shah I.
1. Humayun Shah.
1. Muhammad Shah II.
2. Mahammad Shah II.
1. Kalim Allah.

*Presented by the C. P. Government.***Sultans of Delhi (Copper).**

2. Firoz Shah III, Tughluk.

Presented by the U. P. Government.

6. (Copper) Struck by some Native States in the name of Shah Alam II.

*Presented by the Durbar of Dewas State.*4. **Andhra Coins (Lead).***Presented by the Madras Government.***DISPOSAL OF TREASURE TROVE COINS.**

There were 343 coins, one gold nose-ring and one silver ring under examination at the close of 1913 and 1,043 were received during 1914. The latter included 5 gold and 1 silver from the Mamlatdar of Shirpur, 200 silver from the Mamlatdar of Bassein, 590 silver from the Mamlatdar of Akola, 203 from the Mamlatdar of Sangamner, 42 gold from the Mamlatdar of Khed, 1 gold and 1 silver from the Collector of West Khandesh. Of these 586, the gold nose-ring and the silver ring were examined, reported to Government and disposed of; one silver from the Collector of West Khandesh was returned as it possessed no numismatic value. The Akalkot Durbar was good enough to allow the Society to distribute to the several institutions 32 of the coins sent by it for examination. The coins were examined for the Society by Mr. Framji J. Thanawala and Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar. 5 from the Collector of Kaira, 590 from the Mamlatdar of Akola, 203 from the Mamlatdar of Sangamner and 1 from the Collector of West Khandesh have yet to be disposed of.

The selected coins have been distributed and the balance after distribution has been forwarded to the Mint Master for sale and disposal. 81 were returned to the Akalkot Durbar.

<i>Institution.</i>	<i>Gold.</i>	<i>Silver.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
The Prince of Wales Museum of Western India	11 (and one gold nose-ring).	33	44
The Indian Museum, Calcutta	7	15	22
Madras Museum	2	13	15
The Provincial Museum, Lucknow ... ..	...	9	9
The Lahore Museum	2	10	12
The Nagpore Museum	2	101	2
The Public Library, Shillong	2	10	12
The Archaeological Museum, Poona ... ..	...	9	10
The Peshwar Museum ... ..	...	7	7
The Quetta Museum ... ..	...	7	7
The Ajmer Museum ... ..	...	7	7
The Rangoon Museum ... ..	...	7	7
Dacca Museum ... ..	...	2	2
Asiatic Society, Bengal ... ..	...	7	7
Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society ... ..	...	7	7
The British Museum ... ..	...	7	7
Fitz-William Museum, Cambridge ... ..	...	6	6
For sale at the Mint	26	286 (and one silver ring).	312
Returned to the Akalkot Durbar ... ..	...	81	81
Total	53	533	586

The Librarian has commenced preparing a complete list of the coins in the Coin Cabinet of the Society with details of each with a view to making a Catalogue after the work in connection with the Catalogue of books is over.

JOURNAL.

No. 67, the fifth number of Volume XXIII, was published during the year under report. In addition to an abstract of Proceedings of the Society and the list of presents it contains the following papers:—

- I. Amarasintha and his commentator Khirasvamin, by Prof. K.B. Pathak, B.A., and K. G. Oka.
- II. Year-measurements in Ancient Times, by V. Venkatachellam Iyer, B.A., B.L.

III. An inquiry as to how a Bell in the Portuguese Church at Borivli came to be transferred to a Hindu Temple at Nasik, by Rustonji Nasarvanji Munshi.

IV. Jadi Rana and the Kissah-i-Sanjan, by Prof. S. H. Hodiwala, M.A.

STAFF.

Mr. G. R. Mogre, Librarian of the Society, retired on pension from January 1914. Mr. P. B. Gothoskar, the Assistant Librarian, has been appointed Librarian in his place and Mr. R. G. Gupte was promoted to be Assistant Librarian.

ACCOUNTS.

A statement of accounts showing the Receipts and Disbursements during the year under report is subjoined. The total amount of subscriptions received during the year was Rs. 15,093-2-0 as against Rs. 14,361 in the previous year. There was besides a sum of Rs. 620 received on account of Life Subscription from one Resident member and one Non-Resident member which was invested in Government Securities as required by the Rules.

The balance to the credit of the Society at the end of the year is Rs. 4,507-14-6. This includes Rs. 2,559-6-11 advanced to the Jackson Memorial Fund.

The Government Securities of the Society, including those of the Premchand Roychand Fund, is Rs. 22,300.

Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson in moving the adoption of the report expressed satisfaction at the work of the Society during 1914, especially the progress of the new Catalogue work. The resolution having been seconded by Mr. S. S. Setlur was carried unanimously.

The following Committee of Management was proposed by Mr. J. E. Aspinwall and was seconded and supported by Dr. Scott and Mr. Wilkinson:

Carried.

THE COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT,

1915

President:

The Hon'ble Justice Sir John Heaton, I.C.S. ;

Vice-Presidents:

Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. J. J. Modi,
B.A.

Rev. Dr. R. Scott, M.A.,

D.D.

Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, D. D.,
LL.D.

Sir Bhalchandra Kirshna, Kt. -

MEMBERS.

J. E. Aspinwall, Esq.
 Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.
 V. P. Vaidya, Esq., B.A.,
 Bar.-at-Law.
 The Hon. Sir Fazulbhoj C.
 Ibrahim.
 H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.
 The Hon. Dr. D. A. DeMonte,
 M.D.
 Prof. S. M. Isfahani.
 Lt.-Col. K. R. Kirtikar, I.M.S.
 (Retired.)

Prof. P. A. Wadia, M.A.
 Rev. R. M. Gray, M.A.
 Dr. H. Stanley Reed.
 Hon. Mr. Justice L. A. Shah,
 M.A., LL.B.
 Prof. K. N. Colville, M.A.
 A. F. Kindersley, Esq., B.A.,
 I.C.S.
 J. M. P. Muirhead, Esq.
 Rao Bahadur S. T. Bhandare

Honorary Secretary:

Prof. G. Anderson, M.A.

On the motion of Rao Bahadur S. T. Bhandare, seconded by Mr. Aspinwall, Messrs. K. MacIver and J. S. Sanzgiri were appointed Honorary Auditors for 1915.

Mr. Setlur then proposed the following alteration in Art. XIV of the Society's rules as recommended by the Committee of Management :—

" Delete the words ' but no contribution shall be received for a lesser period than three months ' occurring after ' months ' in line 9 and add ' The Subscription for three months will amount to Rupees twelve and Annas eight. A Resident member is entitled in lieu of the three months' subscription to pay a monthly subscription of Rupees five.' "

Prof. S. M. Isfahani having seconded the proposition it was passed unanimously.

The following emendations in Art. XLIV suggested by the Committee of Management was split into two parts for separate consideration on the motion of Mr. B. N. Motivala seconded by Rao Bahadur S. T. Bhandare :—

" Substitute ' two individuals ' for ' one individual ' in lines 7 and 8 and add the following at the end of the Article as a separate para. :—

" At the end of twelve months these individuals may continue to use the Library by joining the Society after election as provided in Article 1 on payment of rupees two a month or rupees ten for six months, provided they continue to satisfy the conditions laid down in para. 2 of the Article. Such members will be allowed the use of the Society's rooms and will be entitled to have three books at a time, one

of which only will be a new one. They will be expected to make their own arrangements for carrying books to and from the Library. They will have no power of voting or proposing new members. In other respects they will be subject to the Rules of the Society.' "

The first part, *vis.*, the substitution of two individuals for one was carried unanimously. The second part was put to vote and lost by a majority of 8 : 3 voting for and 11 against it.

On the suggestion of Mr. S. S. Setlur the meeting unanimously agreed to drop the words "either Native or European" in line 8 of Art. XLIV.

The meeting then discussed the circulation of weekly illustrated papers. It was found that the general sense of the meeting was against stopping the circulation.

After the annual meeting an Ordinary Meeting of the Society was held when Dr. J. J. Modi read his paper on a "Persian Inscription of the Mogul times on a stone found in the District Judge's Court at Thana."

Dr. Scott moved a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Modi for his interesting paper. Carried unanimously.

Before dispersing Rao Bahadur S. T. Bhandare proposed that the congratulations of the Society be offered to the President for the high honour of Knighthood, His Majesty the King Emperor had conferred on him.

The proposition being duly seconded was passed with acclamation.

Rao Bahadur S. T. Bhandare then moved the following resolution :-

That the Society heard with regret the sad news of the death of Mr. Gangadhar Ramchandra Mogre, the late Librarian and places on record its sense of high appreciation of his services to the Society as Assistant Secretary and Librarian.

The resolution was seconded and carried.

List of Presents to the Library.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
ACTS passed by the Governor-General of India, 1913.	Government of India.
ADHYAKSILA-Prakara, some notes. By I. J. Sorabji.	The Compiler.
AGRICULTURAL Department, Punjab. Report for 1912-13.	Punjab Government.
— Research Institute and College, Pusa. Report for 1912-13.	Government of India.
— Statistics, India, from 1907-08 to 1911-12, Vol. 1.	Government of India.
— Department, Bombay Presidency. Report for 1912-13.	Bombay Government.
AGRICULTURE in India, progress. Report for 1912-13.	Government of India.
AJMER-Merwara, Administration Report for 1912-13.	Chief Commissioner.
AKABARNAMAH. 2 Vols. By Beveridge.	Asiatic Society of Bengal.
ALL Saints' Day and Other Sermons. By Charles Kingsley.	Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Bombay.
AMERICAN Historical Association, Annual Report for 1911, Vols. 1 & II.	The Association.
— Museum of Natural History, Memoirs, Vol. I, Part V, N. S.	The Trustees.
— Philological Association, Transactions and Proceedings, Vol. 43, 1912.	The Association.
ANNALES, Musée Guimet, Vols. 26 & 27.	The Society.
ANTIQUITIES of Indian Tibet. By A. H. Francke. Part I.	Government of India.
ARCHAEOLOGICAL Department, Mysore. Report for 1912-13.	Mysore Government.
— Department, S. C. Madras, Annual Report, 1913-14.	Madras Government.
— Survey, Burma. Superintendent's report, 1914.	Government of Burma.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
ARCHÆOLOGICAL, Survey of India. Annual Report for 1909-10-11.	Government of India.
———— Survey of India, Eastern Circle. Report for 1912-13.	Bengal Government.
———— Survey of India, Frontier Circle. Report for 1913-14.	N. W. F. Government.
———— Survey of India, Western Circle. Report for the year ending March 1913.	Bombay Government.
ARCHÆOLOGY, Director-General of, Annual Report, Part I, 1911-12.	Government of India.
ASSAM Administration Report for 1912-13.	Government of Assam.
———— Police Administration Report for 1913.	Government of Assam.
AVESTA and the Gathas, Light of the. By F. K. Dadachanji.	Trustees, Parsi Punchayet.
BABER, Memoirs of, Fasc. II. By A. S. Beveridge.	Government of India.
BACTERIOLOGICAL Laboratory, Bombay, its past, present and future.	Bombay Government.
BALUCHISTAN Agency, Administration Report, 1912-13.	Government of India.
BASHGALI Dictionary. By S. Konow.	Government of India.
BENGAL Administration Report for 1912-13.	Bengal Government.
———— District Gazetteers, Vol. B of Noakhali, Tippera and Mymensing.	Government of India.
———— District Gazetteers, 24 Purganas, Vol. A.	Bengal Government.
———— District Gazetteers. Vol. B. (Statistics from 1900-01 to 1910-11) of Bakergunja, Bankura, Burdwan, Chittagong, Chittagong Hill Tracts, Dacca, Hooghly, Jessore, Malda, Nadia, Pabna, Rangpur District, 24 Parganas, Rajshai, Howrah, Khulna, Midnapur, Murshidabad, Birbhum, Bogra, Jailpaigiri, Dinajpur, Darjeeling, and Faridpur Districts.	Government of India.
———— Local Statutory Rules and Orders, 1912. 2 Vols.	Government of India.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
BIHAR and Orissa, Administration Report for 1912-13.	Government of Bihar and Orissa.
BOARD of Scientific Advice for India. Report, 1912-13.	Government of India.
BOMBAY Government Gazette, Parts I, IA, II, III, and VI—IX, January-June and July-December.	Bombay Government.
BOMBAY Improvement Trust Report for 1913-14.	The Trustees.
— Medical Union's Representation to R. C. P. 1.	The Union
— Presidency, Administration Report for 1912-13.	Bombay Government.
— University Calendars for 1914.	Registrar, Bombay University.
— Presidency, Gazetteers, Vol. XVI, XVIII, XIX, XX, and XXII, Vols. B., Government of India.	Bombay Government.
BOTANICAL Survey of India, Report for 1913-14.	Government of India.
BRAHMA Sutra Bhashya of Shri Madhavacharya.	Mysore Government.
BRIHADDHARMA Puranam.	Asiatic Society of Bengal.
BRITISH Columbia, Northern and Yukon Territory, Excursions in.	Government of Canada.
BURMA, Administration Report for 1912-13.	Government of Burma.
— Gazetteer, Amherst Dist., Vol. A.	Government of India.
— Insein Dist., Vol. A.	Government of India.
BUREAU of Science, Philippine Islands, 15th Annual Report.	The Director of the Bureau.
C. P. DISTRICT Gazetteer, Vols. B. of Saugor, Akola, Bilaspur, Raipur, and Seoni.	Government of India.
CANE Crushing in the United Provinces, Notes on. (Pusa Bulletin No. 42.)	Government of India.
CATALOGUE of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore. 2 vols. By R. B. Whitehead.	Punjab Government.
CATHAPATHA, Brahmana. Vols. I and VII.	Asiatic Society of Bengal.
CATHAY and the way thither, Vol. II. Trans. and Edited by Yule.	Bombay Government.

- | <i>Title of Books.</i> | <i>Donors.</i> |
|--|-------------------------------|
| CENSUS of India, General Report, 1911. | Secretary of State for India. |
| — of India, 1911. Report with statistics, 2 Parts. | Government of India. |
| CHAMBER of Commerce, Bombay. Report for 1913. | The Chamber. |
| CHARITABLE Dispensaries in the Punjab. Triennial Report for 1911-13. | Punjab Government. |
| CHATURVARGA Chintamani. Vol. IV. | Asiatic Society of Bengal. |
| CHEMICAL Analysers to Government of Bombay and Sind. Reports for 1913. | Bombay Government. |
| CHEMICAL Examiner to Government of Punjab, Report for 1913. | Punjab Government. |
| CHINESE, the. By J. F. Davis. | Dr. J. J. Modi. |
| CIVIL Justice, Punjab, Report for 1913. | Punjab Government. |
| CLIFTON Park System of Farming. By R. H. Elliot. | The Author. |
| COINS dealt with under the Treasure Trove Act, Nagpore, Report for 1913-14. | C. P. Government. |
| — Indian, Catalogue of, Gupta Dynasty. By J. Allan. | Trustees, British Museum. |
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| CONFERENCES faites au Musée Guimet. | The Society. |
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| DEPARTMENT of Agriculture, Bombay, Bulletin Nos. 56 and 59 for 1914. | Bombay Government. |
| DICTIONARY of persons who knew Muhammad. Vol. I & IV. | Asiatic Society of Bengal. |
| DIRECTOR of Public Instructions, Assam, Report for 1912-13. | Government of Assam. |

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DIRECTOR of Public Instructions, Bombay Presidency, Report, 1912-13, with Supplement.	Bombay Government.
DISPENSARIES, Jail, Hospitals, Vaccination in the C. I. Agency, Report for 1913.	Government of India.
DIWANS of Abid B. Al Abras and Amir B. At Tufail. By Sir C. Lyall.	Trustees, Gibb Memorial.
EAST India Income and Expenditure, 1902-3 to 1912-13.	Secretary of State for India.
EDUCATION in Eastern Bengal and Assam during 1907-8 to 1911-12, Progress Report, 2 vols.	Government of India.
— — — — — India, progress in 1907 to 1911, " (East India), 2 vols.	Secretary of State for India.
— — — — — progress in the Punjab. Report for 1912-13.	Punjab Government.
EPIGRAPHIA Indica. Vol. XI, 1911-12.	Government of India.
EPIGRAPHY, Madras. Annual Report for 1914.	Madras Government.
ESTATES under the Court of Wards in the Punjab, Administration Report.	Punjab Government.
EXAMINATION of the Seed Supply, Poona District. Agricultural Bulletin No. 55.	Bombay Government.
EXCISE Department, Bombay Presidency, Administration Report for 1912-13.	Bombay Government.
— — — — — Department, Government of the Punjab, Report for 1913-14.	Punjab Government.
EXPLANATORY Memorandum by the Under-Secretary of State for India.	Secretary of State for India.
EXTERNAL Land Trade of the province of Sind and British Baluchistan Report.	Bombay Government.
FACTORY Report, Bombay, for 1913.	Bombay Government.
FARAS-NAMAH.	Asiatic Society of Bengal.
FINANCE and Revenue accounts of the Government of India for 1912-13.	Government of India.

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FLAX Experiments conducted at Doorah during the year 1912-13 (Pusa Bulletin No. 35).	Government of India.
FOREST Administration in British India, Annual Return.	Government of India.
— Administration, Punjab, Report for 1912-13.	Punjab Government.
— Circles, Bombay Presidency, Administration Report, 1912-13.	Bombay Government.
— Department, Madras Presidency, Annual Administration Report for 1912-13.	Madras Government.
FORT St. George Records.	
— Sundry Book of 1686.	Diary and Consultation Book, Military Department, 1756.
— Despatches from England, 1680-82.	Madras Government.
FRENCH Genius. By H. Macfall.	Mrs. J. N. Melaxa.
GADADHARA-padhati, Vol. II.	Asiatic Society of Bengal.
GAZETTE of India, Parts I—IV, Supplementary, Extraordinary ; January to June and July to December.	Government of India.
GLOSSARY of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Provinces, Vol. III, L to Z.	Government of India.
GREEN Manuring Experiments, Pusa Bulletin No. 40.	Government of India.
GRIHYA Sutra, Ravisidhant Manjari, Syainika Shastra and Sundaranda-nandan Kavyam.	Asiatic Society of Bengal.
GUIDE Illustré du Musée Guimet de Lyon.	The Society.
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HOME ACCOUNTS of the Government of India, 1912-13.	Secretary of State for India.
HONOURABLE Kitty or Sixes and Seven. By K. N. Colville.	The Author.
HOSPITALS and Dispensaries, Civil, under the Government of Bombay. Annual Report for 1913.	Bombay Government.
HUMANISTIC Studies : Studies in Bergson's Philosophy. By A. Mitchell	University of Kansas.
HYDERABAD State, Census of 1911. Parts I and II Report.	Bombay Government.
I. M. S. and Medical professions in India, Correspondence (East India.)	Secretary of State for India.
INCOME TAX, Statistical Report of Bombay Presidency for 1912-13.	Bombay Government.
INCUMBERED ESTATES in Sind, Administration Report for 1913.	Bombay Government.
INDIA, 1756-1849. By Major W. Hough.	Dr. J. J. Modi.
— Weather Review, Annual Summary for 1912.	Bombay Government.
INDIAN Excise Administration Correspondence (East India).	Secretary of State for India.
— Factories Act, Working Report, Punjab & N. W. F. for 1913.	Punjab Government.
— Financial Statement and Budget for 1914-15 (East India).	Secretary of State for India.
INFLUENCIA do vocabularies Portugues en Linguas Asiaticas. By S. R. Dalgado.	The Author.
INSTRUCTION for rearing Mulberry Silk-worms.	Pusa Bulletin No. 39. Government of India.
IRRIGATION Works, Bombay Presidency, Administration report for 1912-13.	Bombay Government.

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| JAIL Administration of Assam, Report for 1913. | Government of Assam. |
| — Department, Bombay, Administration Report for 1913. | Bombay Government. |
| JAILS in the Punjab, Administration Report for 1913. | Punjab Government. |
| JEWS in China, history of. By S. M. Perlmann. | The Author. |
| JINAKAMALINI. | Vijiranana National Library. |
| JOURNAL Straits Branch, R. A. Society, No. 66, March 1914. | The Society. |
| KHADIRA Grihya Sutram. | Mysore Government. |
| LAND Revenue Administration of the Punjab, Report for the year ending September 1913. | Punjab Government. |
| LAW Cases, Indian, Digest of 1913. By Bose. | Government of India. |
| — Cases, Indian, Digest of (Privy Council Report, etc.). By Bose. | Government of India. |
| — Reports, Indian, Calcutta Series, Vol. 40 for 1913. | Bengal Government. |
| LEGISLATIVE Council of the Bombay Presidency, Proceedings for 1913. Vol. 51st. | Bombay Government |
| LEPROSY and its control in the Bombay Presidency. | Bombay Government |
| LIBRARY of Congress, Report of the Librarian and Superintendent of the Library for 1913. | The Superintendent. |
| LIFE and Life work of J. N. Tata. By D. E. Wacha. | The Author. |
| — History of Brahui. By D. Bray. | Government of India. |
| LOCAL Boards, Bombay Presidency, Administration Report for 1912-13. | Bombay Government. |
| LUCKNOW Provincial Museum, Annual Report. | U. P. Government. |

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— — — Asylum, Punjab, Report for 1913.	Punjab Government.
MADRAS Presidency, Administration Report for 1912-13.	Madras Government.
— — — University Calendar. 3 Vols., for 1914.	Registrar, Madras University.
MAGNETICAL, Meteorological observations made at Government Observatories, Bombay and Alibag, for 1906-10.	Government of India.
MAHANARAYAN Upanishad (German). By R. Zimmermann.	The Author.
MARATHI Poets, some translations of. By H. W. Bell.	The Author.
MARHAMU L-ilah L mudila, Mabani L Lughat.	Asiatic Society of Bengal.
MARITIME Trade of the Province of Sind. Report, 1913-14.	Bombay Government.
MAZDAISM in the Light of Vishnuism. By A. Govindacharya Swami.	Trustees, Parsi Punchayet.
METEOROLOGICAL Department, Government of India, Administration Report, 1913-14.	Government of India.
MILLOWNERS' Association, Bombay, Report, for 1913.	The Association.
MINES in India, Chief Inspector's Report, 1913.	Government of India.
MINISTRY for Agriculture and Trade issued at the opening of the Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition, April 1910, History of	Vijayanana National Library.
MOHAMMADAN Education, Recent Developments in the Bombay Presidency.	Bombay Government.
MONTREAL and Ottawa, excursions in the Neighbourhood of.	Government of Canada.
MORAL and Material Progress of India, Statement for 1912-13.	Secretary of State for India.
MUHAMMADAN and British Monuments, Northern Circle, Report of the Superintendent of, for 1912-13.	U. P. Government.

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———— Taxation and Expenditure in the Bombay Presidency and Sind, Resolution on the report on, for 1912-13.	Bombay Government.
MUNTAKHAB-UL-LUBAB. 2 Vols.	Asiatic Society of Bengal.
N.-W. FRONTIER Province, Administration Report for 1912-13.	N. W. F. Government.
———— District Gazetteer, Vols. B of : Hazara and Kohat, Kurram Agency, Dera Ismail Khan, Banum and Peshawar.	Government of India.
NEILGHERRIES, 1857. By R. Baikie.	Dr. J. J. Modi.
NEW Light on Drake.	Bombay Government.
NEWZEALAND Official Year Book for 1913.	Newzealand Government.
NOTES on Experiments with Sugar-cane at Sabour (Pusa Institute Bulletin No. 37.)	Government of India.
NYAYA Vartikam.	Asiatic Society of Bengal.
ONTARIO, South Western, Excursions in.	Government of Canada.
———— Western Peninsula of and Manitoulin Island, excursions in.	Government of Canada.
OPIUM Department, Bombay Presidency, Report for 1913-14.	Bombay Government.
OUR own Religion in Ancient Persia. By Dr. L. Mills.	Trustees, Parsi Panchayat.
PADUMAVATI. Vol. 1.	Asiatic Society of Bengal.
PAGSAM, Thi Sin. By Sarat Chandra Das.	Asiatic Society of Bengal.
PARSIS, collected Sanskrit writing of. Part IV.	Trustees, Parsi Panchayat.
PATNA University Committee, Report for 1913.	Government of Behar and Orissa.
PESHDADIYAN Family of Iran. By Dr. J. J. Modi.	Trustees, Parsi Panchayat.
POLICE Administration, Punjab, Report for 1913.	Punjab Government.

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——— of the Town and Island of Bombay, Report for 1913.	Bombay Government.
Joint Trust, Bombay, Report for 1913-14.	The Trustees.
Parbandha Chintamani. Trans.	Asiatic Society of Bengal.
PRAPANNA Sowbhāgya Stuti.	Mysore Government.
PRESS Act, 1910, returns showing actions under, from 1910 (East India).	Secretary of State for India.
PROBLEMS of Urdu Teaching in Bombay Presidency.	Bombay Government.
PROCEEDINGS, Imperial Legislative Council. Vols. 51 and 52 for 1912-13 and 1913-14.	Government of India.
PUNJAB and its Dependencies, Administration Report, 1912-13.	Punjab Government.
PUNJAB Colonies, Report for 1913.	Punjab Government.
——— District Gazetteers, Delhi District with Maps.	Punjab Government.
——— District Gazetteer, Vol. A, of Amritsar District.	Government of India.
PUNJAB District Gazetteers : Vols. B of : Amritsar, Delhi, Ferozepore, Faridkot State, Hoshiarpur, Multan, Jhelum, Montgomery, and Shirmur State, Gujranwala, Chamba State, Ludhiana, Lyallpur and Mianwali District.	Government of India.
——— University Calendar for 1914-15.	The Registrar.
PURVAMIMANSA Darshana. Vol. II.	Government of Mysore.
QUEBEC, Eastern and the Maritime Provinces, excursions in.	Government of Canada.
——— Eastern Townships of and Eastern Part of Ontario, excursions in.	Government of Canada.
QUEST of Occupation of Tahiti by Enissaries of Spain during 1772-76. Vol. I.	Bombay Government.

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RAILWAYS and Irrigation Works, Returns, July 1914 (East India).	Secretary of State for India.
RAJASTAN Ratnakara : History of Guhil Princes. (Hindi). By Babu Ram Narayan.	The Author.
RAJPUTANA Museum, Annual Report on the working, for 1912-13.	Superintendent, Rajputana Museum.
RASARNAVAM. Edited by P. Chandra.	Asiatic Society of Bengal.
REGISTRATION Department, Punjab, Administration Reports for 1911, 1912 and 1913.	Punjab Government.
————— Department, Bombay Presidency, Report for 1911-13.	Bombay Government.
REGULATIONS and Rules relating to the constitution of a Legislative Council for the Central Provinces.	Secretary of State for India.
REPORT of the First Regular Wages Survey of the Punjab in December 1912.	Punjab Government.
————— on the work of Indian Students Department for 1912-13.	Secretary of State for India.
REVISED Settlement, Third, of Parol, &c., Kula Sub-Division, Kangra District.	Punjab Government.
REVISION Survey Settlement, papers of Dadu, Shehwar and Johi Talukas of Larkana District.	Bombay Government.
————— Survey Settlement, Dero Mobhai Taluka, Hyderabad District.	Bombay Government.
————— Survey Settlement, Guni, Badin, and Tando Bago Talukas, Hyderabad District.	Bombay Government.
————— Survey Settlement, Second, of Karwar Taluka of Kanara Collectorate Papers relating to.	Bombay Government.
RICE GRAINS, disintegration of, by means of Alkali. Pusa Bulletin No. 38.	Government of India.

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— Department, Sind Administration Report for 1912-13.	Bombay Government.
SAMAYA Prabhatani. Part II. By Kund Kundacharya.	Jain Dharma Pracharini Sabha, Benares.
SANITARY Administration in the Punjab, Report for 1913.	Punjab Government.
— Department, Bombay Presidency, some recent developments.	Bombay Government.
— Measures in India, Report for 1911-12.	Secretary of State for India.
SANITATION, Dispensaries and Jails in Rajputana, Report for 1913.	Government of India.
SANSKRIT and Hindi MSS., list of, 1912-13.	U. P. Government.
— Jaina and Hindi MSS., list of, 1912-13.	U. P. Government.
— Manuscripts, descriptive Catalogue of, in the Government Oriental Library, Mysore.	Madras Government.
SEA-BORNE TRADE and Customs Administration, Bombay Presidency, Report for 1913-14.	Bombay Government.
SEASON and Crop Report of the Bombay Presidency for 1912-13.	Bombay Government.
SHAH NAMA of Firdausi. By Kutar.	Trustees, Parsi Panchayet.
— of Firdausi. Vol. I.	Trustees, Parsi Panchayet.
SHAHNAME, Part III. (Guzerathi).	Trustees, Parsi Panchayet.
SIAM History of 1350 A. D. to 1809. (Siamese).	Government of Siam.
— History of, Vol. I. By H. R. H. Prince Damrong (Siamese).	Government of Siam.
SIKANDAR-NAMAH-i-Bahri and Haft Asman.	Asiatic Society of Bengal.

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| SIXTEEN Tables of Thai Alphabets, current in Siam, Bangkok. | Vijiranana National Library. |
| SMITHSONIAN Institute, Annual Report for 1912. | The Institute. |
| SMRITICHANDRIKA Part I, Samskara Kand. | |
| II Ahnika Kand. | Government of Mysore. |
| SRAGDHARA Stotram. Vol. I. | Asiatic Society of Bengal. |
| STAMP Department, Bombay Presidency, Report for 1913-14. | Bombay Government. |
| STATISTICS of British India for 1911-12 and preceding years, Part IV b | Government of India. |
| Finance and Revenue | |
| STATUTES relating to India, collection of, Vol. II. | Government of India. |
| STATUTORY Rules and Orders, Bengal, Vol. III of 1912. | Bengal Government. |
| SUKHIA vs. Jame Jamshed Libel Suit. | Dr. Sukhia. |
| SUMMARY of the General Administration Report for 1912-13. | Bombay Government. |
| SURVEY of India, General Report on the operations of, for 1912-13. | Government of India. |
| — Settlement, original papers relating to; Kotda, Khabda, and Sahi Talukas, Godhra District, Punch Mahals. | Bombay Government. |
| SWEET Sugar as a Commercial Source of Sugar, &c. (Pusa Bulletin No. 41) | Government of India. |
| TAITTIIRIYA Brahmana, Astaka III, Parts I-II. | Government of Mysore. |
| TALUKDARI Settlement Officer, Annual Report for 1912-13. | Bombay Government. |
| TANTRA, Principles of, Part I. By A. Avalon. | The Author. |
| TANTRIKA Texts: Satchakra Nirupana and Paduka Panchaka. By A. Avalon. | The Author. |
| TARIKH-I-GUZIDA, Vol. II. By Hamdu LLah Mustawfi Qazwine. | Trustees, Gibb Memorial. |
| TATVARTHARAJVARTIKAM. Part II. By Bhatt Kalankdeo. | |
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TIME TABLES, Indian Ports, for 1915.	Secretary of State for India.
TORONTO to Victoria and return via Canadian Pacific, Grand Trunk Pacific and National Transcontinental Railway, Guide to.	Government of Canada.
— to Victoria and return via Canadian Pacific and Canadian Northern Railway, Guide to.	Government of Canada.
TRADE AND Navigation of Aden, Report for 1913-14.	Bombay Government.
— and Navigation, Bombay Presidency, Annual Statement for 1912-13.	Bombay Government.
— and Navigation of Sind, Annual Statement for 1913-14.	Bombay Government.
— and Navigation of the Province of Sind, Annual Statement for 1912-13.	Bombay Government.
— carried by Rail and River, Accounts of, for 1912-13.	Government of India.
TRAVELS of Peter Mundy, 1608-1667. Vol. II, Asia.	Bombay Government.
TRIENNIAL Catalogue of Manuscripts, Vol. I, Part I, Sanskrit.	Madras Government.
UNITED PROVINCES, Administration Report, for 1912-13.	U. P. Government.
UNREPEATED General Acts of the Governor-General in Council, Vol VII.	Government of India.
VACCINATION in the Bombay Presidency, Triennial Report, for 1911-14.	Bombay Government.
VACCINATION in the Punjab. Report for 1913-14.	Punjab Government.
VETERINARY College, Punjab, Annual Report, 1913-14.	Punjab Government.
VIRAHADSWAYAMBHU Purana.	Asiatic Society of Bengal.
VIRATA Mukutbara Stuti. By Shri Nivasa.	Mysore Government.

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YERAVADA Reformatory School, Annual Report.	Bombay Government.
ZARATHUSTRA and his Contemporaries in the Rig Veda.	By S. K. Hodivala.
ZOROASTRIAN Books, Moral extracts from.	Trustees, Parsi Punchayet. By Dr. J. J. Modi.
ZOROASTRIAN Law of Purity.	By N. M. Desai. Trustees, Parsi Punchayet.



*Proceedings of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society,
1915-16 and a List of Presents to the Library, 1915.*

PROCEEDINGS.

A meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 15th April 1915.
Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

There were also present Messrs. J. G. E. Metcalfe, P. N. Daruvala, K. C. Rushton, Dr. J. J. Modi, Rev. Father R. Zimmermann, Messrs. K. Natarajan, Kuvalaya Raj, R. N. Munshi, W. H. Ogston, and Rev. R. M. Gray, the Acting Honorary Secretary.

Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, read his paper on the "Ancient History of Suez Canal from the times of the old Egyptian kings downwards."

After the conclusion of the paper, the President moved a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Modi for his interesting paper.

A meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 21st of October 1915.

Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

There were also present Messrs. L. N. Banaji, Kuvalaya Raj, and Rev. R. M. Gray, the Honorary Secretary. A few visitors were also present.

Dr. Modi read a paper on "Hamza Isfahani; a peep into Arabic Histories in the matters Iranian," by Mr. G. K. Nariman.

Dr. Modi proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Nariman for his interesting and learned paper, which was carried.

A meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 25th November 1915.

The Hon. Justice Sir John Heaton, I.C.S.,
President in the Chair.

There were also present, the Hon. Mr. Justice L. A. Shah, Rev. Dr. R. Scott, Messrs. J. E. Aspinwall, Kuvalaya Raj, B. V. Wasudeo, V. P. Vaidya, R. N. Munshi, Rao Bahadur S. T. Bhandare, Messrs. J. S. Samsgiri, A. B. Agaskar, P. V. Kane, Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya, and Rev. R. M. Gray, the Honorary Secretary.

After some discussion it was resolved to subscribe to "Land and Water" from 1916.

Proposed by Mr. J. E. Aspinwall,

Seconded by Mr. V. P. Vaidya,

Carried.

and to the "Ceylon Antiquary" for one year.

Proposed by Mr. V. P. Vaidya,

Seconded by Mr. J. E. Aspinwall.

Carried.

Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya read his paper on "Harsha and his times."

Mr. P. V. Kane proposed a vote of thanks to Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya for his interesting and learned paper. The proposal having been seconded by Rao Bahadur S. T. Bhandare was unanimously carried.

Mr. V. P. Vaidya proposed and Justice Shah seconded that Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya's paper be printed in the Society's Journal.

Carried.

A meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 16th December 1915.

The Hon. Justice Sir John Heaton, I.C.S.,

President in the Chair.

There were also present, Mrs. W. D. Sheppard, Messrs. G. K. Nariman, Kuvalaya Raj, J. S. Sansgiri, R.N. Munshi, J. P. Watson, Rao Bahadur S. T. Bhandare, Dr. J. J. Modi, Rev. Father R. Zimmermann, and Rev. R. M. Gray, the Honorary Secretary. A few visitors, among whom was Dr. J. Hope Moulton, the distinguished Zoroastrian Scholar, also attended the meeting.

Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi read his paper on "Anquetil Du Perron of Paris : India as seen by him in 1755-61."

Mr. G. K. Nariman proposed a vote of thanks to Dr. Modi for his interesting and learned paper. The proposition being cordially seconded by Dr. J. Hope Moulton was unanimously carried.

A meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 7th February 1916.

The Hon. Justice Sir John Heaton, I.C.S.,
President in the Chair.

There were also present Dr. J. J. Modi, Rev. Father R. Zimmermann, Messrs. A. F. Kindersley, R. N. Munshi, L. N. Bannaji, G. K. Nariman and Kunalaya Raj.

Dr. J. J. Modi read his paper on "Anquetil Du Perron of Paris and Dastur Darab of Surat."

After a few remarks by Rev. R. Zimmermann and Mr. G. K. Nariman, a hearty vote of thanks was moved to Dr. Modi for his interesting and learned paper.

A meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 3rd March 1916.

Rev. Dr. R. Scott, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

The following members attended the meeting :—Miss Seereen S. Paruck, The Hon. Mr. Justice L. A. Shah, Dr. J. J. Modi, Messrs. V. P. Vaidya, H. J. Bhahha, G. K. Nariman, and Rev. R. M. Gray, the Honorary Secretary.

There were also present a few visitors among whom were Dr. J. Hope Moulton and Mr. Ratan Tata.

Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Dr. Modi read his paper on "Dr. Spooner's recent archaeological excavations at Pataliputra and the question of the influence of ancient Persia upon India."

After a few remarks by Dr. Moulton and Mr. G. K. Nariman, Dr. Scott proposed a cordial vote of thanks to Dr. Modi for his interesting and suggestive paper and to Mr. Ratan Tata for his valuable help in promoting Archaeological work in India.

List of Presents to the Library, 1915.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
ABHINAVAKOUSTUBHAMALA.	Travancore State.
Acid, Secretion of the Grain Plant, &c.	Government of India.
Acts passed by the Governor-General of India, 1914.	Government of India.
ADHYATMAPATALA.	Travancore State.
ADMINISTRATION Report, Ajmere-Merwara, 1913-14.	Government of India.
— Report, Assam, 1913-14.	Government of Assam.
— Report, Baluchistan Agency, 1913-14.	Government of India.
— Report, Bengal, 1913-14.	Government of Bengal.
— Report, Bihar and Orissa, 1913-14.	Government of Bihar and Orissa.
— Report, Bombay Presidency, 1913-14.	Government of Bombay.
— Report, Burma, 1913-14.	Government of Burma.
— Report, Civil Justice, Punjab, and its Dependencies, 1914.	Government of the Punjab.
— Report, Forest Deptt., Madras Presidency, 1913-14.	Government of Madras.
— Report, Incumbered Estates in Sind, 1913-14.	Government of Bombay.
— Report, Madras, 1913-14.	Government of Madras.
— Report, N. W. F. Provinces, 1913-14.	Government of the N. W. F. Provinces.
— Report, P. W. D., Bombay Presidency, 1913-14, Part II.	Government of Bombay.
— Report, the Punjab and its Dependencies, 1913-14.	Government of the Punjab.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
ADMINISTRATION Report, Salt Department, Sind, 1914-15.	Government of Bombay.
————— Report, U. P., 1913-14.	Government of the U. P.
AERAPATASTAN and Nirangastan. Translated by Bulsara.	Trustees, Parsi Punchayet.
AGRICULTURAL Research Institute and College, Pusa, Report, 1913-14.	Government of India.
————— Statistics of India, 1912-13. Vol. 1.	Government of India.
AGRICULTURE, Bombay Presidency, Annual Report, 1913-14.	Government of Bombay.
————— Deptt., Bombay Presidency, Bulletins Nos. 60-63.	Government of Bombay.
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*Proceedings of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society,
1916-17, and a List of Presents to the Library, 1916.*

PROCEEDINGS.

A meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 3rd March 1916.

Rev. Dr. R. Scott, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

The following members attended the meeting:—Miss Seerin S. Paruck, Hon. Mr. Justice L. A. Shah, Dr. J. J. Modi, Messrs. V. P. Vaidya, H. J. Bhabha, G. K. Nariman, and Rev. R. M. Gray, the Honorary Secretary.

There were also present a few visitors, among whom were Dr. J. Hope Moulton and Mr. Ratan Tata.

Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Dr. Modi read his paper on "Dr. Spooner's recent archaeological excavations at Pataliputra, and the question of the influence of ancient Persia upon India." After a few remarks by Dr. Moulton and Mr. G. K. Nariman, Dr. Scott proposed a cordial vote of thanks to Dr. Modi for his interesting and suggestive paper and to Mr. Ratan Tata for his valuable help in promoting archaeological work in India.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The annual meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 30th March 1916.

The Hon. Justice Sir John Heaton, Kt., I.C.S., President, in the Chair.

There were also present:—Miss Seerin S. Paruk, Dr. J. J. Modi, Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, Rev. Dr. R. Scott, Prof. P. A. Wadia, Messrs. A. F. Kindersley, I.C.S., K. Natarajan, J. E. Aspinwall, J. M. P. Muirhead, V. P. Vaidya, J. P. Watson, B. N. Motiwala, P. V. Kane, H. J. Bhabha, R. N. Munshi, L. Young, J. R. Gharpure, J. S. Sanghvi, Dr. P. N. Daruvala and Rev. R. M. Gray, the Hon. Secretary.

The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The Hony. Secretary submitted the following report :—

The Annual Report for 1915.

MEMBERS.

Resident:—During the year under report 31 new members joined the Society and 10 Non-Resident members having come to Bombay were transferred to the list of Resident members. 57 members resigned, 5 died and 9 having left Bombay were put on the Non-Resident list. This leaves 306 on the Roll at the close of 1915 as against 316 at the close of the preceding year.

Non-Resident:—20 new members were elected and 9 Resident members having left Bombay were transferred to the list of Non-Resident members. 26 members resigned, one died and 10 having come to reside in Bombay were added to the Resident list. The number at the end of the year is 156, the number at the end of 1914 being 164.

OBITUARY.

The Society records with regret the death of the following members :—

Resident.

- Mr. Jehangir Nasserwanji Modi.
 „ Bomanji Dinshaw Petit.
 „ C. B. N. Cama, I.C.S.
 „ Mathuradas Cursandas Natha.
 Prof. H. M. Bhadkamkar.

Non-Resident.

- Mr. A. Pridemux.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

The following papers were contributed to the Society's Journal during the year:—

1. A Persian Inscription of the Mogul Times on a stone found in the District Judge's Court at Thana. By Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.—*Read, 18th March.*
2. Ancient History of the Suez Canal from the earliest times of the old Egyptian Kings downwards. By Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.—*Read, 15th April.*

3. The Hot Springs of Ratnagiri District. By Dr. H. H. Mann and S. R. Paranjpe.—*Contributed.*
4. Hamza Isfahani: A peep into the Arabic History. By G. K. Narayan.—*Read, 21st October.*
5. Harsha and his times. By C. V. Vaidya, M.A., LL.B.—*Read, 25th November.*
6. Life and times of Shri Vedanta Deshika. By Prof. V. Rangachari, M.A.—*Contributed.*
7. Anquetil du Perron of Paris: India as seen by him in 1755-61. By Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.—*Read 16th December.*

LIBRARY.

The issues of books during the year were 49,062 volumes—32,867 of new books including periodicals, and 16,195 of old books. The daily average, excluding Sundays, holidays and the first week of December, was 172. The total number of issues in the previous year was 40,754.

A detailed statement of monthly issues is given below :

MONTHLY ISSUES.

	New books.	Old books.
January	2,554	1,524
February	2,480	1,319
March	2,868	1,451
April	2,788	1,397
May	2,810	1,326
June	2,888	1,250
July	3,017	1,527
August	3,190	1,648
September	2,913	1,264
October	2,952	1,281
November	2,526	1,021
December	1,881	1,187

The issues of books under several classes were as under :—

Fiction	...	...	...	...	...	16,953
Biography	...	...	...	...	...	1,868
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...	...	1,664
Politics, Sociology, Economics	...	...	...	...	...	1,453
History	...	...	...	...	...	1,349
Travels and Topography	...	...	...	...	...	1,290
Oriental Literature	...	...	...	...	...	1,058
Poetry and Drama	...	...	...	...	...	924
Naval and Military	...	...	...	...	...	677
Reviews, Magazines (bound volumes)	...	...	...	...	...	565
Philosophy	...	...	...	...	...	463
Religion	...	...	...	...	...	381
Archæology, Folklore, Anthropology	...	...	...	...	...	378
Natural History, Geology, &c.	...	...	...	...	...	353
Literary History and Criticism	...	...	...	...	...	278
Logic, Works relating to Education	...	...	...	...	...	222
Art, Architecture, Music	...	...	...	...	...	199
Public Records	...	...	...	...	...	176
Grammars, Dictionaries	...	...	...	...	...	158
Classics	...	...	...	...	...	150
Foreign Literature	...	...	...	...	...	147
Medicine	...	...	...	...	...	111
Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy,	...	...	...	...	...	98
Law	...	...	...	...	...	88
Botany, Agriculture, &c.	...	...	...	...	...	79
Periodicals in loose numbers	...	...	...	...	...	17,980
Total						49,062

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The total number of volumes added to the Library during the year was 1,484, of which 1,032 were purchased and 452 were presented.

Books were received as usual from the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India, Bombay and other local Governments and also from the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat Funds and individual authors and donors.

The number of volumes added to the Society's Library by purchase and presentation under different subjects is given in the following table:—

Subject.	Volumes purchased.	Volumes presented.
Religion and Theology	29	3
Philosophy	20	...
Logic, Education	8	3
Classics	6	...
Philology and Literary History	15	1
History and Chronology	52	7
Politics and Political Economy	71	3
Law	10	8
Public Records ... ..	...	226
Biography	30	6
Archæology, Antiquity	13	8
Voyages, Travels, &c.	34	22
Poetry and Drama	35	1
Fiction	312	...
Miscellaneous	61	2
Foreign Literature	5	...
Astronomy, Mathematics	3	...
Art, Architecture, &c.	12	3
Naval, Military	42	1
Natural History, Geology, &c.	22	4
Botany, Agriculture... ..	1	...
Physiology, Medicine	2	2
Annals, Serials, Transactions of the Learned Societies	162	33
Dictionaries, Grammars, Reference works	22	11
Oriental Literature	45	108
	<hr/> 1,032	<hr/> 452

The Papers, Periodicals, Journals, and Transactions of the Learned Societies subscribed for and presented to the Society during 1915 were:—

English Newspapers—

Daily	1
Weekly	27

English Magazines and Reviews—

Monthly	33
Quarterly	25

English Almanacks, Directories, Year Books, &c. ...	26
Foreign Literary and Scientific Periodicals ...	12
American Literary and Scientific Periodicals ...	17
Indian Newspapers and Government Gazettes...	24
Indian and Asiatic Journals and Reviews, &c. ...	52

A meeting of the Society under Article XX of the Rules was held on 25th November for the revision of the list of newspapers, magazines, &c., taken by the Society and the following were added to the list from 1916 :—

- Land and Water.
- Ceylon Antiquary (for one year).

THE NEW CATALOGUE.

The preliminary work, including the cataloguing of the Jackson Memorial Collection, was completed in September and the copy was made over to the Press in October. Nearly two hundred pages of Part I (Authors) have passed through the second proof, and it is hoped that the volume will be out by September next. The copy of Part II (Subjects) is under preparation. The catalogue when ready will consist of two volumes covering more than 2,000 pages. The work has been entrusted to the British India Press, and the probable cost of printing will be Rs. 5,000.

COIN CABINET.

The number of coins added to the Coin Cabinet during the year was 113. Of these 4 were gold, 61 silver and 48 copper and billon. Of the total, 3 were presented by the Nagod Darbar; 75 by the U. P. Government; 4 by the Director of Agriculture and Industries, C. P.; 8 by the Assam Government; 4 by Mr. Abdul Fattah, Karachi; 1 by the Kashmir Darbar; 4 by the Madras Government; 10 by the Punjab Government; 2 by the Bengal Government and 2 by the Bombay Government.

The coins are of the following description :—

South Indian (Gold).

- 4 Fanams of Ganga Dynasty of Kalinganagar.

Presented by the Madras Government.

Shahi of Ohind (Silver).

- 1 Sri Samant Deva.

Obv. Recumbent bull and letters Sri Samant Deva.

Rev. Horseman and letter 𑂔 (Di) in the left field above the horse.

Presented by the Kashmir Darbar.

Chandella Dynasty of Bundelkhand (Silver).

- 2 Madanavarman, 993, 970.

Presented by the Bengal Government.

Mogul Coins (Silver).

- 1 Shah Allam II.

Saugor Mint. Reg. Year 28.

Presented by the C. P. Government.

- 2 Muhamed Shah.

Mint Shahjahanabad { (1) 1149, Reg. 19.
(1) 1153, " 23.

- 1 Alamgir II.

Mint Shahjahanabad, 116 x.

- 4 Shah Allam II (Oudh Coins).

Mint Benares, 1203—29.

Presented by the U. P. Government.

- 1 Shah Allam II (Struck by some Native State.)

- 1 " (" " " " with Sri).

Found at Sangaur.

Lucknow Coins (Silver).

- 17 Wajid Ali Shah, 1263—72.

- 7 Amjad Ali Shah,

(5) 1258-62, Reg. 1-5.

(1) 1258, Reg. 1. Type A.

(1) 1258, Reg. 1. " B.

- 2 Mahammad Ali Shah, 1256, Reg. 3 & 4.

Presented by the U. P. Government.

Kings of Bengal (Silver).

- 6 Fakhru-d-din, 743-49.

Mint Sunargaon.

- 2 Shamsu-d-din Ilyas Shah.

(1) Type E.

(1) Mint Firozabad, 754. Type A.

Presented by the Assam Government.

Coins of Timur Dynasty (Silver).

- 1 Abdulla. Mint Heerat.

- 1 Ulugh Beg. " " 852

- 1 Shah Rukh. " " 828

- 1 Defaced. " "

Presented by Mr. Abdul Fattah, Dist. Karachi.

Tribal Coins (Copper).

- 10 Audumbara.

Presented by the Punjab Government.

Pathan Sultans of Delhi (Copper and-billon).

- 3 Muhammad bin Sam (Ghori).

(Ref. Thomas 10, 13, 25).

Presented by the U. P. Government.

- 1 Muhammad bin Sam (Ghori).

Presented by the Nagoda Darbar.

- 1 Altamash.

(Ref. Thomas 48.)

Presented by the U. P. Government.

- 1 Altamash.

Presented by the Nagoda Darbar.

- 1 Firoz III Tughalak.

Mint Delhi, 777.

- 1 Firoz III with Fath Khan.

- 21 Sikandar Lodi, 893-920.

- 1 Bahlol Lodi.

Presented by the U. P. Government.

Contemporaries of Early Sultans (Copper).

- 1 Nasiru-d-din Qubacha of Sind.

- 1 Jalalu-d-din Mang-Badin of Khwarizm.

- 1 Taju-d-din Yalduz.

- 1 Chahada Deva.

Presented by the U. P. Government.

Mogul Coins (Copper).

- 3 Akbar, Type B.

Presented by the C. P. Government.

Gurjara Coins.

- 1 Bhojadeva I. Parihar, King of Kanauja.

Obv. (Shri) ma da (di) var (a) (ha).

Rev. Traces of a rude figure of the Boar incarnation of Vishnu.

Presented by the Nagoda Darbar.

113 Total.

DISPOSAL OF TREASURE-TROVE COINS.

There were 794 coins under examination at the close of the last year, besides 5 from the Collector of Kaira received in 1913; and 1,467 were

received during the year under Report. The latter included 40 copper from the Mamlatdar of Chalisgaon, 126 silver from the Mamlatdar of Badamii, 25 silver from the Mamlatdar of Shirur, 659 silver from the Collector of Kaira, 51 silver from the Mamlatdar of Kalyan, 177 gold from the Collector of East Khandesh, 14 gold from the Collector of West Khandesh, 6 gold from the Collector of Satara, 246 copper from the Bombay Government, 30 silver from the Divisional Magistrate, Ahmedabad, and 93 silver from the Mamlatdar, Karmala. Of these 40 copper from the Mamlatdar of Chalisgaon, 126 silver from the Mamlatdar of Badamii, 51 silver from the Mamlatdar of Kalyan, 246 copper from the Government of Bombay, and 93 silver from the Mamlatdar of Karmala were returned, being of no numismatic importance. 823 coins were examined and reported to Government and disposed of. The coins were examined for the Society by Mr. Franji J. Thanawala and Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar. 659 from the Collector of Kaira, 177 from the Collector of East Khandesh, 15 from the Collector of West Khandesh, 6 from the Collector of Satara and 30 from the Divisional Magistrate, Ahmedabad, have yet to be disposed of.

Of the 590 coins from Akola reported to Government, the Mamlatdar returned 516 for disposal. These with the other 233 were disposed of in the following way :—

	<i>Silver.</i>
Prince of Wales Museum	42
Indian Museum, Calcutta	17
Government Museum, Madras	6
Provincial Museum, Lucknow	5
Lahore Museum... ..	4
Nagpur Museum	4
Public Library, Shillong	4
Archæological Survey, Poona	3
Peshawar Museum	3
Quetta Museum... ..	3
Ajmir Museum	3
Rangoon Museum	3
Dacca Museum	2
Asiatic Society, Bengal	2
B. B. R. A. Society	2
British Museum, London	2
Fitz-William Museum, Cambridge	2
To Mint for sale and disposal	642
	<hr/> 749 <hr/>

JOURNAL.

No. 68, the first number of Volume XXIV was published during the year. In addition to an abstract of proceedings of the Society and the list of presents to its Library, it contains the following papers :—

- I. A few materials for a chapter in the Early History of Bactria, collected from some Iranian sources. By Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.
- II. Intermittent springs at Rajapur in the Bombay Presidency. By Dr. Harold H. Mann and S. R. Paranjpe.
- III. The Solar and Lunar Kshatriya Races of India in the Vedas. By C. V. Vaidya, M.A., LL.B.
- IV. Goethe's Parsi Nameh or Buch des Parsen, *i.e.*, the Book of the Parsis. By Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.
- V. Barlaam and Josaphat. By Prof. H. G. Rawlinson, M.A.
- VI. The Successors of Ramanuja and the growth of Sectarianism among the Sri-Vaishnavas. By Prof. V. Rangachari, M.A.
- VII. A Persian Inscription of the Mogul times on a stone found in the District Judge's Court at Thana. By Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

THE CAMPBELL MEMORIAL MEDAL.

The medal for 1914 was awarded to Prof. A. A. Macdonell for his work "Vedic Index." The Medal was forwarded to Lord Reay, the President of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, who has kindly agreed to arrange its presentation to Prof. Macdonell.

THE JACKSON MEMORIAL FUND.

Mr. R. E. Enthoven, C.I.E., I.C.S., who had kindly undertaken to edit the late Mr. Jackson's notes on Folklore, completed the work during the year and published them in 2 volumes. To bring the book within the reach of students of folklore of ordinary means, the Committee priced the volumes at Rs. 2 each, but they were made available at half the price to members of the Society and contributors to the Jackson Memorial Fund. The expenses of publication will be met from the unexpended balance of the Jackson Memorial Fund and the sale proceeds of the volumes. The Society is greatly indebted to Mr. Enthoven for his valuable and disinterested work in bringing out the book.

ACCOUNTS.

A Statement of Accounts for 1915 is subjoined. The total amount of subscription received during the year was Rs. 15,818 as against Rs. 15,093-2-0 in the last year. Besides this Rs. 1,500 were received on account of Life Subscription from three Resident members and Rs. 120 from one Non-Resident member which were invested in Government Securities as required by the Rules.

The balance to the credit at the end of the year including Rupees 2,323-5-11 advanced to the Jackson Memorial Fund is Rs. 8,290-11-3.

The Government Securities of the Society including those of the Premchand Roychand Fund are for the face value of Rs. 23,400.

The report and the statement of accounts were adopted, also the budget for 1916.

Rev. Dr. Mackichan proposed and Dr. Modi seconded that Sir John Heaton be re-elected President of the Society for 1916.

Carried unanimously.

Rev. Dr. Scott proposed that Dr. J. J. Modi, Rev. Dr. Mackichan, Sir Bhalechandra Krishna and the Hon. Mr. G. S. Curtis, I.C.S., be elected Vice-Presidents for 1915.

The proposition, being seconded by Mr. Aspinwall, was passed unanimously.

Rev. R. M. Gray proposed the following members on the Committee of Management :—

Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, Kt., B.A., LL.B.

Rev. Dr. R. Scott, M.A.

J. E. Aspinwall, Esq.

V. P. Vaidya, Esq., B.A., Bar.-at-Law.

Hon. Sir Fazulbhoy C. Ibrahim, Kt.

H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.

Hon. Dr. D. A. DeMonte, M.D.

Prof. S. M. Isfahani.

Lt.-Col. K. R. Kirtikar, I.M.S. (*Retired*).

Prof. P. A. Wadia, M.A.

Dr. H. Stanley Reed.

Hon. Mr. Justice L. A. Shah, M.A., LL.B.

A. F. Kindersley, Esq., B.A., I.C.S.

J. M. P. Muirhead, Esq.

A. L. Covernton, Esq., M.A.

G. K. Nariman, Esq.

P. V. Kane, Esq., M.A., LL.B.

Dr. P. N. Daruvala, LL.D. (London), B.A., LL.B., Bar.-at-Law.

Dr. Modi having seconded the proposition, it was carried unanimously.

Mr. V. P. Vaidya and Mr. J. P. Watson proposed and seconded a vote of thanks to the auditors, Messrs. K. Melver and J. S. Sansgri and moved that they be re-elected auditors for 1916.

Carried.

Dr. Scott proposed and Dr. Daruvala seconded that Rev. R. M. Gray be re-elected Hony. Secretary for 1916.

Carried.

Rev. Dr. Mackichan then moved the following resolutions :—

" That this Society places on record its deep sense of the loss sustained by the Society in consequence of the lamented death of Prof. Shri-dhar Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, M.A., who was intimately associated with the management of the affairs of the Society from 1905 to the time of his death and who gave valuable help and advice in the selection of books, particularly in the Oriental section of the Library. In him this Presidency has lost an eminent Sanskrit scholar."

" That a letter enclosing a copy of this resolution be forwarded to Mrs. Bhandarkar and to his father Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar with an expression of sympathy with him and his family."

Prof. Wadia seconded and the resolutions were carried unanimously.

After the annual meeting, an ordinary meeting of the Society was held when Dr. Modi read his short papers on—

- I. A Note of correction for the Persian Inscription of the Mogul times (Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXIV, pp. 137-161).
- II. A Copper plate Inscription of Khandesh.

On the motion of Mr. K. Natarajan seconded by Dr. Daruvala a hearty vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Modi for his interesting papers.

A meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 29th June 1916.

Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

There were also present :—Prof. Shaikh Abdul Kadir, Messrs. G. K. Nariman, R. N. Munshi, Faiz B. Tyabjee, H. J. Bhabha, A. F. Kindersley, Mohamed Abbas and Rev. R. M. Gray, the Honorary Secretary.

Mr. Nariman read his paper "On some references to Zoroastrian scriptures in Arab authors."

After a few remarks, Dr. Modi proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Nariman for his interesting and learned paper, which was carried unanimously.

A meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 28th August 1916. The Honourable Justice Sir John Heaton, Kt., I.C.S., President, in the Chair.

There were also present:— The Hon. Mr. Justice L. A. Shah, Dr. J. J. Modi, Dr. P. N. Daruvala, Messrs. R. N. Munshi, D. T. Tripathi, L. N. Banaji, Kuvalaya Raj, B. Venkoba Rao, G. K. Nariman and Rev. R. M. Gray, the Honorary Secretary.

Dr. Modi read a paper, "On the early history of the Huns; their inroads into India and Persia."

At the conclusion of the paper, Justice Shah moved a vote of thanks to Dr. Modi for his interesting paper.

A meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 15th November 1916.

The Hon. Justice Sir John Heaton, Kt., I.C.S., President, in the Chair. There were also present:—Dr. J. J. Modi, Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, Prof. P. A. Wadia, Rev. Fr. R. Zimmermann, Hon. Dr. D. A. DeMonte, Prof. A. L. Covernton, Messrs. P. K. Telang, S. G. Banker, Jamnadas Dwarkadas Dharamsey, V. P. Vaidya, J. E. Aspinwall, Kuvalaya Raj, and Rev. R. M. Gray, the Honorary Secretary.

After some discussion it was resolved to continue the Ceylon Antiquary and to subscribe to the following from 1917:—

Scientific American and Supplement,
Le Muséon,
Poetry Review,
Arya,
India,

and to drop the following from the same date:—

Nash's and Pall Mall Magazine.
Indu-Prakash.

It was also resolved that the consideration of the following periodicals be left over till after the war:—

Journal of the American Chemical Society.
Journal of Chemical Engineering.
Analyst.
Mining World.

A meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 12th January 1917.

The Hon. Justice Sir John Heaton, Kt., I.C.S., President, in the Chair.

There were also present:—Mrs. J. E. G. Metcalfe, Mrs. C. L. Burns, Mrs. D. A. Turkhad, Mrs. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Prof. P. A. Wadia, Dr. J. J. Modi, Rev. Fr. R. Zimmermann, Messrs. Kavalaya Raj, H. R. H. Wilkinson, D. G. Chichester, R. N. Munshi, H. J. Bhabha, and a few visitors.

In the absence of the Honorary Secretary, Mr. Wilkinson read the minutes of the last meeting which were confirmed.

Mr. J. A. Saldanha, B.A., LL.B., read a paper on "Some Interesting antiquities of Salsette."

After some remarks by Dr. Modi and Mr. K. A. Padhye, Pleader, Thana, a vote of thanks was moved to Mr. Saldanha for his interesting and learned paper.

A meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 29th January 1917.

The Hon. Justice Sir John Heaton, Kt., I.C.S., President, in the Chair.

There were also present:—Rev. Dr. R. Scott, Dr. J. J. Modi, Rev. Fr. R. Zimmermann, Dr. Daruvala, Messrs. C. K. Trivedi, R. N. Munshi, E. M. Ezekiel, Kavalaya Raj, P. V. Kane, H. R. H. Wilkinson, Capt. Ewels, and Rev. R. M. Gray, the Honorary Secretary.

The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.B., read a paper on "Ancient Geography of Maharashtra."

Dr. Modi, after a few remarks, proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Kane for his interesting and learned paper. The proposal being seconded by Dr. P. N. Daruvala was carried unanimously.

THE CAMPBELL MEMORIAL GOLD MEDAL, 1914.

(Awarded to Prof. A. A. Macdonell, M.A., and presented in London at a General Meeting by the Royal Asiatic Society on behalf of the Bombay Branch).

*At a meeting of the Society on March 14, 1916, with Sir Charles Lyall in the chair, the Campbell Memorial Gold Medal, awarded

*Proceedings of the Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, taken from its Journal for October 1916.

to Professor A. A. Macdonell, M.A., Ph.D., by the Bombay Branch of the Society, was presented by Lord Sandhurst.

The Chairman said he was there to represent Lord Reay, who was unfortunately prevented from coming from Scotland to make the presentation, and he had asked Lord Sandhurst, who equally with himself had the distinction of being a former Governor of Bombay, to present the Campbell Medal to their friend Professor Macdonell.

Lord Sandhurst said he had had the great privilege of being Governor of Bombay and working for five years with Sir James Campbell, who was a very distinguished Indian Civilian, distinguished amongst many. He was a man of great abilities, as everybody knew, of singularly sympathetic disposition and character, most thorough in all work that he undertook, and at the same time of most generous disposition. But he was one of those men who preferred to exercise his charities without advertising them at all, so much so that it was said very often in Bombay that he never let his left hand know what his right hand was doing. Outlining his official career (see Journal, July, 1903) he spoke of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, which Sir James compiled, as a work of stupendous value. It gave for each district of the Presidency a complete descriptive, historical, and statistical account of the whole area, its subdivisions and chief places of interest. It also contained most valuable ethnographical records of the castes and tribes of the district. The contributions to the early history of India contained in this splendid series were of great value, notably the special articles in the last volume published (vol. ix., pt. i) dealing with the foreign element of the Hindu population of Gujarat. The theory therein developed had been carried further by other scholars, and had greatly affected the previously prevailing views on the origin of many well-known Hindu castes. The compilation of the *Gazetteer* was a stupendous labour, and the result was an invaluable book of reference for which successive generations of Indian Civilians and other students and workers would be indebted to Sir James Campbell for generations to come. He was for a long period Collector of Bombay, becoming known to almost every citizen, and he played a great part in framing the tariff duties of 1893-5. Speaking of Sir James Campbell's work as Chairman of the Plague Committee while he (the speaker) was Governor, he said that if they got on pretty well in dealing with that calamity—as he was vain enough to think, considering the circumstances, that they did—the whole credit was to be laid at the door of Sir James Campbell, because without his admirable tact, patience, and temper he did not think they would have been able to get on at all. He also contributed most valuable help in formulating the scheme which took legislative shape on the City of Bombay Improvement

Act, taking a leading part in the work of a confidential preliminary committee. He questioned whether any more fitting memorial could have been suggested by his friends than the medal he was about to present, and which was awarded triennially for the best original work on Indian folklore, history, or ethnology.

MR. R. E. ENTHOVEN, C.I.E., of the Bombay Civil Service, as representing the Bombay Branch, requested Lord Sandhurst to make the presentation. He said the Branch had its origin in the Literary Society of Bombay, which was founded in 1804 by Sir James Mackintosh, at that time Recorder of the city, with the object of encouraging the study of Oriental subjects. It was approached in the year 1827 by the Royal Asiatic Society with a view to affiliation, and in 1829 it took that step, one which might be imitated with advantage by other small societies in India. The Bombay Branch had done much useful work. It brought out periodically an interesting journal; it had a valuable library of 80,000 volumes, contributed to some extent by generous donors, including the great Mountstuart Elphinstone; it had good collections of archaeological specimens and coins; and although it was at present somewhat inadequately housed in the Bombay Town Hall it was intended that when the War was over and the Prince of Wales's Museum was free from present use as a hospital for soldiers wounded in the War, the Society should be housed there. He went on to speak of the characteristics of Sir James Campbell, on the basis of his observations from the time he became his Assistant in Bombay in 1894. He was then the centre of intellectual life in Bombay, and brought together at his hospitable table at the Byculla Club men of all occupations and professions, and entertained them with a flow of anecdote and witty conversation. He was the centre also of a small band of scholars who contributed to the *Gazetteer*. He never allowed his purely official functions to monopolize too much of his attention, and when Collector of Customs he would keep one of his Assistants writing the history of the Byculla Club, while another was given the task of identifying the foreign elements in Hindu society. These extraneous duties prevented young officers becoming too centralized in their work, and it might be said of him, to use an old saying, that to have been his Assistant was in itself a liberal education. His special characteristics were his extreme modesty and his keen sense of humour. One of his hobbies was the study of spirit-scaring. He spent many years of leisure hours in collecting notes on the subject, and at one time had the intention of working out the theory that most old customs with which we are acquainted had their origin in the effort to scare away evil spirits. Some of his materials in this con-

nexion had been published in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*. He recollected specially a paper on the virtues of drinking alcohol, and another on the advantages of kissing as a means of spirit-scaring, though many might suppose that these practices had survived for other reasons. Anyhow he devoted much attention to that line of research, and it remained for some scholars of the Society to bring together his notes in a comprehensive study of the folklore of the Western Presidency. When Sir James died in 1903 his friends subscribed to a fund with the object of founding a memorial medal, and it was decided that it should be presented triennially for original work in connexion with Indian history, archæology, and folklore. The medal was presented for the first time in 1909 by the then Governor, now Lord Sydenham, to that famous Central Asian scholar and traveller, Sir Aurel Stein. Three years later the second presentation was made to a very rising Indian scholar, Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, son of Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, and there was some special fitness in that, because the work for which the medal was bestowed had in a sense carried somewhat further Campbell's theories as to the foreign elements in Hindu society. Mr. Bhandarkar had found most interesting extraneous elements in what were looked upon as the most orthodox Rajput tribes. The time had now come for the third presentation, and as a trustee of the Medal Fund, and as an old pupil of Professor Macdonell, he had very great pleasure, on behalf of the Bombay Branch, in asking Lord Sandhurst to make the presentation.

LORD SANDHURST then said that Lord Reay, who was himself a learned man, had sent him his notes of what he intended to say in respect to Professor Macdonell, and with their permission he would read them. They were as follows:—

The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society has done me the honour of inviting me to present this medal to Professor Macdonell. No worthier recipient could have been selected, and it gives me the greatest pleasure on this occasion to be the representative of a very important branch of our Society in the great and prosperous centre of Indian trade, which is also a centre of intellectual activity.

Professor Macdonell studied at Göttingen, and the thorough knowledge of the German language acquired there stood him in good stead in his later studies and researches.

He afterwards came to Oxford and gained the Taylorian Scholarship in German in 1876, the Davis Chinese Scholarship in 1877, and the Boden Sanskrit Scholarship in the following year. He held the position of Taylorian Teacher of German in the University from 1880

to 1899, and was elected a Fellow of Balliol College in 1899. He took his degree at Leipzig in 1884 with a dissertation in German on the Anukramāṇi of the Rig Veda as chief subject, with Comparative Grammar and Old German as secondary subjects. Possessing thus a wide knowledge of languages, he devoted himself specially to Sanskrit, so that he was appointed Deputy Professor of Sanskrit from 1888 to 1899, during the last years of Professor Sir M. Monier-Williams' life, when the latter was unable to discharge the duties of the Professorship himself, and on the latter's death succeeded to the Professorship in 1899.

While thoroughly acquainted with Sanskrit literature generally he has made the Veda and the Vedic literature his special duty, and is acknowledged to be one of the foremost authorities in that department of Sanskrit learning. With a perfect knowledge of German he has studied all that has been written by German scholars as well as what has been written in English and French. He has summed up and published the results of Vedic research in his works *Vedic Mythology*, *Vedic Grammar*, and (in collaboration with Professor Keith) the *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*. These works are replete with learning and ripe judgment. He is a scholar thorough in method, accurate in research, calm in judgment, and eminently sound in the expression of opinion. These characteristics distinguish his *History of Sanskrit Literature*, which, while adapted for general information, satisfies also the requirements of scholars.

To his erudition regarding ancient India through Sanskrit literature he has added the great advantage of personal acquaintance with India in its ancient remains and modern condition by a tour of study and research throughout that land in 1907-8, from which he brought home a large collection of valuable MSS.

Sanskrit study has declined somewhat from the attractive position it occupied some forty years ago, and other branches of Oriental learning and research, especially Semitic and Egyptian, have risen into prominence through the discoveries made by excavation. Yet Professor Macdonell has upheld the standard of Sanskrit learning in Oxford by training students who have become distinguished Sanskritists, and by steadily developing the advantages afforded by the Indian Institute that his predecessor founded.

To the list of his works already enumerated should be added his Sanskrit Dictionary and Sanskrit Grammar, editions of the *Sarvānukramāṇi* and of the *R̥had-devatā*, besides many articles on Sanskrit matters in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, the *Indian Antiquary*, Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Hast-

ings' *Dictionary of Religions*, and elsewhere. This very week will probably see the publication of another work, his *Vedic Grammar for Students*, promised for last autumn, but delayed owing to the shortage of hands at the Clarendon Press, due to the War. Our congratulations to him, therefore, on the success of this his latest work will not long have to be delayed.

The University of Oxford may also be congratulated on the éclat given to the Chair of Sanskrit by our distinguished friend. For our understanding of India the study of Sanskrit is essential. For our friendly relations with India the intercourse of Indian and of British Sanskritists is invaluable. The example set by Professor Macdonell of a personal visit to India will, I hope, be followed by scholars and encouraged by Government.

The illustrious traditions of British Oriental scholars impose on their successors of this and future generations a great responsibility. In the annals of this War we shall have to record the valour of our Indian comrades, the loyalty of all classes in our Indian Empire. In the peaceful days which are in store for us, and which we shall owe to those who have fought for us, Indian and British scholars will join in various fields of literary and scientific research. British and Indian Universities will have to exchange Professors and students, in order that the efficiency of both may be increased.

Your ancestors—like mine—Professor Macdonell, followed the military profession; and we must offer you the expression of our deepest sympathy in the loss of a brave son who emulated the heroic deeds of many of his race.

PROFESSOR MACDONELL, after thanking Lord Sandhurst for presenting the medal to him, related how he had come to take up the study of Sanskrit, and went on to tell of the duties of a Sanskrit Professor in England. He said: I have devoted many years to research, especially in the older and historically more important period of Indian literature, that of the Vedas, or sacred scriptures. Having by this time published books and articles on Vedic language, religion, mythology, literature, and subject-matter, I have resolved to devote the rest of my life to the very laborious task of translating into English the oldest and most important sacred book of India, the Rîg Veda, a task somewhat analogous to translating the Old Testament if that were entirely composed of Psalms. There is no scientific translation of that book as a whole in English, and the two German translations are forty years old.

But I consider that the literary activity of a Sanskrit Professor should not be restricted to works of research. He ought also to produce educational books to meet the practical needs of the learner. There are at the present day no adequate works of this character dealing with the Vedic language or old Sanskrit.

The writing of books of either kind is, however, not enough. It is also necessary to throw a good deal of energy into teaching of a stimulating character. Otherwise a new generation of young scholars cannot easily grow up nor students be encouraged to continue their studies after leaving the University. Without this, for instance, the valuable impetus imparted to Sanskrit studies in various directions by the late Professors Kielhorn and Bühler (both pupils of Benfey) could never have been given. Following the example of my old teachers, I have always endeavoured to attract young scholars to the study of Sanskrit and then to train them.

In this country there is also required another kind of teaching for the numerous students who are preparing for a practical life in India, chiefly Indian Civilians and Missionaries. As the civilization of India has remained essentially unchanged for at least 2,500 years, the teaching of Sanskrit for such students should be of a concrete type, in which the realities of the India of to-day are made to illustrate Sanskrit literature. Civilians and Missionaries may thus obtain a sympathetic insight into the institutions and religion with which they will be confronted when they go out and which they will otherwise not fully understand. I had long felt that a well prepared visit to India would be a great advantage to me as a teacher of Sanskrit in this country. In 1907 I accordingly obtained leave of absence from the University for a tour of study and research in India extending over seven months. In the course of this tour I visited every part of India, covering 10,500 miles, as much as possible in native states, associating with Pandits, seeing all the important archæological remains, chiefly in the company of the officers of the Archæological Department, and taking a large number of photographs. I also visited all the botanical gardens in India and Ceylon, so as to familiarize myself with the many trees and flowers mentioned in Sanskrit literature. From this tour I derived very great benefit both as a learner and a teacher.

There are, moreover, many ways in which a Professor of Sanskrit may promote the general interests of his subject both in this country and in India. One way is to seize opportunities of raising special funds for one's subject. I have had one or two such opportunities.

One was after the death of Professor Max Müller in 1900, when I succeeded in raising a memorial fund amounting to £2,500. This fund has been very useful in providing grants to young Sanskrit scholars to enable them to study at foreign universities, and in making subventions to books which could not otherwise have been published. It has also paid £200 for reproducing by photographic processes about seventy very old and valuable Sanskrit MSS. which the Maharaja Prime Minister of Nepal very liberally agreed to send to the Clarendon Press for the purpose, and which would otherwise never have been accessible to scholars in Europe. The reproductions are now at Oxford. Another sum which, with the help of Dr. Thomas of the India Office, I managed to raise in India to the amount of about £1,500, is the Mahābhārata Fund for paying the cost of producing a critical edition of the great Sanskrit epic of India. This fund, with the grants voted by the India Office and by the associated academies of Europe, now amounts to nearly £6,000.

A Professor of Sanskrit may further promote the studies which he directs by adding to the stock of Sanskrit MSS. in his University. Thus, when I was in India I bought for the Max Müller Memorial Fund about 100 selected Sanskrit MSS., which are now deposited in the Bodleian Library. When I was at Benares in 1908 I had the good fortune to come across a very fine private library belonging to a Brahmin who expressed his readiness to sell the collection *en bloc* for 10,000 rupees. On my return to Oxford I informed our Chancellor of this opportunity. He on his part communicated with the Prime Minister of Nepal, who not long before had expressed a wish to confer some benefaction on the University, and who now with great munificence at once bought the collection and sent it as a gift to the Bodleian Library. On their arrival I arranged these MSS. with the help of one of the assistants in the Library, a former pupil, and a considerable portion of them has already been bound. My old friend Sir Aurel Stein has, moreover, deposited his fine collection of nearly 400 Sanskrit MSS., acquired in Kashmir, in the Library of the Indian Institute, to which he intends to bequeath them. Thus we have now in Oxford between 9,000 and 10,000 Sanskrit MSS., far more than any other Western University, perhaps even more than all other European and American libraries put together.

But I may now give one example of how a Professor of Sanskrit in this country may even help studies which, though cognate, are outside his own sphere. For several years past there has been felt a pressing need for the publication of a comprehensive Tamil Dictionary. I had many talks on this subject with the late Dr. Pope, the eminent Tamil

scholar. When a committee had been formed in India and the Government of Madras had voted a large sum in subvention of the proposed dictionary, I had a strong feeling that it would never do if an enterprise of this kind under the auspices of the Government were not carried out in a thoroughly scholarly way; and there was a risk of this occurring owing to the dearth of scientifically trained scholars who could collaborate in the work. I accordingly entered into correspondence with the Chairman of the Committee, who came over to England last year and had interviews with various scholars in London, Cambridge and Oxford. The upshot was a joint letter which I drew up after consultation with all these scholars (about a dozen), and which stated the principles we considered ought to be followed in the compilation of the dictionary. The letter went out to Madras last autumn, and it is to be hoped that it will contribute towards making the dictionary a really scholarly work.

You will thus see that the duties that a Professor of Sanskrit may be expected to fulfil are a good deal more numerous and varied than is perhaps generally supposed. It must be remembered that there are very few professors in this country to cover the wide field of knowledge represented by Sanskrit studies. For there are only five Chairs of Sanskrit in Great Britain and Ireland, as compared, *e.g.*, with about twenty-five in Germany; and yet Sanskrit is far more important to this country than to any other, because it is the sacred and classical language of 250 millions of the peoples of the Indian Empire. These five therefore ought to be very strenuous, if the work they accomplish is to be worthy of this country's position in the world.

Now ~~come to...~~ last point, the future of Sanskrit studies in England and India. It is now, I think, fifteen years since the Government of India definitely adopted the policy of no longer appointing Europeans to professorships of Sanskrit in India. This step promised to have an injurious effect on Sanskrit studies, because on the one hand there would be no one left in India to guide Indians in European methods of study and research in this subject, and on the other would cut off European Sanskrit scholars from the advantages of an Indian experience. Accordingly, about ten years ago Professors Browne, Margoliouth, and myself drew up a memorial to the India Office, recommending the establishment of a few Oriental fellowships in Indian Universities, to enable young Sanskrit scholars to continue their studies there for a few years under Indian conditions. But this proposal was rejected on the ground that the cost of the scheme ought not to be defrayed out of the revenues of India. After some time, however, the Government of India started the reversed scheme of

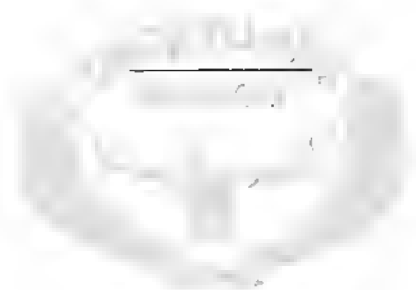
sending selected Indian scholars to England to be trained in European methods of research, under the guidance of professors in this country, for two or three years. This plan has been very successful in the case of two out of the three or four such students who have come under my direction. These have chiefly been taught how to edit Sanskrit texts critically. Whether the new plan will also result in the production of research work of a more general character and in the organisation of Sanskrit studies in India, without the aid of European scholars, remains to be seen.

The Government of India seems now to have further adopted the policy of gradually reducing the European element in the archaeological department, in which there has still been an opening for European Sanskritists. I am assured by a scholar who has had long archaeological experience in India that this policy is bound to result in stagnation in this department. It will also close the last opening for European Sanskritists in India. I do not know how the scheme for an Oriental Research College at Delhi is progressing; but it will, if it comes to anything, be of value. I imagine for the training of young Indians only. What, on the other hand, is to become of the British Sanskrit scholars who ought to have some opportunity of study and research in India itself? The absence of any provision for them is sure to react detrimentally on India itself in the long run. The only remedy seems to be the establishment of a school of research for Europeans at some centre of Sanskrit learning, preferably Benares, like the school of Classical Archaeology at Athens or the French School at Hanoi in Indo-China. It will be a reproach to this country if we cannot establish something of this kind in India, with all our obligations to advance education and learning in connexion with the ancient civilization and literature of the vast Indian Empire. I think this plan should be well considered by the Royal Asiatic Society in particular. It ought not to be difficult after the War is over to collect funds in England sufficient for the purpose, with so many people among us whose lives and fortunes have been, or still are, intimately connected with India. If such a scheme were established in India, young men could be sent out with fellowships or grants from the old universities. Sir John Marshall, who as Director of the Archaeological Survey of India already has his hands very full, would, nevertheless, I feel sure, be ready to give invaluable help based on his many years' experience of Indian traditions.

Professor Macdonell concluded by thanking those who had chosen him as the recipient of the Campbell Memorial Medal which he should always prize.

THE CHAIRMAN expressed to Lord Sandhurst the thanks of the Society for discharging the function of the afternoon. It was most fortunate that Lord Reay was able to invoke his assistance, since he was Governor of Bombay at a time when Sir James Campbell's work there reached its most important administrative stage. He had himself the privilege of being a contemporary of Lord Sandhurst; as he was the head of an adjoining province when they were both visited by the calamities of plague and famine.

LORD SANDHURST said it was always a great pleasure to him to take part in any business which was intended to do honour to India, and particularly Bombay, with which he had close hereditary ties. He was glad to pay respectful testimony to his affection, esteem, and respect for Sir James Campbell, and indeed for the Indian Civil Service generally, and to present the medal by which he was commemorated.



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CLASSIFIED catalogue of the library of the Director-General of Archaeology, Supplement III, 1912-13.	Government of India.
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